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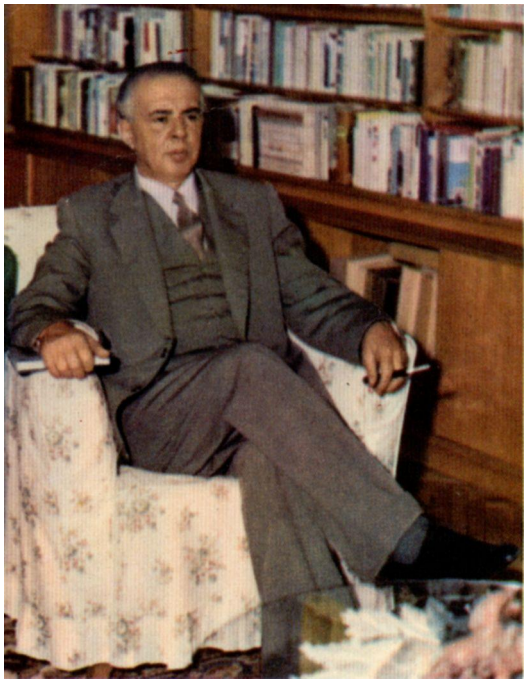
Enver Hoxha

Reflections on China



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OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Volume Two we are publishing is the chronological continuation of Volume One of «Reflections on China» by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

These notes, like those of Volume One, are extracts from his Political Diary covering the 1973-1977 period.

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ENVER HOXHA

REFLECTIONS ON CHINA

II

1973 — 1977

EXTRACTS FROM
THE POLITICAL DIARY

TIRANA, 1979

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

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SOME ANTI-MARXIST STATEMENTS BY CHOU EN-LAI

In these first two weeks of January, amongst others, a delegation of the Italian Government, headed by the Foreign Minister, Medici, and a Congolese delegation (from Zaire), headed by the President of that African republic, General Mobutu, have gone to China on official visits.

The two delegations were received by Chou En-lai, who, of course, talked with them about political and other questions, made statements and affirmed some of his political and ideological views which, I think, are especially important on account of their «specific» character. This is what impels me to write these notes.

Chou En-lai had a meeting with the Italian Medici, at which the two exchanged views. However, nothing was reported in the Chinese press apart from the announcement of a «cordial» meeting, whereas the Italian press, radio and television reported the trip and the Chou En-lai — Medici talks extensively and especially highlighted this statement of Chou En-lai's:

China approves the European Common Market, approves and considers correct the creation of a «United Europe», which the states of Western Europe have begun to build.

At the official banquet which Chou En-lai gave for Mobutu, amongst other things, he stated without reserve: **«Despite the form of the regime which is different from that of Zaire, China, of course, like Zaire, is part of the third world...»**

This is an official statement which has appeared in the Chinese press.

In regard to Chou En-lai's statements to Medici it could be supposed that the Italian press is interested in concocting things, by distorting these statements. Such a thing might well occur, but since there has been no official denial from China, these statements must be true. We recall that the Chinese ambassadors in the countries of Europe have expressed such views about the Common Market and «United Europe» to our comrade ambassadors. **Hence, in this case we have to do with a political directive issued from the centre, from Peking, with a line and a directive issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government. Thus, this line is being applied without hesitation. Not only are we not in agreement with this line and these orientations in any way, but on the contrary we are opposed to them, because they are wrong in principle and practice, because they are not on the Marxist-Leninist line but in opposition to it. These are revisionist-opportunist views and do not assist the revolution, the awakening of the people and their revolutionary struggle against imperialism, capitalism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie.**

Let us be more explicit. How do the Chinese comrades, especially Comrade Chou En-lai, the protagonist of this line, justify these key political attitudes stemming from this line? Only with the «exploitation of contradictions which exist between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism»? **«We must struggle to deepen these contradictions», says Chou En-lai. So far so good. But in whose favour do we deepen them, and are these the only contradictions? Are there no other contradictions, known or unknown, which we must discover and struggle to deepen in the interest of the economic and political freedom, the sovereignty and self-determination of the peoples, in the interest of the revolution?**

What is the cause of these contradictions which exist, and are becoming more and more severe each day? What is the source of them, and are they simple or complex? Are they merely

contradictions between the two superpowers, or do they extend further, more deeply? Should we Marxist-Leninists confine ourselves merely to being interested in deepening the contradictions which exist between imperialist America and the revisionist Soviet Union, and forget the contradictions which exist and must be deepened between the United States of America and its «allies», between the revisionist Soviet Union and its «allies», between these two superpowers and the states of the «third world», which are included in their respective spheres of influence? **Should we forget the major class issue, the struggle of the proletariat, that is, the solution of the great contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist bourgeoisie, between capital and the proletariat, between the proletariat and the people, on the one hand, and the capitalist oligarchy and its state power, on the other hand? Should we forget that the state power of the bourgeoisie must be destroyed through struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat established in its place, that the bourgeois capitalist order must be replaced by the socialist order?**

If we neglect or forget these things, or use formulae as a smokescreen, and in reality act differently, then we do not see, do not judge, and do not carry out things like Marxists.

Let us take the issues one by one. It is true that contradictions exist between the United States of America and the Soviet Union and that we must deepen them. What is the source and basis of these contradictions? They have their source in the very character and the permanent aims of capitalism, in the merciless exploitation of the proletariat and the enslavement of the peoples. Imperialism, the final phase of capitalism, is in the process of decay. It is fighting with guns, causing bloodshed, as well as with policy and ideology, to keep the peoples enslaved, to suppress the revolutions and to attack the rivals which confront it in the international arena. Its decisive enemies, who in the end will wipe it out, are the peoples, the world proletariat, and the revolution.

History proves that the rivalry between the capitalist

groupings of one country and the capitalist groupings of another country, or between the capitalist groups of a number of countries and the capitalist groups of some other countries, to rule the world, to create and extend their colonial empires, to divide up the spheres of influence and markets, has created conflicts and hurled the world into bloody wars, which have been great crises for mankind. Their aim has been the exploitation and oppression of peoples, of nations, of the weaker states by the more powerful. The demagogy of warmongers and enslavers has deceived individuals and peoples, exploiting their sound aspirations, but despite this, nothing could extinguish their sentiments for freedom, independence, liberation and the revolution. The strength of these sentiments and aspirations has steadily increased. The oppressed and exploited working masses have become the decisive motive force towards progress, the sternest opposition force to enslaving capitalism, against imperialism. Neither the transformation of the Soviet Union into a capitalist country, nor the transformation of a series of states of people's democracy into bourgeois capitalist states, has altered this trend of development in any way. The revolution is marching ahead, socialism is ceaselessly proving its vitality, while American imperialism, the head of a series of capitalist states, and Soviet social-imperialism, the leadership of a series of revisionist states, are in a deep political, ideological, financial and economic, cultural and military crisis.

It is the revolution, which is seething everywhere, as well as the peoples' liberation struggles, in all the forms and at all the stages of their development throughout the world, the strikes, protests, etc., which bring these great death-dealing crises to this decayed, declining world. **This is the basis of our struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, these are the decisive weapons which we must use in order to overcome these enemies. The strategy and tactics of our struggle must be built up in a correct way around this great aim and, in order to deepen the contradictions between the enemies, we must**

base ourselves on these principles and not on phantasies, adventures or opportunist stands.

As everyone knows, American imperialism emerged from the Second World War strong and with an aggressive economic and military potential. It took upon itself the role of international gendarme and worked to revive all the capitalist reactionary forces in Europe, Latin America and elsewhere. American imperialism was confronted with the great camp of socialism and all the peoples of the world that aspired to and fought for liberation.

Within a few years the United States of America revived Bonn Germany, Italy, the French and British capitalist economies, etc., but for every change that was made in those countries, it took good care to protect its own «ration», that is, to ensure that it got the lion's share. The United States of America «relieved» these countries of their colonies, which it made its own with new methods. In allegedly reviving these states, the American imperialists strengthened their hegemony in the world and harnessed their «allies» to their chariot with all kinds of military and economic treaties. All these things served to strengthen American hegemony, first of all, to strengthen the reactionary bourgeoisie in each country, to suppress any people's movement and aspirations in these countries and in the world, and to create an iron bloc against the socialist Soviet Union and communism. The cold war, the local aggressive wars, and the threat of the United States of America to use the atomic bomb never frightened the socialist countries or the peoples of the world.

The great betrayal by the Soviet revisionists weakened the socialist camp, but it was unable to halt the advance of the world revolution or to eliminate socialism as a socio-economic order or the Marxist-Leninist ideology; and likewise it was unable to quell the desires and aspirations of the peoples to fight for socialism. Marxism-Leninism is immortal and always triumphant.

But what happened? With the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists, could it be said that all the contradictions of our time in all their complexity were eliminated? Not at all. They were increased both for the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and for their allies, regardless of the treaties, agreements, diplomatic accords, etc., etc. **The contradictions the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have with each other can never be diminished or die out, on the contrary, they are increasing and extending. Their source and basis always lie in what I expounded above. At present, despite the contradictions they have, the two superpowers are in alliance to fight the true socialist countries, to fight the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, to fight the peoples' aspirations for freedom, self-determination and sovereignty, to combat and suppress peoples' just wars. In all these directions they are in agreement. Thus, they are in agreement to fight socialism and communism.**

The United States of America is fighting to maintain its hegemony in the world, the Soviet Union is fighting to establish its hegemony. Hence, there is rivalry over the division of spheres of influence and the superpowers try to undermine each other's alliances. This is part of the game for spheres of influence and, of course, it has created and will create new contradictions, serious frictions, and possibly even armed frictions. Up till now the atomic bomb has served as a means of intimidation to prevent the outbreak of conflicts between the two superpowers.

American imperialism and its European allies want and are struggling to bring about the total weakening of the Soviet imperialist power, so that it no longer poses a threat, not just ideologically, but, if possible, is made dependent on them economically, and its aggressive military strength, of which the United States of America is afraid, is weakened and the other allies are in agreement on this. Therefore, their aim is to liquidate the dependence of the Warsaw Treaty countries on the Soviet Union. In this direction, they have scored many successes and

will certainly score others, because the satellites of the Soviet Union in Europe, from Rumania to Poland, have turned their eyes to the United States of America, the Federal German Republic, France and Britain. Backroom deals of secret diplomacy are on the agenda. The imperialists are terribly afraid of the peoples.

Despite their economic revival, the capitalist countries of Europe are in a great crisis, and the peoples who live in them are oppressed by the local oligarchies. Everywhere there are strikes, demonstrations, armed clashes, up to the level of war, as in Northern Ireland. What does this show? The decay of capitalism and the rise of revolutionary forces. But apart from the oppression and exploitation by the local oligarchies, these countries are also under the savage heel of American imperialism. In this situation even these states want to escape the domination of Americans. But how? De Gaulle's breaking away from NATO, the creation of the independent atomic striking force by France, **the creation of the European Common Market and the idea launched, and the continuous struggle which is going on, for the creation of the «United States of Europe», do not have escape from the American dictate as their only aim. This is one aspect. The other aspect shows that the bourgeoisie thinks that the uniting of big monopolies of these countries will create a compact economic, political and military power, which will be more capable of suppressing the popular revolts and revolutions which, already, have caused insurmountable problems and which later, because of chronic crises, will be even more ominous for it.** But all these reactionary plans will solve nothing for it. The oligarchies of these states want to preserve NATO, that is, to maintain the military aid of the United States of America, since thus they are guaranteed against the danger which comes from the Soviet Union. Here there are a series of contradictions: the United States of America will maintain NATO, but does not want the European Common Market to become a barrier to itself, or even worse, the «United States of Europe» to become a great power. Among the

states which will unite in this organization, which will dominate? France, West Germany, or Britain? Thus more rivalries, new «alliances», continual quarrels are being aroused, which we Marxist-Leninists must analyse correctly, must foresee correctly and must maintain correct stands towards them.

Now let us come to Chou En-lai's statements, to clarify which I have been obliged to write these notes, perhaps rather lengthy, but still incomplete.

The Italian press and radio are writing and speaking enthusiastically about the attitude of the Chinese, who, through the mouth of Chou En-lai, are calling on Europe **«to find its unity in all directions»**. According to what Chou En-lai said (again on the basis of the Italian press), «t**he process of European integration constitutes an essential element in achieving a real easing of tension».** According to the same source, Chou En-lai stressed that **«this process must not be restricted to the economic sector, but should affect the fields of policy and defence»**. It couldn't be clearer. Since there has been no denial, Chou En-lai has said these things.

These views of Chou En-lai's are anti-Leninist and reactionary, contrary to Lenin's well-known theses on the question of the «United States of Europe». Thus, these views of Chou En-lai's are in line with those of European reaction.

Chou En-lai is in favour of European integration in the interest of cosmopolitan big capital, that is, for its political, economic and military domination over the peoples of Europe, in favour of the iron law of capital ruling the peoples of Europe. With his theses, Chou En-lai (who poses as the theoretician of the exploitation of contradictions) completely ignores the major insurmountable contradictions between the proletariat and the peoples of Europe, on the one hand, and the reactionary bourgeois regimes of their countries and the capitalist oligarchies on the other, and likewise he also overlooks the contradictions between these oligarchies themselves. Hence, Chou En-lai is calling for the class struggle to be extinguished, calling for European integration, calling for the contradictions of European

capitalism not to be deepened in favour of the proletariat. Hence, the reactionary press is quite right to exalt Chou En-lai and has every reason to do so.

The Italian proletariat is on strike almost every day. The Italian bourgeoisie wants to escape this pressure. Italy has been turned into a base of the United States of America against the proletariat, but to no effect. Italian reaction is using the club of the police, but cannot stop the strike wave; the bourgeoisie is fighting for European integration, for the creation of the «United States of Europe», and it is self-evident what the bourgeoisie expects from this and what evils await the workers and peoples of Europe. **And here the bourgeoisie is being assisted by Chou En-lai, who recommends to the peoples and the proletariat of Europe that they should follow its leaders meekly, instead of saying to them: «Rise against the class enemies, dig the grave for them and push them into it, instead of allowing them to push you in».**

However, what impels Chou En-lai to come out so openly against Marxism-Leninism? He proceeds from another idea and thinks: We must encourage this European reactionary bloc, because it confronts the American bloc, but especially the Soviet bloc. In this way, we deepen the contradictions between the imperialist blocs in favour of socialism. But the question arises: In favour of what socialism are these contradictions allegedly deepened when calls are made to the workers and peoples not to move, to integrate themselves like a flock of sheep in the pen of the capitalist shepherd? In this case socialism is reduced to China alone, which is inspired by such ideas of Chou En-lai.

Chou En-lai should be consistent in his ideas. Since he calls on the European states to integrate themselves under their capitalist oligarchies, then he ought to accept both the Warsaw Treaty and the occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Chou En-lai declares that he is against Soviet hegemony over these states, indeed in this instance, he is in favour of «disintegration». Here he shows lack of consistency, or he is

consistent in it that the satellites of the Soviet Union in Europe should break away and integrate themselves with the other «united» Europe, for the creation of which not only the monopoly bourgeoisie of Europe, but also Chou En-lai, are appealing.

Chou En-lai is not working to raise the peoples in revolution, to weaken the different links of the capitalist chain, is not helping to burst the weakest links of this cruel chain for the peoples, but, without expressing this openly, is preaching the creation of different blocs to bring about a balance of forces in favour of China, but not in the Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary way. We must all fight in favour of socialist China, but this we must do only for a socialist China and in the Marxist-Leninist way.

Chou En-lai and the Chinese leadership say that they are fighting on the two flanks: against American imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism. However, the struggle on their part against the United States of America has been toned down. And when? Precisely when it is waging its barbarous war against Vietnam and continuing its aggressive struggle elsewhere. At such a time Chou En-lai pretends that «the revolution is knocking at the door of the United States of America». At these moments of crisis for American imperialism, to give it a hand, as China has done and is doing, not only is wrong, but means to help it. Can it be said that Chou's theses that «these things are done to deepen the contradictions between the two superpowers in favour of socialism», are confirmed in this way? Does Vietnam or the Middle East gain anything from them? Were the links of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists weakened because China accepted Nixon's visit? None of these things came to pass. **Apparently, the Chinese policy is for the creation of closed blocs, which, of course, will be in rivalry with one another and will be eroded by great contradictions.**

A few months ago Chih Peng-fei, the Foreign Minister of China, made more or less this statement: «China, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and the other countries of Indochina are

one big family...», etc. Here, naturally, the words «bloc», «camp», «socialist countries» did not appear, but there is a flavour of a «yellow family», an «Asiatic grouping», which is not Marxist-Leninist. Hence, today they are calling for «United Europe», for «one big family», and the «third world», and tomorrow may be calling for integration of the countries of Latin America or the «black peoples of Africa». This is the tendency which is apparent in the Chinese policy, and this is not Marxist-Leninist, not revolutionary. It means to divert the peoples' attention from the genuine revolutionary struggle.

Chou's statement at the banquet with Mobutu is flagrantly anti-Marxist. He included China in the «third world». **This means to deny socialism, to conceal the true individuality of China and the character of its socio-economic order from the eyes of the world. This is an opportunist, anti-Marxist view**. As is known, it was Tito and his friends Soekarno, Nehru and Nasser, who launched the idea of the «world» of the so-called non-aligned countries, but they were bourgeois capitalists. They themselves, their parties and states were and are linked with the imperialists and the social-imperialists. With many of these bourgeois states, which the Chinese include in the so-called third world, the socialist countries should certainly establish relations, assist them in their struggle against imperialism, because they have profound contradictions with it, but must not water down the identity of the policy of our socialist order, or conceal the fact that we are socialist countries and our parties are Marxist-Leninist, etc.

To declare that you are in the «third world» means either that you are indulging in demagogy, trying to deceive others, or that in reality, like Titoite Yugoslavia, you are not a socialist country, but completely a bourgeois capitalist country.

Such a declaration tells the world: «Let the revisionists keep the banner of 'socialist countries', 'the socialist camp', 'socialist community' — we are of the 'third world'». No, this thesis is anti-Marxist. **We Albanians do not agree. Albania is socialist and socialist it will be, even if it must remain alone**.

We will continue to be a socialist country, and even if we remain like a tiny island on the world map, we will fight with confidence, according to our Marxist-Leninist ideology, with confidence in the revolution, in the world proletariat and the peoples, until socialism and communism triumph throughout the world.

We Marxist-Leninists must distinguish when radical political changes of a truly democratic character are made in a country and when changes which are not of this character are made. We must support the former and not the latter, indeed we must combat the reactionary political changes.

Political changes of a progressive democratic character assist the socialist revolution. Thus, we, the socialist countries, cannot and must not isolate ourselves from and fail to assist these countries and states of the so-called third world when they make democratic political changes and reforms, when they are in conflict and at war with the imperialists, the social-imperialists, and other enemies of the peoples. But we, the socialist countries, must not permit ourselves to be confused with them.

We, the socialist countries, such as Albania and China, must always be in struggle against the capitalist and social-imperialist world. It is our duty to draw the oppressed classes of the other countries on to the right road through our example and militant struggle, while making joint efforts to ensure that they hurl themselves into the revolution against oppressing and exploiting capitalist regimes.

I am becoming more and more convinced that China is not acting in this way. This emerges clearly in the two instances I mentioned here, but there are many other instances. General Mobutu and his clique are reactionaries, the murderers of Lumumba and other progressive individuals in their country. China receives the representative of this anti-democratic African clique with great honours, and in order to please him, Chou En-lai declares: «China is part of the third world». In other words, he tells the Congolese people: «I, China, am Mobutu's friend, support Mobutu, because he is a democrat, pro-

gressive», etc., regardless that Mobutu suppresses the people and the proletariat, regardless that he declared to Chou in the middle of the banquet in Peking: «We, Congolese, are what we are, we will remain what we are, and do not want other ideologies», etc., etc. A beautiful outlook for socialism in the Congo if we support Mr. Mobutu!

But the prospects for the revolution and socialism will be equally gloomy if the Marxists and the socialist countries support the «European Common Market», the «United States of Europe», as China is doing, or Comecon and the revisionist grouping of the Soviet Union with its satellites in Europe. No, socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania will never take this Wrong, anti-Leninist road of the Chinese. They must withdraw from this wrong road immediately, or it will lead them very much farther afield.

It cannot be imagined that the Chinese comrades have fallen into this error unwittingly, without understanding it. **For the moment they are waging some sort of «struggle against the Soviet revisionists», regardless of the fact that it is clear that they are not waging it from a genuine Marxist-Leninist platform, but from a chauvinist platform which smacks of a great-power policy, while tomorrow they may cease this struggle, and this must be expected from people who are unclear on the Marxist-Leninist principles, or are clear on them but want to apply their opposite.**

The Chinese comrades know, as we do, that «capitalism is international and monopolistic». The big capitalist powers, whether those of yesterday or those of today, whether imperialist or social-imperialist, have not changed — they have plundered and oppressed and continue to plunder and oppress other peoples and nations. This is what the United States of America is doing, this is what the revisionist Soviet Union is doing, this is what Japan is doing, this is what the French, West-German, British and Italian capitalists have done and are trying to do. In order to do this better, the European capitalists have created the European Common Market and are working

for the creation of the «United Europe». In this course, they have the support of socialist China which is opposing the true task of a socialist state and the views of Lenin which have such a contemporary ring when he says:

> *«From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism — i.e., export of capital and the fact that the world has been divided up among the 'advanced' and 'civilized' colonial powers, a United States of Europe, under capitalism is either impossible or reactionary».**

This is as clear as the waters of a mountain spring.

What is this group of modern capitalists doing? It is exporting capital and investing in other countries to exploit and enslave the peoples of these countries. These are the neo-colonialists of the post-Second World War period. The Soviet revisionists come into this, too. We are seeing an organization of a new colossal plunder, with new forms, by the imperialist and social-imperialist bandits.

With the creation of the «United States of Europe», which Chou En-lai also supports, the capitalists of Western Europe at present have no other aim except to peacefully share the sweat and blood of the European proletariat and the European peoples. The capitalists want to give this division of the sweat and blood of the peoples a «peaceful» colour, «prettifying» it with such slogans as those about the «technical-scientific revolution», the «consumer society» and other such concoctions. But, as Lenin says, this division cannot be done on any basis other than that of force. Therefore, this bloc of states for the sharing of the plundered spoils is a source of aggressive imperialist wars.

Lenin says:

> *«Under capitalism the even economic growth of individual enterprises, or industrial states, is impossible. Under*

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, p. 370 (Alb. ed.).

capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics.

Of course, **temporary** *agreements between capitalists and between the powers are possible. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the* **European** *capitalists... but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty* **against** *Japan and America, which feel badly done out of their share by the present division of colonies, and which, for the last half century, have grown strong infinitely faster than backward, monarchist Europe, which is beginning to decay with age»**

This is clear as the light of day; this was valid yesterday when the great Lenin said it, it is true and valid to this day, and so it will be tomorrow, until the capitalist world is destroyed and replaced with the socialist world.

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, p. 372 (Alb. ed.).

THURSDAY
JANUARY 18, 1973

RELIGION IS BEING PROPAGATED IN CHINA

The Chinese propaganda openly implies that religion is not combated in China and that is why it speaks about religious celebrations, about Easter, Bairam, about masses and prayers in the churches and mosques in Peking. Hsinhua reported that Bairam was celebrated with pomp in the mosques of Peking and all the ambassadors of the Moslem countries accredited to China took part. The line of showing the world that China is part of the «third world», that it supports the Arabs and the Moslems and their religion, is continuing! Great men of principle!!!

SATURDAY
FEBRUARY 10, 1973

KISSINGER IN PEKING

In the history of the kings of France, and precisely in the reign of Louis 13th, the famous cardinal Armand du Piessis de Richelieu, used his brother in religion, *«le père Joseph»*, to hold secret diplomatic talks with the other states. This is why *«le père Joseph»* is known to history as the *«éminence grise»* or «the grey eminence», the cardinal of the darkness. He personifies behind-the-scene intrigues, secret diplomacy.

At present, at the end of the 20th century, Kissinger is playing the same fiendish diplomatic role. He has become the *«éminence grise»* of the American President, Nixon. This German diplomat (regardless of the fact that he is a Jew and fled from Nazi Germany because he was in danger) faithfully serves the most ferocious Hitlerite who has come to power since the Second World War, President Nixon, the chief of American imperialism.

In their practice of contacts and agreements, American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, as two imperialist superpowers, are employing secret diplomacy. This is understandable — it is necessary for them because their policy and actions are contrary to the interests of the peoples of the world, are gangster plots which have to be hatched up in the dark. They do not want their plans and agreements on the division of the world and the exploitation of the peoples to be disclosed, they want to avoid troubles, problems and resistance of the peoples. As far as possible, they want to iron out the contradictions which they have and which emerge between them, secretly

and at the expense of others. Only when they have reached agreement, or when the contradictions between them are insurmountable, do they allow something from the manoeuvres which they carry on under cover of darkness to appear. The two superpowers make efforts to impose this dirty secret diplomacy on others, who, sometimes wittingly sometimes unwittingly, are following this course.

Socialist China, too, has begun to practice secret diplomacy deliberately, especially with the Americans, and this is where the danger lies. This practice is not correct and must be condemned. Nobody, whether friend or foe of China, knows or hears what is going on between the United States of America and China. The friends of China, in particular, know nothing. Kissinger goes to and from China secretly and openly, but what is said, what is discussed, what is decided? Not a word is said. Everything is kept secret, even from us. Nixon comes and goes from China, but what is said, what is done, what is decided? We are kept in the dark about it all. Meanwhile the whole world is allowed to read only the slogans of watery communiques. Naturally, this watery soup does not go down with us, and we are fully within our rights to think, and we think correctly and with no mistake, that the Chinese are talking with the agents of American imperialism and taking decisions which they are not telling us or others, because this is not in the interest of the Chinese, since they are not things which can be told because they are unacceptable to the peoples and to be condemned. No other reasons can be found for these actions.

Let the Chinese claim that what they are discussing and deciding with the Americans serves to deepen the contradictions between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. This cannot be swallowed. It might well be the opposite, that the United States of America is doing these things to deepen the contradictions between China and the Soviet Union. Then, let Mao Tsetung's China speak frankly what it is doing, so that world opinion can judge whether it is exploiting the con-

tradictions correctly or wrongly, and what price it is paying for these actions!

The Chinese leadership may say that if it discloses these negotiations with the Americans, the Soviets will learn about them. Then, why not say openly that you are on the best of terms with the Americans and have such faith in them that you trust them and not us, your friends? Or have your «friends» now become «boring» to you? But if you involve yourself in such secret dealings, this means to join the circles of intrigues and intriguers and to completely change your mentality, judgement and evaluation in regard to other peoples and their problems and troubles.

The Chinese leaders may say: «We are with the peoples, we are not changing our line, and everything we do is in the interests of socialism». It is easy to talk platitudes, but the secret diplomacy continues. The Chinese attack the Soviets for secretly reaching agreement with the Americans. But what are the Chinese leaders doing? They have started to do the same thing and are continuing at a gallop. They are competing with the Soviets over who will get further into the *«bonnes grâces»* of the fascist Nixon. Kissinger, Nixon's «Ribbentrop», is welcomed in Moscow, Peking and elsewhere like the Messiah of the Jews, in the hope that he will bring them *«manna»* from heaven to save them, will bring them the blessed word of the «god» of the White House. This is scandalous!

What do the other peoples, who are fighting American imperialism and its lackeys, think and say when they see the Chinese leaders, in particular, doing such things? Do these dirty agreements assist their struggle? What are the Vietnamese, the peoples of Laos, Cambodia, the Arabs and peoples of all continents, the revolutionaries, the genuine Marxist-Leninists, saying? They are saying: Shame! Betrayal! Revisionist compromise! Violation of principles which defend the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples!

Up to a point it was understandable that during the Second World War, President Roosevelt, who was a cripple, bearing

in mind the dangers of the war, should send his private adviser, Hopkins, to London and Moscow. But Nixon, who is now using the same tactic with his «Ribbentrop» Kissinger, has definite aims. He does not want to compromise the Department of State, i.e., his state, in such deals, but uses a cat's paw, whom he sends here and there to test the political atmosphere, for espionage purposes, wherever possible, to see how much he can get out of their pockets and heads, and if this envoy makes some mistake, he can discard him like a squeezed lemon, while emerging «with clean hands» himself. And to all those who have welcomed this errand boy of the President it seems as if they have brought the moon down.

Kissinger went to the satellite of the United States of America, Thailand. There he reassured the clique of that country about everything and about «the brilliant perspective which awaits Indochina». From there he went on to Laos, talked, intrigued, settled things, made promises, and declared that the war there, too, would soon be over.

Today the representative of Nixon and American imperialism, which for years on end has spread death and devastation in heroic Vietnam, enters Hanoi with the olive branch in his hand... It is unprecedented, unheard of, that the criminals, the defeated in battle, should be welcomed by the victors as fine fellows and people who are fighting «for peace and the good of mankind»...

From Hanoi the American Messiah will go to Peking. The talks, lunches and dinners with Chou En-lai, with Chih Peng-fei, perhaps also with Mao, will go on for four or five days. Everything will be done in the greatest secrecy, as if the questions about which they will talk interest them alone.

However, the secrets will be revealed one day and the stench will rise from *«le pot aux roses».*

But the stand of the Chinese towards us is uncomradely, iniquitous and anti-Marxist in the full meaning of the term. Before Kissinger went to Vietnam, our ambassador in Peking asked for an official meeting with Yu Chang to talk about the

events in Vietnam. He was not given the possibility of a meeting, but a minor official told him: «We, too, know nothing about what is going on in Vietnam, we are studying the treaties, but we have not yet drawn conclusions and do not know why Kissinger is going to Hanoi. Kissinger will come to Peking, too, but we do not know what he will raise with us. We shall talk about our own affairs and nothing about others' affairs. They have invited us to take part in the Paris Conference on Vietnam and we have replied that we shall take part in it, but do not know when it is to meet, and what will be discussed there», etc.

Even if we had asked an opponent state, it would not have replied to us in such a way. The facts show that on these problems we have been informed by others who are not our friends. Nevertheless, even if we are not informed, our own heads are in order and we judge the situations by everything that occurs. But what the Chinese are doing towards us confirms the things I said above. They are not in order. We shall pursue our own course unwaveringly. Time will prove the correctness of our judgement. The Sino-American alliance is developing. We shall see how far it will go.

MONDAY
FEBRUARY 19, 1973

CHINA HAS CHANGED COURSE TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

From Hanoi Kissinger went to Peking where he stayed five days. He is supposed to have left today, when I am writing this note.

Long, «cordial and frank» talks have been held with Chou En-lai and Mao. The two sides are satisfied and the foreign news agencies are presenting the result of these talks as «very hopeful and with good prospects for the world».

But everything is being kept absolutely secret, especially on China's part, and this is scandalous. To talk with the savagest enemy of the peoples, socialism and communism, and to keep these talks and decisions secret is anti-Leninist. To keep those things, which are known fo the enemy of the communists and the peoples, secret from the communists, from your friends, from the peoples, means in theory and practice to reach agreement with the enemy and to keep this agreement secret — as it cannot be revealed because it would be condemned by world opinion. Lenin did not permit such ominous hostile stands. He tore the mask from any such activity.

China has changed course towards the United States of America. It describes the Soviet Union as the main enemy, while it is treating America gently. Why? What are its strategic plans and tactics? It is not revealing anything, not saying anything, it simply implies that «it knows what it is doing», that «it is a socialist country», that «the Communist Party of China is a Marxist-Leninist party». But the world is not satisfied with

shibboleths, it wants deeds, wants to see proofs, wants to judge for itself the stand which one or the other maintains. These obscure actions cannot be explained as easily as the Ghinese think with «exploiting contradictions».

But let them tell us concretely how they are exploiting these contradictions between the Americans and the Soviets. Do they think that we are so gullible and silly as to blindly believe vaguely worded formulas? Why are they keeping their talks with the Americans secret and not allowing us, either, to judge how and to what extent they are exploiting these contradictions? Are these talks only in favour of the Chinese? But what about the Americans, are they not getting any benefit from them?

It has become customary to say that «problems of interest to the two countries were discussed». This is a deception. It is an anti-Leninist stand to talk with the imperialists behind the back of the peoples. How is it possible that these talks are not of interest to the peoples and the revolution? How is it possible that the enemies of the peoples and the revolution should know the details of these talks, and the peoples and the revolutionaries know nothing?

No, Chinese comrades. Here there is only one thing: the secret talks which you are holding «behind closed doors» are to be condemned, and you know this, that is why you are not announcing them. You have reached agreement with the Americans about this, they have imposed their will and tactic on you, you have accepted this, have submitted to them. Hence, you have made concessions in order to gain something which is harmful, ephemeral and very dangerous for China, socialism and peace.

FRIDAY
MARCH 9, 1973

THE CHINESE HAVE FALLEN INTO THE SOVIET TRAP OVER THE BORDER DISPUTES

On the course which they are following and with the social-chauvinist spirit which characterizes them, the Soviet revisionist-imperialists have begun a bombastic provocative activity, removing all the old Chinese names from the villages or rivers of a number of zones of Siberia and giving them new, Soviet-Russian names. There is no doubt that these actions are part of the anti-Chinese campaign and the mobilization of the Soviet peoples with chauvinist slogans against China, against the territorial claims by the Chinese at the expense of their «socialist homeland». In this way and with these methods, the Soviet revisionists are inciting the chauvinist sentiments of the peoples of the Soviet Union under the slogan that «the borders of the Soviet Union are in danger, therefore we must defend them». This is also how they justify the massing of a million Soviet soldiers in Mongolia and other zones bordering on China.

China is not failing to respond, but I think it is using the same chauvinist methods, thus falling for the provocation which the Soviet revisionists are hatching up. The Chinese defend the thesis that these zones, villages and rivers, the names of which are now being changed by the Soviets, are Chinese, hence, these places belong to China, that they were seized from China by the Czarist regime and Brezhnev and company want to perpetuate this. In this way the conflict is becoming more acute, but proceeding from ideological motives

which are not correct, because the Chinese, too, are going over to chauvinist positions, a thing which serves the revisionists.

Hence, instead of attacking from principled ideological positions in order to unmask the Soviet revisionists and to work to bring the Soviet and the Chinese peoples together against their common enemy, the Chinese leadership is proceeding from chauvinist positions, therefore it is alienating the two peoples and inciting them to war with each other. What is even more serious, the Chinese press quotes American journals to «support». its own theses. Their shamelessness is undisguised, and their pretext of «exploiting contradictions» has no basis! With this, the Chinese want to tell the Soviets, «the United States of America is with us and not with you».

Both of you had better watch out because the American imperialists are riding roughshod over you!

TUESDAY
MARCH 13, 1973

PROVOCATIONS BY THE CHINESE «SPECIALISTS» LIKE THOSE BY THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS

A long time ago the Chinese comrades began to slow down the delivery of materials, machinery, and blue-prints, etc., to us. They «justify» this failure on their part to fulfil contracts with all sorts of excuses such as: «Lin Piao sabotaged everything, therefore we are making repairs, and many things which we were to send you will be re-made»; «we are backward from the technical aspect, but we shall be better after three or four years, and then we shall assist Albania more, because up till now we have assisted it very little»; «the road to Albania is very long and our transport is inadequate»; «China has to assist Vietnam to rebuild, as well as many other countries», etc., etc.

Likewise, the Chinese are not replying to the requests to send some of our technicians to China to look into these matters there. In connection with this problem, the Chinese ambassador in Tirana either gives the usual reply: «I have no news», or repeats the same formula about «difficulties», or says, «many Chinese specialists in China are engaged in the problems of Albania», which indirectly implies, «there is no need for you to send your specialists to China».

Apart from this, the Chinese ambassador is now using new tactics. He says to our officials: «you have capacities which are not fully utilized», and gives a number of examples, which are not real, but which he uses «to support» their stand and say: «You should not complain about the other things not coming on time». Meanwhile the Chinese specialists, under instigation,

are beginning provocations against our people. One of them (of course, on instructions) said to one of our people: «Have you any comment on Kissinger's being received by Mao?» Our comrade said, «No». «But what is your personal opinion?» continued the Chinese. Our comrade replied, «Imperialism is our sworn enemy, and that is what it will always be until we wipe it out». The Chinese said, «That is why Mao, like the old man of the fable, lured the wolf into the sack and tied it up in order to kill it more easily». Our comrade did not reply, and changed the subject. The Chinese persisted, saying, «Why do you Albanians have no trust in our aid?» Our comrade categorically rejected this. Of course, the Chinese indirectly wanted to imply, «You have no trust in our (Chinese) policy».

Watch out, Chinese comrades, because this is how the Soviet revisionists began to act against us and against Marxism-Leninism! We behave correctly, we speak openly with you in a comradely way, but we do not yield to pressure or blackmail. We are vigilant!

SATURDAY
APRIL 7, 1973

HOW FAR WILL THE COOLNESS OF CHINESE OFFICIALS TOWARDS US GO?

We cannot but describe the stands which the main Chinese officials maintain towards our country as cold, especially recently.

Our ambassador in Peking is not informed about anything of international or internal importance. Only occasionally, when meeting at some reception, or in the lounge at the airport, some second or third-ranking official, in a haste, tells him something about those events over which all the foreign agencies have been clamouring for the past four or five days, and says nothing at all about Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea, the Soviet Union, or the relations of China with the United States of America. Mystery and silence over the whole front. **From the foreign ambassadors in Peking we hear things which the Chinese have told them.**

Mao «was ill with rheumatism» and did not receive the head of our government delegation, a member of the Political Bureau. Chou En-lai «was very tired», therefore he did not receive Reiz Malile, while in fact neither was ill or tired, because those very same days, both the one and the other, received foreign representatives, gave banquets, and visited a British exhibition. It was Mao's duty to receive the head of the Albanian delegation for the sake of the friendship between our two peoples, but in particular it was up to Chou En-lai to receive our deputy-minister of foreign affairs in reciprocity, because Mehmet received the deputy-foreign minister of China

when he came to our country. In the past, Chou, and indeed Mao, have received even some simple official of ours. Naturally, this behaviour cannot fail to attract attention and make us keep note in order to see how far the Chinese will go with this stand they are maintaining towards us.

However, we shall maintain our aplomb and continue to be friends and good comrades with the Chinese people and the Chinese comrades if they behave like Marxist-Leninists towards the Party of Labour and our country. Such a thing is in the interests of the two sides and on a correct internationalist course.

SUNDAY
APRIL 15, 1973

MAO TSETUNG REHABILITATES TENG HSIAO-PING

Teng Hsiao-ping has emerged on the scene again with the title of the Vice-Premier of the State Council.

The «Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» conceived and led by the «Great Chairman Mao Tsetung» not only came to an end with «success», but now all those cadres who were denounced by it as «enemies and agents number 2, number 3», and so on in turn, «counter-revolutionaries, members of the Kuomintang», etc., have begun to be rehabilitated one by one. Of course, the Cultural Revolution, which began against Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Teng Hsiao-ping and others, ended with the disclosure of the «plot hatched up by Lin Piao» and his death. **As a result, the authors of the Cultural Revolution came under a cloud and became «reactive» (like the jet aircraft; only the Chinese know what was the meaning of this expression which they used!), while those whom the Cultural Revolution had put under a cloud and made «reactive» came out in the sunshine and were raised like Teng Hsiao-ping who was made vice-premier of the State Council!** Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, and some other leaders still remain under a cloud. For how long? Perhaps, until «they correct themselves», because this is the «infallible method» of the Chinese comrades. Teng Hsiao-ping appeared for the first time at the official reception put on for Sihanouk, when he returned from the liberated territories of Cambodia. He figured below Li Hsien-nien and above Chih Peng-fei. Thus he is already occupying his government position. Later he may also occupy the place he had in the leader-

ship of the party. «The little bit of gold», as Mao called him before the revolution, «the number 2 enemy of the Communist Party of China», as he was called during the Cultural Revolution, now, after the revolution, «has corrected himself» and «recognized his mistakes».

The official version, which was communicated to the ambassadors of the socialist countries, including our ambassador, is that «at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Teng made grave mistakes and, together with Liu Shao-chi, implemented the reactionary bourgeois line». Mao himself has judged him in this way, but allegedly said, «We should differentiate between his mistakes and those of Liu Shao-chi». And thus, on the 14th of August 1972 (following Kissinger's visit) «friend» Teng, who is clever and senses which way the wind is blowing, «writes a letter to the Chairman, admits his mistakes, makes a self-criticism and promises to work well.»

In this case, the official version we were told runs as follows: «Chairman Mao has made a note, which is a directive document, which says: 'The prime minister and Wang Tung-hsin (Candidate-Member of the Political Bureau and Acting Secretary of the Political Bureau) must read this'. Teng Hsiao ping's mistakes are grave, but he should be distinguished from Liu Shao-chi for these reasons:

1) In the liberated zones, Teng was once condemned because he defended the line of Mao when he was attacked by the Central Committee, that is, by Wang Ming.

2) He has no problems inherited from his record, has not capitulated to enemies, has merits in the war, has headed the delegation to Moscow against the Soviet revisionists.

I have spoken to you on this matter more than once,» says the Chairman at the end of his note.

Hence, it is apparent that Chairman Mao gave the order that Teng Hsiao-ping should be rehabilitated, and the Political Bureau, of course, «after discussion», approved it.

The person who communicated these things to us, Chih Peng-fei, the Foreign Minister of China, concluded with the

official version that «this is the great and brilliant cadres policy of Chairman Mao. The rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping is a great lesson for the Communist Party of China, which will learn from Marxism-Leninism and the wise teachings of the Chairman». He personally removed and restored him, no more no less.

First of all, one's attention is drawn to the fact that the Chairman did not go himself to put forward these important things to the Political Bureau but sent them to the members of the Bureau through a «directive note».

The second question that strikes the eye is that this note is directed specifically to the premier, first of all.

The third thing is that Mao says in the note: «I have spoken to you on this matter more than once», which implies that they had not wanted to listen to the Chairman.

Who was not in agreement? Could it be inferred that Chou En-lai was not in agreement with this rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping?! Perhaps Chou En-lai wants to be cock of the walk, while Mao wants two lines in the party, therefore he has to create a «competitor» against Chou and gives the ultimatum that «the little bit of gold» must take the place which he had. **Of course, Teng Hsiao-ping conies back with all his battalions of supporters and all take the places they had. These supporters, who were with Liu Shao-chi, were humiliated during the Cultural Revolution, «corrected themselves» later, and «have now become lambs».** Thus, under the banner of «the great Marxist-Leninist» Mao Tsetung, the chaos and anarchy continues and increases. **There are many trends in power in China: the trend of Mao, the trend of Chou, of Liu, of Wang Ming, of Teng, of Lin Piao, of the Kuomintang (we had better stop here because we won't have enough paper to list them all). Can these things be Marxist?!!!**

The Chinese ambassadors in different countries are singing another refrain: «It is not Teng Hsiao-ping who has made mistakes, but mistakes were made against him. Teng Hsiao-ping is a good and loyal comrade of Chairman Mao».

But why was all this hullabaloo created, and what will

happen after this? I may be wrong, but this is not a simple matter. Undoubtedly, this is a Chinese puzzle like all the rest.

Now the official spokesman says that Teng Hsiao-ping has been «resolutely opposed to the Soviet revisionists»! Well, he might have been as «resolute» as his comrade of the same ideas, Liu Shao-chi, or as his friend, Chou En-lai, before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

At present, a course pro the United States of America is being followed, and Chou En-lai is guiding it. China now has two representatives in Washington: one is the ambassador of Chou En-lai, and the other the envoy of the Hsinhua agency. The United States of America is manoeuvring as it likes. The Chairman developed a «great policy», and instead of «deepening the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America», he linked the two more strongly together, placed himself between two cannons, and now does not know how to get out of this fix. Then it is possible that the fertile mind of the «brilliant» Chairman gave birth to an idea: he brought out Teng Hsiao-ping who was to begin a policy of smiling first to the one side and then to the other. The British advised the «brilliant» Chairman that he should adopt their *«bascule»* policy, or the policy of walking the tight-rope: «Good relations with both, and not good with one and bad with the other, or bad with both». Mao cannot live at all with the **number one**, he always lives with the **number two**. Thus one morning we may see a crawling to the Soviets, beginning with small things to achieve the «balance». And no doubt this tactic will be trumpeted as «brilliant».

Then China will come to the standard of its «brilliant policy» of peaceful coexistence, of the third force, which was boosted by Chou En-lai in an interview or a banquet, I don't remember which. That means to follow the example of the «communists» Tito and Ceausescu. «Good relations with the two superpowers, both the United States of America and the Soviet Union», give and take in the two directions, intrigue here intrigue there, allegedly because the contradictions are

being exploited, and all this covered with the idea that «I am a great power and nothing can be done in the world without me». «We must continue this way until we become three super-powers with all their features», indeed without any disguise at all, because such work leads to tearing the disguises one after another, as they were torn from the Soviet Union.

FRIDAY
APRIL 20, 1973

THE BOURGEOIS «WASPS» GATHER HONEY AND RELEASE THEIR POISON IN THE GARDEN OF «A HUNDRED FLOWERS»

With utter shamelessness, the Director of the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Keng Piao, tells our ambassador in Peking and a comrade of ours (who has gone there for medical treatment) in front of all the main personnel of his Directory:

«The Marxist-Leninist movement in the world is steadily advancing, but time is still needed for the Marxist-Leninist groups and parties to affirm themselves. We do not publish the propaganda material from the newspapers of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties for two reasons:

a) If we publish such articles in our press to make known some success which a Marxist-Leninist party has just achieved, we shall attract the attention of the enemy who will take measures against it, and such a thing is both to our disadvantage and to the disadvantage of that party itself.

b) From the experience of several years of work it turns out that it is not necessary for us to propagate the actions of these parties much, because the enemy acts; thus for example, the majority of leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India have been killed or imprisoned».

According to Keng Piao, the leaders of these parties cannot go to China because the police are watching for them, because the enemy has created an espionage network, and so on. «In the case of Japan, however,» said Keng Piao, «the

situation is different». «The representatives of these parties and groups,» he continues, «want to come to us thinking that this can have an influence in strengthening their internal work. We cannot tell them not to come, therefore we invite them as friends. Thus even persons from parties that have fought and slandered us come to visit us. When Nixon and Tanaka came, why should the others not come? Indeed, Nixon came for his own electoral needs. **Let even Chiang Kai-shek come, if he wants to.»**

He speaks openly and cynically as an anti-Marxist, admits with his own mouth that China has given up the revolution, that it no longer assists the revolution, the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that are fighting throughout the world. It hides itself behind the smokescreen that allegedly it must not compromise these parties and groups in the eyes of the enemy, while in reality it is China that wants to demonstrate to imperialism and the bourgeoisie that it is neither assisting nor supporting their enemies, the communists. What perfidy! The communists in different countries of the world have launched their revolutionary struggle, legally and illegally, have looked death in the eye, while the Chinese are so shameless as to say that «these communists want to come to China to strengthen their internal positions». These comrades seek the aid of China because they think that it is socialist, while the China of Mao Tsetung does not speak about them, does not propagate or re-publish their articles, does not assist them, but merely observes that all the leaders of one or the other party have been killed. What shamelessness!!

«Socialist China» receives the communist comrades in the same way as Nixon, Tanaka, and the revisionists, just as it might receive Chiang Kai-shek. This means blatant treachery. They are acting against the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and revolutionary groups in the same way as the Soviets. The Chinese are afraid that they will get a «bad name» and ruin the «good reputation» which they established in the ranks of the American and world bourgeoisie.

Therefore the Chinese cannot be in accord with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. They are not in agreement with the whole of our internal and external policy, either. And this they are displaying. Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien and Mao have cut off their contacts with us, and the contacts which they maintain are merely formal diplomatic ones. Albania is no longer the «faithful, special friend». For them it comes at the end of the line, after Rumania and Yugoslavia in Europe, after Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia in Asia. China does not take part in our political manifestations because it is afraid it might compromise itself! It sends us the acrobats, football and volleyball teams (since they are making tours of Europe) and nothing more. They are maintaining the economic agreements, though with delays, but it is quite obvious that their «initial ardour» has died.

How could China be in agreement with our foreign policy when it is establishing relations with the United States of America, with Japan, with Federal Germany, with Franco's Spain, at a time when we not only do not establish relations with them, but continually expose their imperialist and fascist policy? How can China approve the revolutionization of our country, the struggle against religion and the Vatican, when Yu Chang, a top functionary of the Foreign Ministry of China, tells our ambassador, «We are quite unable to do these things you are doing, because over 50 million of the Chinese population comprise elements from the overthrown classes and their families»? It couldn't be otherwise because, while religion, the Church and the Vatican are fought in our country, in China, in Peking, they are opening Catholic and Orthodox churches and cathedrals and attendance is propagated by the Chinese press.

The Catholic press world-wide has raised a slanderous campaign against us and puts us in opposition to China; the bourgeois-capitalist press attacks us because we do not establish diplomatic relations with the United States of America and puts us in opposition to China.

Likewise, the world capitalist press, summing up the op-

portunist stands of China over many international problems, does not fail to point out our stands towards the same problems, and naturally comes to the conclusion that contradictions exist between China and Albania, that «Albania has become totally isolated and has been abandoned by China», etc.

The same stand, which China has maintained towards the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and revolutionary groups, of not publishing anything about them in order to avoid «compromising itself», it is now maintaining towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. They are publishing nothing about us, apart from the welcoming and farewelling of football and volleyball players and Chinese acrobats. Everything else in regard to Albania has disappeared from the Chinese press. With this stand the Chinese want to tell the capitalist and revisionist world openly that they have no special relations with socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. They now consider Albania the same as Yugoslavia and Rumania. **But socialist Albania and the Party of Labour, for their part, tell the world communist movement, the Chinese, and the capitalist and revisionist world that they remain unshaken, granite-firm, on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road, that they have not moved and will not move a fraction from these stands and will triumph. China has identified itself with Titoite Yugoslavia and revisionist Rumania, and not with us.**

The policy of the opening of the doors of China continues «successfully» not only in state relations, but also «on the broad road of proletarian internationalism». Together with the opening of the doors of China, as a state, to every kind of foreigner, from Nixon and Tanaka to Chiang Kai-shek, if he likes, the doors of the Communist Party of China have been opened to those anti-Marxists who have fought and cursed it. Yes, yes, they have been opened to foreigners.

They have distributed to the foreign specialists who work in the Chinese institutions, for them to read and approve, a draft-order entitled «About the Improvement of the Work with

the Foreign Specialists Working in China». This draft bears the brand of the speech which Chou En-lai delivered a few days ago, about which an article was written in the Chinese press. Thus the official Chinese commentator says: «The foreign specialists should be acquainted with the life of the Chinese people, should be acquainted with the materials of the party, with which the party and non-party masses in China are acquainted. They can form party organizations, can even be admitted as members of the Communist Party of China, can take part in the educational forms, either with the Chinese or on their own, as they wish. Care must be taken of the families of the foreign specialists to send their children to nurseries and kindergartens, to ensure that they can take part in the Young Pioneers' organizations or in the Communist Youth, attend school according to their age and live in hostels together With the Chinese. Young foreigners should not be hindered from establishing friendships, falling in love with and even marrying Chinese girls. The respective organizations should help to carry out explanatory work among the Chinese families to combat the hang-overs which exist in connection with this question. The Security Service, also, must improve its work to protect the foreign specialists who work in China. They must be given good economic treatment,» etc., etc. **In brief, this draft-order was a whole liberal-revisionist «poem». All the doors of China are being opened to foreign capitalist-revisionist filth.**

This is clear. «Who should we be afraid of?» ask those who are governing in China and leading the Communist Party of China. And they answer: «Of the dogmatists, the sectarians, and not the liberals». Since they themselves admit that «fifty million of the population of China is reactionary», let a million or so pour in from outside! «What harm will they do us? They will be drowned in the Chinese sea. In the future we will overflow the world. Are we not the biggest people in the world?»!

Chou En-lai himself has intervened personally with our embassy for measures to be taken against a few Albanian students who were associated in a purely comradely way with

some Chinese girls. And this occurred many years before the Cultural Revolution, thus they cannot attribute these views to Lin Piao. **Between that time and this, what «flower-strewn» roads and what «flowers» have blossomed and will blossom in the land of China «blessed» by Confucius!**

What rubbish will be introduced into China! How many of them will marry! How many legal and illegal societies will be created! How many churches and cathedrals will be opened! How much of this rubbish will be granted Chinese citizenship and how much of it will enter the ranks of the Communist Party of China and fight for the CIA, the Soviet KGB and for world capitalism, under the banner of Mao!

Truly, the centre of the Trotskyite International will be created there. All this garbage will pour into China disguised as «leftist», «Maoist» and people «persecuted» in their own countries. They will find aid and support in China, and with a comforting support and the «seal of Mao» they will begin and continue the struggle against genuine Marxist-Leninists, to win over the revisionist parties and to draw them from the influence of the revisionist Soviet Union.

From this a very dangerous activity of «Maoist» revisionists will begin. We must be very vigilant. **The struggle against Soviet revisionism from revisionist positions leads to the revisionist road; to rely on American imperialism in order to fight Soviet revisionism leads to the road of raising the dirty banner of Trotskyism to fight Soviet revisionism and to take its place as a great power and a «great ideological leader».**

Hence, it appears that the United States of America and China have agreed to weaken their main rival — the social-imperialist Soviet Union. Both on the part of American imperialism and on the part of China, the aim of separating the satellite «people's democracies» from the Soviet Union always exists. Li Hsien-nien, surrounded by four or five deputy ministers, commenced this work by receiving the economic representatives of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

China has good relations with Tito, Ceausescu and Carrillo.

Without doubt it will extend these relations with the other revisionist parties and the «Maoist» Trotskyites. **The bourgeoisie will issue the slogan that its «wasps» go to gather the honey and release their poison in the garden where «a hundred flowers blossom».**

FRIDAY
MAY 18, 1973

A LETTER OF MAO TSETUNG TO HIS WIFE

In a «self-critical» speech which Chou En-lai delivered on the 8th of March to foreign specialists who are working in China, he said, «I shall read you some party documents in connection with the exposure of Lin Piao».

The «first» document, translated into seven languages, was read to the foreign specialists, including ours, who work in Radio Peking. This document is a letter written by Mao to Chiang Ching and dated the 8th of July, 1966.

Mao writes to his wife: «After I left Hangchow, I lived ten days in a cave and now I am in Changsha (a place of white clouds and the yellow stork!). After these ten days without information, your letter was very interesting and full of new things... The leading organ of the Central Committee hastened to send me the recent materials for approval and I shall approve them. My friend (the reference is to Lin Piao) has delivered a report about 'the coup d'etat' and has made an analysis of this problem which no one else has made up to date. Some of his ideas made me think deeply and worried me. It had never occurred to me that my books would have such a miracle-working power, therefore spontaneously I am reminded of the sayings, 'What is greatly stretched is easily broken', 'The higher you rise the heavier you fall', 'The more a man's glory increases the more difficult it is for him to be worthy of it'.

«The circumstances compelled me to fulfil the request of certain people... This is the first time that I have agreed with others against my own desire, to act against my will. Now

I have the features of both the tiger and the monkey, but mostly those of the tiger. This is the main and most important thing. I instruct you not to become conceited from this fame, to be cautious, and listen to the advice of comrades... and Chen.» **(The reference is to Chen Po-ta, but when the Chinese comrades were asked by the foreigners who these comrades that Chiang Ching had to listen to were, they said: We do not know them!)** «Now I am the monkey who became king, because there is no tiger in the mountain. In our time when there are no heroes, I, an unimportant person, have been raised so high. I am a hero because there were no others. **You must not tell anybody all these things because they coincide with the evil sayings of the rightists. To the leftists they will be like a cold shower poured on their heads, while they will assist the rightists. The main thing now is the struggle to partly overthrow the rightists. The things I say do not suit the taste of the leftists and the masses. After we purge the rightists we shall have to do another purge, indeed several of them. Once in seven or eight years there is a shake-up in the world, and during these shake-ups the evil comes to the top. Perhaps, after my death these sayings of mine will become known and the rightists will use them for their own ends, but the leftists, too, will use other sayings of mine, organize themselves and defeat the rightists, etc.** The rightists will be defeated like Chiang Kai-shek.»

This letter of Mao's is astonishing for many reasons, bearing in mind the year in which it was written and the events taking place in China from that time.

First of all, Mao writes to his wife and displays openly that he trusts her alone, when he tells her that «she should not tell anyone of his thoughts». Chiang Ching is his only support. This is what emerges. He does not speak about the party at all, as if it does not exist. For Mao two currents exist: the rightists and the leftists who are fighting for power, while Mao is entirely isolated from the party, the masses and the comrades. Is this letter against his «friend» Lin Piao, who is carrying out

the Cultural Revolution? It seems to be so, because he attributes the allusions to the build-up of his personal cult to Lin Piao. However, when the rightists are defeated, Mao ensures that Lin Piao is appointed vice-chairman of the party under the Constitution, at a time when he had this same Lin Piao on his list for future purges of leftists. Double dealing!? **No reliance on the party, on the masses. Indeed he himself says in the letter that «the masses will not understand me», but who does he think will understand him? This is not apparent anywhere.** One thing is obvious, that in the future the rightists in China will rise and fall on the leftists, who will then organize themselves and purge the rightists, and so on continually, once every seven years.

Long live chaos and anarchy! Whoever is the stronger, let him take power. One time the monkey will become king, another time the tiger! A fine theory! What trust can sound cadres have in such theories? There is nothing but struggle for power by the two sides, the anti-Marxists and the Marxist-Leninists must submit to the beliefs of one or the other side!?

What must be the purpose of spreading this negative letter? There is no other purpose except that it is supposed to seem positive that Mao detected from the start that Lin Piao was a leftist and had no faith in him, but used him as the lesser evil, and then liquidated him.

With this he tells the others, «This is what will happen to you tomorrow, nothing is secure. The question of the two lines in the party is my theory, and I am the tiger who decides whether the sun will shine or the rain will fall on these two lines»! However, as we do not know the facts, we have to rely on imagination for any deductions about the Chinese affairs, therefore we must think of other versions, too.

We said above that this letter was written in July 1966, when the Cultural Revolution had begun, when the plot of the rightist group of Liu had been discovered and was being exposed, thus we must examine its content in the light of the events of that time. **Mao had been involved in this strug-**

gle and there is no reason why his reference to Lin Piao's report about the «coup d'etat» should be «interpreted» as irony on his part. Hence it was clear that the aim of the Cultural Revolution led by Mao was to fight to liquidate the coup d'etat of Liu Shao-chi, and that Lin Piao was pro this fight, hence, pro Mao.

In his letter Mao tells Chiang Ching: «Consult with the comrades...» The first name is not mentioned, but there is no doubt that it is the name of Lin Piao which has been removed and replaced by a row of dots. Why was it removed? This can be understood if we bear in mind the later events and the accusations against Lin Piao. The other name is Chen. Who is this Chen? When the Chinese comrades were asked about it they said they did not know. This is not true, they know but they will not admit it. Logic leads you to think that it refers to Chen Po-ta. The question may be asked: Why did they leave the name Chen (without Po-ta) and remove the name of Lin Piao? Why did they not leave or remove both of them? Precisely here lies the Chinese puzzle of the matter: they have exposed Chen Po-ta by name, but have not exposed Lin Piao yet. Or can it be that the question of Lin Piao is not cleared up yet? Or perhaps, although he has been exposed within China, the circumstances still remain obscure? («How did Lin Piao betray?! How did he clear out to Mongolia?! How did he want to kill Mao?! How was he pro-Soviet and anti-American?» etc., etc.)

In other words, studying the letter from the viewpoint of the time at which it was written,... (a name replaced by a row of dots) and «Chen» emerge as friends of Mao. **Chou En-lai does not appear anywhere, hence he did not figure among Mao's «trusted followers». Then, where did this figure, who was so important after Mao and Liu Shao-chi, stand?**

If we pursue this interpretation of the letter then the questions arise: **Why has this letter come to light now?! Who does this serve?! Does it serve the existing situation, or will**

some new situation, a new «upheaval», occur, as Mao preaches in the letter and prepares the terrain for it?

Many events have occurred, everything has been done in the name of Mao and at the turning-points Mao found the remedy. Liu acted «under the banner of Mao», Mao came out against him; the Cultural Revolution was carried out «under the banner of Mao», Mao came out against Lin Piao; Chou En-lai fights «under the banner of Mao», Mao approves Chou, however, this we shall watch. At present he is silent more than he speaks, brings out a letter and a Teng Hsiao-ping from some hole.

SATURDAY
MAY 26, 1973

THE WEST WIND IS BLOWING IN CHINA

Prior to the Paris Conference, at which the agreement on the «establishment of peace in Vietnam» was signed, China had announced that its Foreign Minister, Chih Peng-fei, would make visits to various countries of the world and had even set the dates for this. At the head of the list, before all the other states which the Chinese minister was to visit, came Albania, the «close ally of China». This was a correct and dignified decision.

The Paris Conference in which China was to participate, represented by Chih Peng-fei, took place, and the plan of visits was upset and postponed for latter. Fair enough!

Now it is announced that Chih Peng-fei's journey is to commence, but the itinerary is no longer the original one. There is no mention of when Albania is to be visited, let alone of its being visited first. It has been announced that in June Chih Peng-fei will go to London and from there to Paris, and later it is said that he will visit Rumania.

It is quite clear that the West wind and not the East wind is blowing in China!

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 27, 1973

THE BANKER ROCKEFELLER IS WELCOMED WITH BANQUETS IN CHINA

In a communique the Chinese announced to the world that they had exploded an atomic bomb. This is a good thing and a worthy reply to the Soviet-American declaration about «atomic war». But we shall see what will happen later.

It is said that Kissinger is to go to Peking in autumn, Chou En-lai is to go to the United States of America, and Nixon is to go to China again in 1974. Meanwhile from Peking, Hsinhua reports: The famous American banker, Rockefeller, is in China, where he is holding talks and being welcomed with banquets, while Chiang Ching is busy with the American swimmers and other sportsmen through whom she sends greetings to Nixon and his wife.

Where are they heading?!!

SATURDAY
JUNE 30, 1973

THE PEOPLES WILL NOT FORGIVE CHINA FOR THESE DANGEROUS STANDS

Brezhnev went to and returned from the United States of America. His talks with Nixon were very cordial and spectacular. The whole world is cackling about it: The Soviet cowboy even met the «stars of Hollywood», the cowboys of California, embraced and kissed the cowboy actor who plays the role of the «bandit». Very significant! And just as significant was Brezhnev's appearance on American television, wearing a jacket sporting the American eagle, which Nixon presented to him! Brezhnev changed his shirt, changed his Soviet jacket for an American jacket. These things have only one meaning: he sold out to American imperialism. The American multimillionaires with whom Brezhnev held a long and cordial talk, were very pleased and described Brezhnev as a «real American», who «ran the meeting just like an American». Why mention at all the rest of his buffoonery, which created a sensation in the whole world and lowered the prestige of the Soviet Union to rock-bottom.

The clown followed the clown: Khrushchev arranged the «betrothal» and went for the «honeymoon» to the United States, while Brezhnev went there, to Camp David and California, to complete the «marriage» between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, to consumate the «marriage» between him and Nixon. As his dowry Brezhnev took to Nixon the wealth of the Soviet Union, the land, political freedom, sover-

eignty and prestige of the Soviet Union, in return for a handful of dollars.

Our views about these problems have been expressed in the theses which I gave for the articles which came out in «Zëri i popullit», but the more deeply you go into these matters and however much you write about them, it is never too much. These are problems of world importance, about which dangerous intrigues of an international character are being concocted.

It is a great mistake to fail to make an open assessment, publicly in the press, of the agreements reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, which are now known world-wide. This is a mistake being made by the Chinese, who are content simply to express their opinion to our comrades in Peking and no doubt to others, too, in the corridors. The Chinese are not maintaining any open official stand over the meeting between Brezhnev and Nixon and what they achieved and agreed upon. Although it has its own importance, the explosion of an atomic bomb by China is by no means sufficient on its own. But the Chinese think that this is enough to explain everything and to foil the fiendish Soviet-American plans.

The Chinese silence is not in order but very significant. It shows that China does not want to speak. Why? Because if it speaks it must expose the two «bandits», as the Chinese comrades describe them in the corridors. In order to avoid exposing the one with which it is on its «honeymoon», China does not expose the other, and assumes an olympian pose, implying: «I am saying nothing, but I think and work in silence». «Brilliant method!», but one which doesn't go down, because no one likes it, approves it, or trusts it. Your head may be full of all sorts of fine things or rubbish, but people have learned to judge from deeds and not from appearances.

You, China, are a great country, but you are not speaking out even at the crucial moments when all countries, all the peoples, are very concerned about the great international plot

which the two imperialist powers — the Soviet Union and the United States of America, are concocting.

To say that the Soviet Union and the United States «concluded nothing between them», either means that you fail to see, and this is great political shortsightedness, or means that you understand, remain silent and fail to speak out because you have ulterior aims.

The two big imperialist gangsters reached agreement *«urbi et orbi»* on important problems between themselves and on international problems. These agreements have been signed and announced openly, but there are also secret agreements which have not been announced, about which nothing is being said, but which can be inferred from what has been written in order to conceal something. The two of them can keep nothing secret, not because they will come out to proclaim these things loudly on the radio and the television, but the world will learn of them when they are put into practice, because those secret decisions have been taken for action at the expense of other peoples. «There are contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America,» say the Chinese. Of course there are and will be, but these agreements which have been achieved between them are intended to soften the contradictions. In connection with these agreements, one day the saw will strike a nail, therefore the nails must be driven home to ensure that the saw strikes them.

It is a fact that the United States of America emerged the winner from this encounter. It ensured new major colonial markets there where it could never have dared to hope for this — in the Soviet Union. Once the United States of America was in a hostile position with the Soviet Union, almost at war with it, because the Soviet Union was a socialist country, a sworn enemy of capitalism and imperialism. However, with the coming to power of the Soviet revisionists, the situation changed and everything was bound to come to the point that has been reached. The great and powerful state of proletarians was changed into a capitalist state, a social-imperialist state, ready to

reach agreement with another imperialist state. There was no doubt that the agreements reached would not be on the basis of equality. The United States of America was superior to the Soviet Union in its economy, technology, industry, agriculture, and from the military angle. The Soviet revisionists allowed their country to fall behind. In its switch over to capitalism, the Soviet Union suffered all kinds of defeats, and this humbled it, made it strike its flag and seek the aid of the United States of America to prop up its house, which was in danger of collapse.

Regardless of the fact that he was the representative of a great country, Brezhnev went to Washington personally and begged so abjectly that he kowtowed to the American senators and rendered a detailed account to them over the Soviet Jews, about citizens of his state: how many he has sent to Israel, how many others are to be sent, how many remain, and what is to be done with them. And what was the reason for this scandalous abasement? To seek dollars, and with these dollars, which are dripping with blood, to buy advanced American technology, and at the same time, to find a market to sell the wealth of the Soviet people to the American multimillionaires. This matter is clear and requires no comment. The «wiseacres» will say: «This is a tactic of the Soviet Union to overtake the United States of America.» Can it be that American imperialism has come on the market to mortgage its own strength, to weaken itself, and to strengthen its adversaries?! Or «the clever but silent politicians» pose as if they understand everything, and do not fail to say openly and publicly: «The Soviet revisionists are more dangerous than the American imperialists».

Why is it necessary to discuss who is the more dangerous, when the two are equally savage enemies of the peoples, of their freedom, independence, and sovereignty?! To present the problem as these unprincipled and bankrupt politicians do, means to line up on the side of the «weaker», and for them the weaker is the United States of America. It will exploit the Soviet Union, will draw fabulous profits from it, which will serve to strengthen its world empire. Besides this, the

introduction of American capital into the Soviet Union will cause even the smallest remnants of the victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution to be eliminated very quickly, will bring about the dismantling of the Soviet Union as a union of republics. This is the objective of American imperialism: to destroy the Soviet Union as a dangerous rival capitalist power.

The «wiseacres» will say: «This will be difficult to achieve». On the contrary, this is easily achieved when you come off the rails of Marxism-Leninism. Revisionism contains within itself the whipping up of nationalist sentiments, and the United States of America will vigorously fan this flame. The «wiseacres» say: «This cannot be achieved». But what do the facts show? Khrushchev came to power, but what did he bring about and what was done in the Soviet Union? Khrushchev fell, the Brezhnevs came to power, but where are things leading to in the Soviet Union? To the sell-out to the United States of America. Tomorrow, those who succeed the present leaders will destroy the Soviet Union even as a state. Whether the revisionists like it or not, that is where their road leads, the aid from and alliance with the United States of America are intended to achieve the objective of «divide and rule», because it is absurd to think that imperialism will assist you to grow strong and dig its grave.

The agreements which were signed between the United States of America and the Soviet Union ensured the development of this process, but both the one and the other, each maintains its own reservations and aims, which they dare not admit to each other, but which are known to both of them because they understand each other. In order to develop this process they had to sign a «sensational» agreement about the «banning of war between them». Though uncertain about its effectiveness, the United States and the Soviet Union extended this agreement at its formulation. They made themselves the gendarmes of the world, decided and stated openly that they would intervene anywhere if their interests were threatened, at any time or place that «peace is endangered», according to the terminology which they use.

The development of this process initiated by the United States of America and the Soviet Union shows that this is a normal, classical imperialist process. The results of this process do not affect these two countries alone, but will be felt throughout the world. These two superpowers want to dominate the world, want to exploit it, want to have it under their feet, under the whip of the lords of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Therefore they have divided their spheres of influence. These spheres are both defined and undefined. There are written alliances over these things, but there are unwritten alliances, too. In both the written and unwritten alliances the interests of these two overlords will collide. And the point of their secret agreement is that these collisions should not make a big bang, but that the two should reach agreement between themselves and especially to prevent the peoples, at whose expense these deals are being made, from rising in revolt. In this case they have laid down two courses: the first course, that the two bandits should agree over the spoils; the second course, in case the victim rises in revolt, they must smack him and say: «Hush!», «You are endangering the peace», meaning peace for the bandits, of course.

Here there is no mention of «disarmament», but of the maintenance of armaments, the preservation of the atomic monopoly. There is talk about the efforts to put everybody into the two separate spheres, that is, under the atomic umbrellas of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. China and France, which have the atomic bomb, are considered heretics, therefore the Americans and the Soviets, each have their eye on them to bring them to their knees, «to admit them to the club» in order to wring their necks.

In the light of the Soviet-American alliance, the treaties and agreements of all kinds entered into by the United States of America and the Soviet Union with their respective partners, have taken another significance, another course. Now the two big shots see everything simply from the angle of the alliance which they signed, and their partners in bilateral or

multilateral alliances are nothing but pawns in this game of chess.

Everything will serve the aims of this ill-famed alliance first of all. Their collaboration, mutual aid, trading agreements and other deals will change their meaning and direction. Since the spheres of influence have been divided, the Soviet Union thinks it has «ensured» its domination over its satellites. Even before this, it ordered them about with the whip over them, imposed a thousand restrictions and forms of economic blackmail, while from now on the screws will be tightened so much that the «allies» will be reduced to real slaves. The Soviet Union, which is selling its wealth and its soul to American imperialism, is not in a position to maintain its commitments towards its satellites, therefore it will try to drive them harder, to bind them hand and foot to its chariot, to drag them along with it. This is the outlook for Comecon, for their integration, with the Warsaw Treaty hanging over their heads. The fruits of the new Czarist empire will be used, administered, and divided with new criteria, inspired by a «new» ideology, hostile to the ideology of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Meanwhile, American imperialism has its own set course. It has long had its partners tight in its grip. Its task is to get them even more firmly by the throat, to have them submissive and obedient.

The great world crisis which has broken out, has a stranglehold on the United States of America and the Soviet Union together with their satellites. The crisis gave birth to this alliance, which is intended to get them out of their difficulties, that is, from the grip of the revolution. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have jointly decided to suppress the revolution, uprisings, and national liberation wars, to unite in their aims and, if the occasion and the need arises, to suppress even their capitalist-revisionist partners. For this reason the agreements signed in Washington and California have aroused the anger, indignation, suspicions and resistance of all the peoples, in all states of the world, regardless of their political colour.

Some openly, some in undertones, all are saying, «The United States — Soviet Union alliance is to our detriment».

In this tangle which has been created, although the United States of America and the Soviet Union are the strongest, they feel themselves isolated and completely surrounded by a powerful spirit of anger. They have planned «to clear up» this situation with demagogy, threats and blackmail. They know that this alliance cannot last long, if each separately and both jointly do not put their own houses and alliances in order, that is, discourage and intimidate the stubborn and favour their obedient partners. Corruption through the ruble and the dollar will be on the order of the day, along with demagogy, intrigues and arms to keep the cliques in power and to bring in new ones when their power is endangered. «The status quo and peace» will be the motto for both of them.

Certainly it won't be all smooth-going for the two aggressive superpowers. They will encounter reaction and resistance to their fiendish plans and activities. This resistance is already appearing all over the world. With the exception of our socialist country, the European states, all the capitalist revisionist states, are included in blocs. Even those states like Yugoslavia, which pose as non-aligned, are within these wasps' nests. Hence all these states and these cliques have pricked up their ears. They are taking part in the dance, but internally, opposition to the two superpowers is seething.

Meetings are held in Helsinki and Vienna, speeches are made, but no one puts any trust in words, all of them look at one another with suspicion, because they know that their own hides are at stake there, that the views and interests of the two big powers which want «to placate» Europe, and to do so according to their own appetite for domination, predominate there. Here they encounter more or less differentiated opposition.

Even Bonn Germany, the most favoured state in this situation, sees its hegemony in Europe threatened by the two big

powers. It was able to benefit previously, when affairs between the United States of America and the Soviet Union had not been settled, while now it has two jealous and sly mothers-in-law, who will not allow the wayward bride to fatten as she pleases. The two mothers-in-law will each strive to win the bride's support, but both of them want to have her against insubordinate France.

France is more aware about the danger which threatens her from the two big partners, as well as from Bonn, which is gaining advantage from this situation. The French government is openly expressing its stand of opposition to the Soviet-American alliance as well as to the new Charter of the Atlantic Pact which puts the countries of Western Europe more completely under the yoke of the United States of America. Bourgeois France is trying and the current trend of its policy is obvious, to channel the dissatisfaction and fear which this alliance has aroused and, within alliances to concretize an opposition to the American-Soviet plans in Europe and the world.

Capitalist Europe, like France, is deep in debt to the United States of America, which has penetrated its economy deeply and maintains armed forces there. The capitalist countries of Europe are discontented with the United States of America but cannot exist without it, cannot do without American aid and the American army. They may grumble about the Americans but still they plead: «Please, America, don't go away, don't leave us alone face to face with the Russians!» Of course, they are afraid of Russia, but they are afraid of the revolution, of the uprising of their peoples, in particular. That is why the tendencies to revolt in the bourgeois policy of France go round and round in this vicious circle. The main aims of the two bandit chiefs are «to settle» Europe and to have their hands free to manoeuvre outside it, because they know that a lack of calm in Europe has consequences and incites troubles on other continents. The role of Europe in the world has not been eliminated.

Asia, Africa, South America and the Middle East are even more angry and disturbed about this situation which has been

created. It is clear that in the Middle East the two imperialist superpowers make the law, have defined their spheres of influence and work in accord on everything. The United States of America supports and arms Israel and has turned it into a pistol at the head of Egypt, Syria, the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in general. In these countries which we mentioned, the Soviet Union has become a supplier of arms, which it does not allow them to use without its permission and imposes a state of «neither war nor peace» on these peoples, while at the same time it is strengthening its dominant position as an undesired, false ally. Of course, the United States of America does not have only Israel in this zone. It also dominates Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the principalities of the Persian Gulf and Iran itself. Its oil empire is there. The Soviets are making approaches to Iraq in order to exploit it, and in agreement with the United States of America, are inciting the contradictions between Iraq and Iran so that the two big powers, each on its own account, can have them more thoroughly under control.

The Far East presents more complicated problems for them, but there, too, both of them aim to establish themselves more firmly, the one through threats, the other through smiles. Their strategy is aimed at China and Japan. The links of Japan with the United States of America are known. The Soviet Union is inviting it to share in the Siberian «cake». Without doubt Japan will participate. The Soviets' aim is to neutralize Japan and to prevent the rapprochement between China and Japan in order to encircle China. Japan has always taken account of this prospect, but has its own reservations, because it is afraid that, between these two biggest wolves, it might get eaten. Therefore, Japan, also, has its eyes on China, hence the three of them are looking in that direction.

The Soviet Union threatens China, exerts pressure either to achieve rapprochement or to push it towards the United States of America, which is smiling at it. And China adopted a strategy which we think is mistaken, to say the least of it: in fact it abandoned the struggle on two fronts, against the Soviets and

the United States of America, and adopted another policy: hostility with the Soviets and friendship with the Americans.

Why did China adopt this policy? «In order to exploit the Soviet-American contradictions,» it says. But what are these contradictions and how is China exploiting them? The voice of China has not been and is not being heard in Europe. In fact, China had publicly neglected Europe. Now it has begun to take an interest in it but Europe is complicated, like a Byzantine court, Machiavellian, and does not easily fall for Chinese tricks. China is keeping clear of the Middle East. In all the other countries of the world, China has only a potential weight, not a real weight. The two superpowers are manoeuvring everywhere. The peoples want to escape this grip, want the aid of China, its moral, political, economic and military aid, but China is not in a situation to give them the aid they need and as much as they need, because its positions in the international arena are not correct, they are wrong.

In this great crisis, on this agreement between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, instead of taking its position to divide the two, while fighting both of them and polarizing the dissatisfied around itself in this situation of fear of and anger against the Soviets and the Americans, China has opened its policy towards the United States of America. China's calculations are clearly wrong. With this policy it cannot win the trust of the peoples, does not increase the contradictions between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in this way, but assists and strengthens the United States, this ferocious and powerful imperialism.

China is pursuing such a wrong policy because it fears a Soviet attack! Will the United States of America defend it? Only a fool or a reactionary could imagine such a thing. What follows? You need aid and credits? So do the Soviets. Then you will follow the road of the Soviets, while being in struggle against them. This is not a policy in the Marxist-Leninist spirit. The Western capitalist states also pursued a policy like this after the Second World War. They relied on the United

States of America which financed them and gobbled them up. Fear of the Soviet Union at the time when the great Stalin was alive and running things, made the capitalist states of the world harness themselves to the American chariot. Now these states and countries are feeling the heavy burden of the chains with which the United States of America has bound them, and want to break them.

China is seeking to try the same experience, and for this there is a very appropriate saying of our people: «I'll sleep with the miller to spite my mother-in-law». Hence China, being afraid of the Soviet revisionists, wants to join the Americans. Should it do such a thing? No, because not only is this not Marxist-Leninist, but it is a fatal mistake. China ought to resist the two superpowers to the end and gather around itself the dissatisfied peoples and nations, which are not few, but are a colossal force. The strength of the peoples aroused in revolution and in struggle with the two superpowers is invincible. These are the contradictions which China should be exploiting first, and it should not go hunting for hypothetical contradictions, not follow those tracks Which lead to political enslavement, but should march on the revolutionary road, difficult but revolutionary.

We need go no further but take up the question of France. Gaullist France, the France of Pompidou, has had and has cool relations with the United States of America. In the present situation, it is afraid of both the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as of Bonn, at which these two big powers are smiling. France feels itself in danger and is seeking to resist this great pressure. It is quite obvious that it is trying to put a spoke in the wheel of the European plans of the two hegemonic superpowers. It is trying to create a resistance group with the other European states, but this is difficult to achieve. France is also seeking support outside Europe. It has turned its eyes to China. We know that Chih Peng-fei met Pompidou, and told him: «Beware and be vigilant against the Soviet Union!». Did French capitalism need to wait for Chih Peng-fei to tell it to be vigilant against the Soviet Union?!

Friendship with China is of interest to France, of course, in order to direct it against the Soviet Union. Here France's aims conform with those of the United States of America; at the same time this eases the pressure of the Soviet Union on France. It has differences with the United States of America, but will never quite break its links with it, because it wants it as the gendarme against Teutonic revanchism and a Soviet attack. Meanwhile France wants to open relations with China, wants markets in order to escape the crisis and the economic pressures which are exerted on it and which will be increased to make it submit.

What will China do? We shall see. Will its smiling at France serve the revolution or will it serve to get a capitalist state, which is also seeking hegemony in Europe, out of its difficult position? Of course, France also takes account of China's friendship with the United States of America, but this does not worry it much. It is reckoning on and likes China's hostility towards the Soviet Union. In other words: China is to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

In our opinion, the position which China has taken, the course which it is following in its foreign policy is neither right nor revolutionary. It is allowing moments very favourable to the revolution to go by, moments of a grave major crisis for American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The peoples and the Marxist-Leninists will not forgive China for these very dangerous, very negative and harmful stands.

DURRËS, FRIDAY
JULY 13, 1973

A FORMAL DELEGATION

In Durrës I received the delegation of the Chinese army which had come on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of our People's Army. It leaves tomorrow.

I asked the leader of the delegation how he had enjoyed his trip around Albania, although it was short and by aircraft, and what impressions our army and the people, with whom he had contact, had made on him. Of course, he told me nothing, just a few well-known formulas used by every Chinese whom we have met. It is difficult to talk with such members of delegations, because you get no response, get no answer to what you ask. All your ideas, all the conversation you try to make, run into an impenetrable wall (apparently), because you do not see any reaction, any reasonable reply, apart from tasteless, stereotyped platitudes.

This is what I experienced with the leader of this Chinese delegation. I began to speak about economic questions in order to come round to other problems of the army and policy. I noticed that while I was speaking, the leader of the delegation was staring at the ceiling, at the pictures and the walls. Then I used another tactic to stir him up: in the middle of the talk I stopped and asked what he thought, how China judged this or that problem. Several times I stressed: «We are happy when top-ranking delegations come, because we can exchange opinions on capital problems of interest to the two sides». But Shu Yu never budged from his muteness.

Nevertheless, I expressed my opinions on many questions

and the members of the Chinese delegation took notes. At least, let those who will read these notes draw the conclusion, if they like, that the sending of such formal delegations without individuality (judging from their silence) has no value. Even what they were to write in the book of impressions at the museums which they were to visit in our country, they had brought from Peking carefully numbered. This cannot be stomached!

When I finished my remarks, the leader of the Chinese delegation began to speak in platitudes. He said that this summer they would hold the congress of their party and that they had decided not to invite representatives from the fraternal parties. I replied that this was their affair, but we regretted not taking part in the congress of their party, at which Mao would certainly speak. No reaction at all. Then he spoke about the «great victory» of the Vietnamese people, and so on. In the middle of his talk I said that this was not a great victory, since Thieu was still in Saigon and powerful, etc. No impression, no reaction, or to put it better, with his attitude he implied, «I have come to express our formulas and nothing more». He did not say a word about Cambodia, I spoke about it.

In the end he issued the «sledge-hammer slogan» which, according to them, «justifies» their opening up towards the USA, that the Soviet Union is more dangerous but is not recognized as such by the others. I said that this is not very well-based, because now, everybody in the world knows what the Soviet Union is, that it has exposed itself with its own actions, and the Soviets are just as dangerous as the Americans. In other words he wanted to bring out that the Americans are less dangerous. After he had uttered these formulas, the Chinese kept looking at his watch in order to get away as quickly as possible, because he was afraid the conversation might be drawn out, but I kept him and talked in a friendly way *«à bâtons rompus»* (jumping from one theme to the other) until finally I let him go and farewelled him with warm words, despite his mummy-like attitude.

DURRËS, SUNDAY
JULY 29, 1973

WHY DID THE CHINESE POSTPONE THE CALLING OF THEIR PARTY CONGRESS?

Our ambassador in Peking informs us that the Chinese comrades, in their usual way, let us know through interpreters, about important decisions which their leadership takes.

Six or seven days ago the Chinese interpreter to our press representative told him that there is nothing important to translate in «Renmin Ribao», because «the leaders are very busy and not giving receptions». To be very busy and not to give receptions does not mean to say that life is at a standstill in the country, but apparently the Chinese wanted to say that «the leaders are at a meeting».

Yesterday the Chinese interpreter repeated this refrain to our comrade who said: «Of course the leaders are very busy because they are preparing for the party congress». The interpreter replied: «No, the congress will not be held, because it has been postponed for later». Hence, as emerges from this manoeuvre of communicating things, the congress which was to be held, is not immediately imminent. Of course, it is difficult to know when it was left for. And why it was left for later, this, too, is not known for sure. Can we trust what interpreters tell us, even though the interpreters say nothing apart from what they are instructed to tell us?!

If the congress has been postponed, what are the reasons? This is an important question. It cannot be ruled out that there are technical reasons, but I do not believe so. If the congress of the party is postponed, this is certainly for political and

ideological reasons. Apparently the Chinese leaders have not agreed on major political-organizational problems and, in our opinion, there are not just one, but many such problems. The policy which the Communist Party of China is pursuing on many major problems, in our view, remains hanging and swinging from side to side like a pendulum. We must wait and see.

In regard to internal problems, of course, there are many of these and we know nothing apart from those which were left unresolved by **the Cultural Revolution and especially the «question of Lin Piao». This problem, as I have said in many earlier notes, is complicated and mysterious, but many party problems are linked with it: the problem of reorganizing the party and the mass organizations, the development on the right road of the economy, which Lin Piao had sabotaged, according to what the Chinese say, as well as the question of cadres.**

The question of cadres must be complicated, because their ideological views have an influence in this direction and because in all that disorder Marxist-Leninists are milling around with Liu Shao-chi men, people with the same ideas as Lin Piao, and finally with supporters of the line of Chou En-lai, etc. All these advertise themselves as followers of the line of Mao Tsetung, some have been «newly corrected», some have been «rehabilitated», and some others «are being educated». Understand what is being done if you can, and at a time when the party «was being reorganized».

But who reorganized the party? On what principles and what criteria was this reorganization carried out? And those who reorganized it, were they up to this great task and in a position to be guided in this work by rigorous Marxist-Leninits principles? All these internal problems cannot fail to burst out now in the work for the preparation of the party congress. Unless it has been decided that every congress must lead to such disturbances and unclarity, correct solutions must be found to these problems. But the Chinese leadership might have decided

in such a way, because in the letter which Mao wrote to Chiang Ching, speaking about the Liu Shao-chi group, he told her that they would purge them, then they would purge the others, and later, others again, and so on in turn. Of course, it depends on what they mean by a purge in China and how it is carried out, who is purged and who is left, and after this process, who is re-admitted to the party from amongst those «purged».

For us there are many problems in the foreign policy of China which are obscure and which, of course, must be analysed and defined in the report to the congress of their party. But perhaps these problems which are obscure to us, and the wrong stands of the Chinese comrades towards them, may appear to the Chinese comrades to be completely solved, and moreover «solved correctly». In our opinion the Sino-American relations began on a wrong road and continue to develop on a wrong road. What is occurring and what is being done with the Americans? Two whole years have gone by and nothing is being whispered. Kissinger comes and goes mysteriously to China, makes contact with Chou En-lai, and they hold tête-a-tête talks with each other. Nixon came and went, many delegations of American senators, bankers, scientists, tourists, football players, artists, and spies of every type come and go to China. What do all these do?! What do they say?! What results from all this traffic?! Not a word is being whispered! Only Chou En-lai and those close to him know all about this. And Nixon, too, of course. The world knows only that these people go to China, are welcomed with banquets and then leave. A nasty great mystery which lays the Chinese open to suspicion and condemnation. Everyone has the right to ask: «What is being hatched up behind the back of mankind?» When Brezhnev meets Nixon, of course, they take secret decisions, but some of them at least are published. The Chinese publish nothing. What did this mysterious policy bring the Chinese? No good among public opinion, only great harm. The world thinks: What is this China?! What is it up to?! What line is it following, what are its aims?!

Will the Chinese comrades explain this line and these

results to the congress of their party? We can rack our brains in vain at a time when it is very easy for the Chinese «to settle» this matter: either to present it to the congress as a flower-garden, or to tell it nothing. Such a solution may seem surprising, but this is nothing to wonder at with the Chinese comrades, because they can say both to the congress and to the world: «We do not have to declare anything today, tomorrow you will see what you will see. You should trust us, because we are never wrong, never deviate, leave us in peace to work in secrecy because something will emerge from the darkness so brilliant that it will dazzle the world»!

The Chinese will receive Kissinger before the congress. He has stated that he will talk about many things (mysterious, of course) with the Chinese and also about the problem of Cambodia. At this time, when the American Kissinger makes such a statement, Sihanouk gets up and goes to Korea, certainly as a sign of protest. And he does very well because, while Cambodia is being bombed by the Americans, China is holding secret talks with the United States of America! How will they tell the congress these things? How will they explain the «great peace in Vietnam» to the congress, when, on the other hand, they say that Le Duan is a revisionist, a loyal ally of the Soviet Union and a secret collaborator at present, but tomorrow an open ally, of the Americans and the westerners who will give him credits?

Will they tell the congress all these things?! Could it be that these problems and many others like these have become obstacles so that they have postponed the congress? Perhaps yes, perhaps no! Let us wait and see!

Behar Shtylla is to go as ambassador to China. He is getting ready at present. Their agreement will be sought, and if the Chinese postpone the congress, he can leave immediately.

DURRËS, WEDNESDAY
AUGUST 1, 1973

THE CHINESE HAVE COOLED OFF THEIR POLITICAL CONTACTS WITH US. WE MUST TRY TO BREAK THE ICE

I expressed the opinion to Mehmet that the time has come, perhaps in March or April next year (this we must look at and decide), for a delegation with him at the head to go on a friendly visit to China. All these events have taken place in China, «the Cultural Revolution is over», «Lin Piao has been liquidated», China has opened its doors to the United States of America with its policy. Since that time the Chinese have cooled off their political contacts with us. They are doing nothing, making not the slightest effort to exchange opinions with us on the many important international problems, although from our side, from me personally down to other cadres, we have not failed to express our opinions to them. The Chinese remain silent and indeed have reached the point that their press does not reflect any of our writings and does not even speak of the successes of our country. They have the representatives of their news agency in our country, who transmit only short daily news items.

Of course, this reflects their predisposition to carry an with their own policy; they were annoyed and certainly did not like the opinion we expressed in regard to Nixon's visit to China. But what came out of this meeting with the Americans, in the end? Nothing that we can see and they themselves are saying nothing. They are keeping everything secret. Our criticism was an internal one. In all this it was made clear and

distinct that we had changed nothing in our stand towards the United States of America, continued and will continue to struggle against it, while the Chinese softened their struggle. Perhaps they wanted us to do the same as they, but this we did not do and are not doing, and we are on the right road. Nevertheless, despite the contradictions which exist between us on these problems, we must try to break the ice created through no fault of ours. This is in the interest of our country, China and the revolution.

Then it is necessary for us, through contact with the main Chinese comrades, to learn the reality about the internal situation in China, the reality about their party, about their policy and the economy; we need a clearer understanding of the policy of China towards the Soviet Union, the United States of America, etc. Likewise, we need to know what the Chinese think about the future development of the situation and events in the ranks of the communist and workers' movement of the world.

Of course, our delegation will go there after the congress of the Communist Party of China and the Assembly have met. By that time many things will have occurred, many questions will have been decided and our contacts can be more fruitful.

On this occasion, the delegation should also go to Korea, Vietnam and Pakistan. In this way we make contact with our friends, and this is good for us both internally and externally. Mehmet was in full agreement.

DURRËS, TUESDAY
AUGUST 21, 1973

THE TACTIC OF MANY LINES IN CHINA — A PRACTICE RAISED TO A PRINCIPLE

China's voice is still not heard in the international arena. Each state has its holiday periods but the Chinese holidays in international policy are going on for a long time, while the other big world powers are continuing their efforts and intrigues. The Soviet revisionists and their satellites attack China every day, accusing it of collaboration with American imperialism, of being anti-Marxist, and of splitting the so-called socialist camp. China is not replying to these attacks. The anti-Chinese propaganda of the Soviets is assuming more concrete forms and is expected to continue to do so. At the conference of the «non-aligned» held in Algiers, the Soviets are preparing to operate through Fidel Castro, whom they are supplying with at least a million and a half dollars a day. In recent months, the bearded Castro attacked both China and Albania, but without mentioning them by name. According to him, the Soviet Union is a genuine socialist country and part of the «third world». This gramaphone of the Soviets will put forward these theses in Algeria, too.

«The Soviets, members of the third world!!!» Why not! Chou En-lai has also proclaimed this thesis about China. Then, hurry up, who will be first to get into this «third world»! But who is left to get into the «second world»? Who takes part in the first? They can also create a fourth and a fifth so that no one knows where his place is! The purpose is how they can best disguise themselves.

In the face of this intensive anti-Chinese political activity China is silent. A Chinese ambassador tells one of our ambassadors, «We are also preparing a political offensive against the Soviets over the question of Sino-Soviet borders». How true is this? In any case it is deplorable.

Nixon and the United States of America are wallowing in a filthy scandal, in a grave crisis. The Soviets are helping Nixon out of the mire. **What are the Chinese doing? They are silent! The Chinese newspapers are saying nothing about what is going on in the United States of America. There they are proceeding with typical Chinese «delicacy», to avoid breaking the eggs which Chou, Kissinger and Nixon are hatching.** The Chinese newspapers publicize the comings and goings, the lunches and dinners which are put on in honour of American delegations to China.

Kissinger had announced that on the 15th of August he would go to Peking to «tidy up» Cambodia, but he did not go because Sihanouk whisked away to Korea in order to avoid discussing this problem with him. The plans were ruined.

The Chinese had told us officially that in August or the beginning of September they were going to hold the congress of their party and summon the National Assembly. Perhaps they will do so! But there is no sign of it. August is over and autumn is coming. Talk among diplomats says that the plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of China was held and did not reach agreement on holding the congress; «Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan are in opposition to Chou En-lai. The Congress has been postponed». The ambassador of China to Paris told our ambassador there that Pompidou is to go to Peking on the 11th of September. If this is the case, then it will be difficult for the congress to meet before the celebrations for the 1st of October.

The AFP reported last evening that in recent days Chou En-lai has had a meeting with Dutch parliamentarians and implied to them that he «puts the Soviet Union and the United States of America on an equal footing in regard to the danger

they pose». Who can you believe? Let us base ourselves on our desire that this is the case, but if there is a shred of truth in this, then something must have occurred in the mysterious meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China! One line must have got the better of the other, for a time! As it appears, the tactic of two lines, or many lines, in the Communist Party of China is a current practice and raised to a principle. Without doubt these different lines also have their leaders and their followers, who shelter under the banner of Mao Tsetung. **Mao Tsetung «gives half-hearted approval» to one of them and leaves it to «time to prove its correctness». If time does not confirm it, he turns to the other line, but «he leaves it to time to prove this», too. And so on in turn! At each about-face Mao pronounces a «phrase», a «quotation», and the Chinese world rotates about these, the people reflect and take the road: some take that of power, the others for a certain time, that of the «school for re-education». Lin Piao alone «committed suicide», because he had plotted. The others are rehabilitated and later come into the party and the state only to relinquish their posts to others again.**

But are these conclusions correct?! From the facts at our disposal, it is difficult to draw any other conclusions.

The Chinese comrades are maintaining a great silence, saying and writing nothing. One does not see any analysis of problems or situations being made, or obvious political activities which might lead to other conclusions. All the facts and data which we gather with care and which we analyse objectively in a very friendly spirit, do not allow us to come to any other clearer conclusion. Let us leave it to time to prove it, as Mao Tsetung does.

DURRËS, THURSDAY
AUGUST 23, 1973

CHINA SHOULD NOT NEGLECT EUROPE

We have always been of the opinion, and this we have expressed to Li Hsien-nien, that China ought to come out in the international arena with an active policy in order to strengthen its revolutionary positions in the world, to encourage the world proletariat in the struggle against capital, to assist the progressive peoples who are fighting to win and defend their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and to liberate themselves from the claws of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. We have told Li Hsien-nien that a merciless struggle must be waged against these two superpowers, without giving way on principles. We must deepen the contradictions between the two of them without taking the side of one or the other. The situations must always be analysed in connection with the circumstances created in the world, and such tactics must be used that do not come into opposition to our strategy, or combat it. Our great slogan, «Proletarians of all countries, unite!» must not remain a dead letter.

We also hinted to Li Hsien-nien that China is neglecting Europe and that this is a problem of great importance. The major interests of imperialists and social-imperialists collide in Europe. Here they have their main lair, from here they have gone about the colonizing of the world, the oppression of peoples; here they develop their theories and regionalize them throughout the world. By this, we told Li Hsien-nien, we do not mean our intensive struggle in the four quarters of the world to be forgotten. China ought to play a decisive role for

the revolution everywhere, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but it should in no way neglect Europe.

Now China has begun to interest itself in Europe, but not always following correct tactics. There is no need to repeat this matter which I have expressed in my earlier notes. Pompidou's going to China in early autumn this year shows that the Chinese are using a good tactic. France wants to make gains, but China gains, too, if these contacts are properly exploited.

Why is Pompidou going to Peking? In my opinion, serious contradictions, which have been inherited from the time of De Gaulle, exist between France and the United States of America. They seemed to have been reduced when Pompidou came to office, but they became acute again, because the United States of America wants to subjugate France economically, politically and militarily. The main partner of the United States of America is the Federal German Republic. Bonn is becoming dangerous to France, too, not only endangering its authority and economy, but also threatening it from the military angle. Hence for France, revanchist German imperialism is an additional permanent rival besides the United States of America. Whereas the Soviet Union has become a third great danger to France.

France sees that the two superpowers are reaching agreement to its detriment in particular, while Bonn is standing between them and gaining ground. Hence, the United States of America, the Federal German Republic and the Soviet Union are becoming a threat to France. France, for its part, wants to break and split this powerful bloc and now has chosen China to rely on. Therefore Pompidou is going to Peking. Of course, Pompidou will elaborate on the questions about which France has views in common with China, which may be: «The stand in opposition to the bilateral collaboration of the two superpowers to decide on international problems and their spheres of influence in the world; opposition to the deals of the two superpowers over the so-called reduction of armaments, which

has as its aim the monopoly and balance of armaments of the two superpowers and the disarmament of other countries; opposition to the interference of the two superpowers in the internal affairs of other countries, to their expansion over the seas and oceans, and so on.

China will certainly be in agreement over these matters, but we shall see how it will manoeuvre to make the most gains, because it sees things «with only one eye», it sees the Soviet Union with powerful binoculars and the United States of America and Bonn with weak ones. But in all this it must not forget the proletariat, the revolution and the peoples of Europe who are fighting against capital.

SUNDAY

SEPTEMBER 2, 1973

TELEGRAM OF CONGRATULATIONS ON THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The Chinese comrades have reported in the press and on the radio that they have held the 10th Congress of their party. Chou En-lai delivered the political report. A second report was delivered on the new constitution of the party, and the constitution was adopted.

Today, on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA and on my own behalf, I sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung a telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the 10th Congress.

SATURDAY
SEPTEMBER 8, 1973

THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China was held between the 24th and 28th of August 1973.

Two main reports were delivered: the first, which was the main one, was delivered by Chou En-lai, and the second one, on the constitution of the party, by Wang Hung-wen. The proceedings of the congress were held behind tightly closed doors, in great and, one might say, «exemplary» secrecy. The Chinese comrades justify this secrecy with the need to prevent the Soviet revisionists from sabotaging it(!). Well, that is their business. But the secrecy continued even after the congress. This occurred precisely at the time when our ambassador to Peking, Xhorxhi Robo, Candidate-Member of the CC of the PLA, was making his farewell visits because he was leaving this post. Although he asked, the Chinese comrades did not even tell him that the congress had met and would be announced. Still, this is of no importance.

The 10th Congress approved the line and overall activity of the Cultural Revolution and the line of the 9th Congress. Now they have defined the Cultural Revolution more correctly, as a revolution of a political and ideological character. We defined this revolution in this way, when unclear and frequently incorrect definitions were given in China.

The congress implied that mistakes were made during the Cultural Revolution. We have seen such mistakes, have discussed them with one another, have criticized them in the close

circle of our leadership and have been justifiably astounded about how such anti-Marxist mistakes were permitted. To the extent we could judge from the press reports, because the Chinese gave us no information, since they considered these problems internal matters, I believe we have not been wrong in essence in our assessment of matters. Of course, we are still unable to judge these problems in the necessary depth because up till now no thorough analysis has been made by the Chinese themselves of the Cultural Revolution, the ideas, trends and tendencies which were expressed and confronted one another up to the point of armed clashes, during the carrying out of this revolution. The Chinese may have made such an analysis internally, but there is no public analysis, and apart from the condemnation and the reasons for the condemnation of the groups of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta, we know nothing else.

The 9th Congress is approved en bloc, and it is said that at this congress Lin Piao made no contribution «apart from reluctantly reading» the political report, because it had been written by other comrades under the leadership of Mao, while the report prepared by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected(!).

The 10th Congress condemns the «criminal anti-party» activity, etc., of Lin Piao and his group. He is described as an agent of the Soviet revisionists, and one who plotted to murder Mao. This group and its hostile activity «have been completely eliminated everywhere with success. This group had committed great sabotage». The Congress «fully and unanimously approved the correct Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao» and stressed: «the struggle for the exposure of the treacherous figure of Lin Piao must be continued», and «we must draw lessons from the negative example».

It seems to us that the 10th Congress speaks clearly about the foreign policy and the tasks of the Communist Party of China and correctly defines the great danger of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, «the struggle against the two», which want to bite

China and dominate the world and the peoples»; lays down that «proletarian internationalism must be strengthened and defended, unity with the proletariat, the peoples and the oppressed nations must be strengthened», etc. What is fine and contrary to certain former manifestations is that the 10th Congress stresses, «We must unite with all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations throughout the world and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end».

Our Party has been beside the Communist Party of China, defended it both in good times and in stormy ones. But our Party has criticized it, likewise in the Marxist-Leninist way, whenever it has considered that certain matters were not right. It has made these criticisms and expressed these opinions at the proper time and within the accepted norms.

SUNDAY
SEPTEMBER 30, 1973

AT THE RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO TIRANA

Last evening, at the reception which was given at the Chinese Embassy, after I had warmly congratulated the ambassador on the congress and on his re-election as a candidate-member of the Central Committee, he informed us about the preparation and proceedings of the congress, as well as about the enthusiasm that this event has created in China. Everything that he told us was known to us, because it was reported in the Chinese press and radio. The ambassador gave us a paraphrase of Chou En-lai's report.

He did not give me any concrete answer to the questions I asked in connection with Pompidou's visit, but after I had spoken about how we judged the present standpoints of French policy, he took the cue from me and fully approved our views.

We asked him about the future of Cambodia. The Chinese ambassador displayed some reserve saying that the Cambodians still have to struggle, they need to temper themselves, to grow stronger, to liberate many other centres before they take Phnom Penh, that Lon Nol still has an army much bigger than that of the Front, that other forces are being infiltrated from Thailand, and the United States of America is continuing to assist Lon Nol, and others.

After I asked, he said, «The South Vietnamese allow the weapons which we (the Chinese) supply them, to go through to Cambodia».

1974

TUESDAY
APRIL 2, 1974

WHY ARE THE CHINESE AGAINST OUR BUILDING THE FIERZA HYDRO-POWER PLANT?!

Why is the Chinese leadership treating the question of the Fierza hydro-power plant, a major question for us, in a wrong and, we can even say, hostile way? As the Chinese experts have presented the problem, they are telling us openly that we should abandon the building of this hydro-power plant. But why? Can it be «a question of lack of geological studies»?! This is not true! These studies have been done, and have been found complete even by them, and we have signed joint documents on them. What then?!!

Could this be a hostile act of certain Chinese experts who have reported the matter wrongly to their leadership which has reached the point of saying to them: «You are right, we must avoid a possible catastrophe»? This thesis is possibly correct, because this same Chinese deputy-minister of energy, at one time defended the thesis that the «Vau i Dejës hydro-power plant would be a catastrophe». We opposed this, and the power plant was built. Chou En-lai declared that the Chinese experts were wrong, while the Albanian experts were correct. The Vau i Dejës hydro-power plant is sound and well.

Let us hope that this is what will occur with the Fierza hydro-power plant, too. We shall see how the exposition, which Rahman Hanku (**1**) will make to the Chinese minister of energy, is received. If they persist in their mistaken view, here too, we will knock at doors higher up until our just cause triumphs.

1 Minister of construction.

Rahman Hanku reports to us from Peking that the leaders of the Chinese experts for the Fierza hydro-power plant informed Petrit Radovicka (**1**) that «the Chinese experts are not retreating from their standpoint». In other words, this means that the hydro-power plant should not be built. **Radovicka replied that our experts are not retreating either, because we are right.** Rahman will seek a meeting with the respective Chinese minister and present the question to him according to the instructions we have given him.

1 Leader of the Fierza hydro-power plant design group.

WEDNESDAY
APRIL 10, 1974

THE «STORM» OVER FIERZA ENDED IN DISGRACE FOR THE CHINESE

The «storm» which the Chinese comrades raised over the Fierza hydro-power plant turned out to be just «a storm in a tea cup». The whole problem was to create a situation in which to say to us: «You take responsibility for the design of the hydro-power plant, and we shall assist you with everything as before». The Chinese were afraid of the responsibility. We told them that we agreed, we assumed responsibility, and with this the roadblock was removed. However, I think that the Chinese experts have been influenced (we don't know how) by the Yugoslavs who have raised the same problems and in the same form and with the same content with our comrades in connection with the Fierza hydro-power plant. Of course, it would be of great advantage to the Titoites if the building of the hydro-power plant were blocked, because such a thing would cause political difficulties between China and us, as we would be damaged economically. But everything has been settled. They have signed the official document; the Chinese admitted to their shame that they are afraid of the responsibility. What can't they stomach!!

FRIDAY
MAY 24, 1974

TENG HSIAO-PING IS BEING GREATLY PUBLICIZED

The foreign news agencies are continually speaking about the «withdrawal» of Chou En-lai from management of the state and say that he is being replaced by Teng Hsiao-ping. On these occasions they indulge in a great deal of speculation, alleging that he «was defeated because of his pro-American policy», and «because of his liberalism and opportunism in line», etc. The bourgeois-capitalist news agencies also say that dazibaos have gone up in some factories, describing Chou En-lai as a «lickspittle of foreigners», etc. Of course, the enemies of socialist China have always speculated over such things.

What is occurring in reality? As far as we know and from what the Chinese comrades have told us, the fact is that Chou is extremely tired from the great burden of work he has carried, especially at his advanced age. Likewise, it is a fact that he had monopolized the work in relations with the foreign world, that he did not allow any foreigners to leave China without meeting and talking with them, without welcoming and farewelling them at the airport, putting on dinners and lunches for all visitors, from heads of state to American senators, scientists, journalists and table tennis players, in a word «every man and his wife». Not only was this overdone, but it was harmful to the prestige of China, therefore Li Hsien-nien, Teng Hsiao-ping and others have told us that a decision has been taken that Chou should rest and give up all these protocol matters. **They are implementing this and in reality Ten Hsiao-ping is replacing him in this direction.**

In a talk which he had with Behar, in connection with Chou's tiredness Li Hsien-nien also let out this phrase: **«When the cadres get old they also make ideological mistakes»!** Behar corrected him, saying: «When they get old they become weaker physically but not ideologically». Li Hsien-nien immediately corrected what he had said and agreed that Behar was right. What did he want to say with this?

The facts show that Teng Hsiao-ping is speaking more openly against the United States of America both at the UNO and elsewhere. According to the news agencies, the Chinese closed a club which the Americans had opened in Peking for the children of various diplomats, and likewise they asked that the marines guarding the American mission be replaced with civilians. As it appears, these things had been permitted earlier, at the time of the «honeymoon» with the United States of America. Now, following this «experience», there must be «disillusionment» with this line, and they have tightened up their line against the Americans. This pleases us. Perhaps this is a new change Which they are making with people returned to power, one of whom is Teng Hsiao-ping. But as far as we can judge at present, Chou has not been «dropped», as the Western news agencies say. In fact he is tired, but is still running things, only with new forms and methods. Perhaps they intend him for president of the Republic if they hold the meeting of the Assembly.

The fact is that they are greatly publicizing Teng Hsiao-ping and preparing a soft seat for him. Yesterday the Chinese ambassador, Liu, officially handed over to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs a big bunch of «publicity photographs» from Peking which show that Teng is «triumphing», that they receive and farewell him with great pomp when he is going to the UNO, show him welcoming statesmen, etc. Such a thing has not been done in this way for Chou, or even for Mao. With whoever he meets, the Chinese ambassador here never tires of talking about Teng and boosting him. This is a directive and is not done without a purpose. We shall see these things more clearly later.

SUNDAY
MAY 26, 1974

THE CHINESE AGAIN POSTPONE THE VISIT OF OUR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

Behar informs us that by means of Li Hsien-nien, the Chinese told him that they cannot receive the delegation of our Party and Government headed by Comrade Mehmet in the second half of this year, but are postponing its visit for the first half of 1975. Of course we accept this, but were we in their place, we would net do such a thing. We made this request nearly a year ago and they put it off for this year. We wanted the visit to be made in the first half of 1974, but the Chinese proposed the second half of 1974 because their calendar of receptions was heavily laden. This was quite possible and may have been normal, while this second postponement is not normal. What are the reasons? No reason holds good. Think what you like of it! Imagine a thousand reasons!

This is the substance of what Li Hsien-nien said: «You must understand, we have given your request special consideration and have seriously studied it, and next year, bearing in mind the internal and external situations, we will be more prepared to welcome your delegation. We shall satisfy you better next year. At present we are busy with the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius», etc.

These «excuses» are astounding. Are these excuses?! If there is something else, whether in the internal or external situations, they can tell us. We can suppose many things, but we had better wait and see.

Are they putting off the visit of our delegation because

they have contradictions with us?! We have and will have contradictions next year, too, but these contradictions have been internal ones and are no reason to hinder visits from our delegations. These contradictions which exist between us have not been made public, but the public has drawn its own conclusions, as for example from our stand against American imperialism. However, life shows that the Chinese have suffered disillusionment with the policy of open doors to the United States of America. After this new stand of the Chinese towards them, the Americans ought to have gradually weakened their links with Taiwan, on the contrary, however, they sent a new ambassador there, and moreover a former assistant secretary of state. Therefore in the analysis which the Chinese may make of the contradictions we have had with them, they must come to the conclusion (if they want to draw a conclusion) that we have been and are right. Therefore I think we cannot exclude the possibility that the Chinese comrades are postponing the visit of our delegation to China in order to avoid a confrontation with us, otherwise, they would have to make self-criticism to us.

We have also had arguments over technical matters of carrying out projects on credit, but they have been ironed out with comradely discussion. In the campaigns against the enemies of the party and state in China we have supported them. They themselves openly admit this. Therefore in these directions no reason can be found to explain this stand of the Chinese comrades.

Then must we imagine internal reasons? What could they be? Suppositions: «Chou En-lai is tired», «Chou En-lai is ill». He has been withdrawn. But to what extent has he been withdrawn and in What directions?! Is there any political problem connected with him? Will he continue to be premier or will he be replaced by Teng Hsiao-ping, who is being boosted? What will become of Chou? Perhaps he will become president of the Republic. In that case the National Assembly must be called together. Perhaps this may be the real reason. We shall see. Could they have told us this? That's what should have oc-

curred. However, they have been telling us for two or three years on end that the Assembly will be called together «this year, next year» but, it has not met yet. Perhaps they no longer want to tell us because this stand is not serious. Then, who knows what will emerge? It has always been like this. **There are some murky waters in their leadership. Confusion can be seen among the people who welcome and farewell their friends. Frequently one sees leaders who should not be there and does not see those who should be at these welcoming and farewelling ceremonies.**

FRIDAY
DECEMBER 13, 1974

CHINA IS NOT IMPLEMENTING THE POLICY OF INTERNATIONALIST AID BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A delegation of Chinese economists sent by the Chinese Government has come here to study, together with our people, the requests we have made for the coming five-year plan.

Today they reported to me on the speech which the leader of the Chinese delegation made after our people had presented to them the outlines of our requests for projects. **A. Këllezi seems to me rather optimistic, but I am not optimistic, and I shall say why. I told this also to Mehmet and Hysni and the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee, who must instruct our comrades engaged in this work to be careful and discuss matters with the Chinese in a comradely way, but to defend our views properly.**

What did the Chinese say that has a discordant sound to us? Apart from the usual formulas about our friendship, the commencement of his exposition was: «China is a big country, with a population of more than 800 million people, with great needs, and is a developing country. China is supplying aid to 80 states, and has many international commitments. Its greatest aid has been given and is being given to Korea, Vietnam and Albania. Albania has been accorded greater aid than both these other friendly countries, not to mention the others». This was the clear presentation of the problem.

He continued: **«In your current plan you have nearly 20 projects which you have started or have not started, and which,**

naturally, you must include in the future plan». This is the second criticism. He knows that work has not started on these 20 projects because the Chinese have not been able to supply us with the things necessary to commence and continue work on them.

The Chinese representative went on further: «You must supply us with full data so that we can judge on what and how well your demands are based,» and he brought out the views of Chou En-lai: the labour force, the countryside, the building capacity, and many other details.

After reading me the speech of the Chinese, A. Këllezi told me, «We shall supply them with all the detailed data». No, I answered, we must give them data, but it is not necessary to give them the details about everything.

I told Mehmet and the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee, and they agreed, that, «As I see it, the Chinese have two tendencies: **to take all the data about our economy, but not give us what we ask for, to raise many obstacles and give us little. Therefore, in these two directions our comrades must be very careful, must give them those data which are necessary and ensure that they fulfil all the obligations they have towards us, and not give a great deal and get little».**

It is true that we must supply the Chinese comrades who are going to accord us the credits, which we need to build a number of projects, with the data to support and justify our requests. It is their business also what possibilities they have to assist us. However, we made our requests clear to them, if not completely, the great bulk of them, in the government letter which we sent them. For their part, they could have spoken to us in a manner different from that in which they opened this conversation. Up till now, every time one of our people has gone to China, all the Chinese leaders have never failed to say, indeed on behalf of Mao, Chou En-lai, that, **«We have given Albania very little help and should help it more,» etc.**

We understand the needs of China, its extension in the

world, the aid which it is giving, but as Marxists and internationalists, we think that China should give less to bourgeois governments (we know what they do with these credits, who profits from them, whom these bourgeois governments are linked with and how they are bound up in capitalist and revisionist enslaving credits) and should not refuse us our reasonable requests. The Chinese should not forget the ideological, political and military position of our country. Therefore we hope that the Chinese comrades will solve this problem correctly, implementing the policy of internationalist aid between socialist countries.

SATURDAY
DECEMBER 14, 1974

THE CHINESE WANT TO FEEL OUR PULSE

The Chinese ambassador in Stockholm tells our ambassador that the Chinese are hesitating about taking part in the ceremony of awarding the Nobel Prize to the Soviet dissident Solzhenitsyn. But these were only words because the Chinese took part and no mistake. Of course, we did not take part, not because Solzhenitsyn is anti-Khrushchevite, but because he attacks Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and communism. We told the Chinese this, but to them it is enough that someone should be against the Soviets and immediately they say «amen». Thus they respect Solzhenitsyn regardless of the fact that he attacks Lenin and Stalin! Shame on them!

The Chinese ambassador in Belgrade also tells our ambassador there, informing him about Yu Chang's talks in Yugoslavia: «We Chinese have demanded of the Soviets that they make self-criticism about what happened at the Bucharest meeting and restore the borders with China to the status quo of the time of Khrushchev»! Why, is it only what happened at the Bucharest meeting which divides the Chinese from the Soviets?! Apparently the other things have no importance for them. But what happened at the Bucharest meeting was only the first symptom of Khrushchevism, the real filth came after the Bucharest meeting. That means, if the Soviet revisionists say that «Khrushchev acted hot-headedly in Bucharest», the Chinese are ready for reconciliation with them. Astounding! Why do the Soviets not do this?!

Are the Chinese comrades in their right mind, or are these

just words of their ambassadors? But it is hard to believe that the Chinese ambassadors would express such enormities without directives from above. They are trying to feel our pulse, but from the reply they receive they certainly see that our pulse is beating as always communist, revolutionary, and anti-revisionist.

MONDAY
DECEMBER 23, 1974

NO, CHINESE COMRADES, WITH THE YUGOSLAVS WE ARE NOT «LIKE THE TEETH WITH THE LIPS»

Yu Chang, Deputy-Foreign Minister of China, who was in our country for the celebration of the 30th anniversary of Liberation as a member of the delegation led by Yao Wen-yuan, went from here on a «friendly» visit to Belgrade. There he had meetings and «cordial» talks with officials right up to the prime minister.

When he returned to Peking, Yu Chang had a meeting with our ambassador, Comrade Behar, to whom he spoke about these talks. He told him that «the Yugoslavs see the world situation as complicated. The Soviets are exerting pressure on them», «the Soviets are organizing not only the supporters of the Cominform, but also the ustashi», «the Yugoslavs are resisting them», etc. In this direction the Yugoslavs filled the Chinese with tales and they were pleased about these Soviet-Yugoslav «deep contradictions». Then they spoke about the «third world», in which the Chinese take part, and the «non-aligned world», in which the Yugoslavs take part. As a conclusion, «the Yugoslavs were satisfied with our explanation, and now they understand the Chinese position on this problem properly»... Because they had not understood it before!!!

And in these talks, they did not fail to discuss the stand of Albania towards Yugoslavia, with the Chinese allegedly using our statements. The Titoites, for their part, did not fail to spread their «incense», saying that they «wished Albania well», that they wanted to live «in friendship», that their ports

were opened not only to Soviet ships but also to American ships, that those were economic questions, while from the military angle they were vigilant, etc., etc. **And «our friend» Yu Chang told Behar in conclusion that he had told the Yugoslavs that this was how the friendship should be between the Yugoslavs and the Albanians, because the two sides were «like the teeth with the lips».**

The «Chinese Pope» gave his blessing to the «Yugoslav-Albanian friendship» with a base revisionist Confucian parable. It is hard to know whether he said this from stupidity or because he was carried away in the «flood» of stereotyped formulas which they use, or because he wanted to tell the Yugoslavs: «We have a hand in this policy and approve it in as much as we consider you to be in such intimacy and close interaction with each other like the teeth with the lips.»

How asinine! What perfidy! This «biblical» figure of the Chinese means that, according to him we are at one with the Titoites in head, in heart and in body, that we follow the one policy and the one ideology! How can one call this foolishness? How can you call these things a slip of the tongue?! He not only said this to the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Biyedich who joyfully approved it and himself repeated this «gem», but also to our ambassador. Naturally, **we will never be in agreement with what he said and its implications, but will be opposed to it, because the Titoites are enemies, renegades, revisionists, agents of imperialists and revisionists.**

To hell with Yu Chang and the comrades who think like him in China. Apparently, revisionism has deep roots in China, and the great broom has not cleaned things up there as it should have done and where it should. Not only is rubbish stuck in the corners in China, but some of this rubbish has been elevated to high positions of trust and is acting openly. Who knows what else Yu Chang discussed with the Yugoslavs, but the fact is that he came away satisfied. Let him keep his satisfaction to himself, because it does not go down with us.

1975

WEDNESDAY
APRIL 23, 1975

THE CHINESE ARE DELAYING THE VISIT OF AN ALBANIAN DELEGATION TO CHINA

The Chinese comrades are still not giving the green light for the visit of our government economic delegation to Peking. Various directors of central government departments of China have told our comrades, «We shall welcome your delegation at the beginning of April, or by the 15th of April, or at the end of April». But all these dates have gone by. May is aproaching and they are giving us no word, at a time when delegations of every type, every nature, and every colour from other countries are going to China.

Why is this? «We are studying the materials», say the Chinese comrades, materials which were sent nearly a year ago, together with our requests. Two or three groups of main delegations from the PR of China have come here, allegedly to study the requests we have made, but in fact they studied the economic situation of our country with the aim of according the credit later, on the basis of their judgement. They lavished «praise» on us for our progress, for the major successes we have achieved, for our good economic situation, etc. They told us, «We benefited greatly from the rich experience of Albania».

It is all very well for them to praise us, but they are still not informing us when our delegation should set out. We are waiting for this, while they continue to tell us, «We are studying the materials»!

The ambassador of the PR of China to our country asked: «When will your delegation go? Li Chiang, China's Minister of

Trade, is waiting for it». Our comrades quite rightly replied to him: «When Peking tells us». When Li Chiang went for lunch to Behar, he poured out all the usual platitudes in praise of our country. After this praise he told him, «China has a big deficit, China does not have foreign currency, does not have pipes for oil, is still weak in industry, the world crisis has affected it, too, China is assisting the whole world, it will help the two Vietnams, will help Cambodia, will help... even Malta to prevent the penetration of Soviet influence there», etc.

The conclusion is clear: **«Albania must stand on its own feet». And Mr. Li Chiang tells us, as Mikoyan told us in the past: «Develop trade with the capitalist states, extend your relations with them».** The villain! The revisionist! Behar Shtylla gave him his answer. Before he left, Li Chiang asked: «When is your delegation coming?» Behar replied: «When you give permission».

In the stands of the Chinese towards us we see two tendencies. One is the political tendency. Wherever you go and whomever you meet in China, from the common people up to many of the cadres, both at the centre and in the provinces, especially in the enterprises and people's communes, they speak with sympathy, indeed with great affection for us, while in the upper spheres the stand is somewhat reserved, not to say cold. The other is the tendency in economic relations. In regard to economic matters, we cannot say that the Chinese have not helped us, but their aid has not come on time, and only after many arguments which we have had. In these arguments some Chinese leaders have expressed opinions which have not been reasonable. We already know that China is to accord and, in fact, is according aid to others, but to speak to us about the situation in China in the way Li Chiang did, to advise us like Mikoyan, that the visit of our government delegation with Comrade Adil Çarçani at the head, must be delayed and, even worse, to appear to have forgotten our request to send another government delegation with Comrade Mehmet at the head, such a stand is not friendly.

TUESDAY
JUNE 17, 1975

STRONG CHINESE ECONOMIC PRESSURE HAS BEGUN, BUT WE SHALL NEVER GIVE WAY

After the facade of the welcome, after the usual speeches with stereotyped formulae, Chou En-lai received Adil Çarçani and the other comrades of our government delegation for fifteen minutes at the hospital. He asked after our health, and as they were leaving, said: **«Tomorrow I am to have an operation, therefore I received you beforehand. I am having this operation to extend my life».** This could be the case but it could also be... «Farewell, don't ask to meet me again».

Today we received a radiogram from Adil which informs us about the talks which Li Hsien-nien, the head of the government delegation of the PR of China, held with him officially, following the presentation of problems by Adil.

The reply of the Chinese to our requests for credits and aid for the coming five-year period was despicable: the Chinese are according us only 25 per cent of the credits we sought, of which 50 per cent for projects and 50 per cent for materials. Military requirements are also included in these credits. This amount of aid is just enough to avoid saying we shall not accord you any.

The reasons the Chinese give for this are a mockery: **«We are a very poor country». However, five years ago, when they were a «very much poorer country» they accorded us a credit several times greater. The fact that they have still not supplied twenty of the thirty-five projects which are in the agreements concluded and these, of course, are left for the coming five-year plan, is another matter, but even the projects which we are building they are postponing beyond the current five-year plan.**

For five years on end, every Chinese official, from Chou

En-lai down, has said to us: «The aid which we are according you is very small, but in two years' time and in the coming five-year plan we shall accord you more, because we shall be in a better position». Today, however, according to Li Hsien-nien, it turns out that the situation in China is allegedly «worse», that China has allegedly become «a very poor country», and the words «we shall help you more» have been translated to ludicrous aid.

To us it is clear that this stand of the Chinese is not because they are «poor», on the contrary, their country has advanced greatly, but this is an action in opposition to the resolute Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party and state about their internal and foreign policy. The Chinese are not in agreement with our foreign policy, because we do not follow their political stands.

We do not accept that «American imperialism is less dangerous than Soviet social-imperialism», as the Chinese claim. We say, «Both of them are dangerous and must be combated sternly». The Chinese have declared that they are members of the «third world». We say that we are a socialist country and support the correct national, anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist policy of any people or state of the so-called third world, second world and whatever else they call themselves and put themselves into. Albania is a socialist country, is not confounded with any other and has an independent Marxist-Leninist policy. The Chinese support NATO, the European Common Market and «United Europe».

We are against such stands and do not consider them Marxist-Leninist. All these treaties and organisms are means in the hands of American imperialism and the other imperialist countries which use them to suppress the peoples and to launch a third world war for hegemony. The Warsaw Treaty, the «Socialist Community» and Comecon are the same. These two groups and communities must be fought with the greatest severity. In his time, Lenin exposed, condemned and fought hard against such organisms of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

The Chinese make a friend of any state, any person, whether

Trotskyite, Titoite, or a Chiang Kai-shek man, if he says, «I am against the Soviets». We are opposed to this principle. We know how to deepen the contradictions between the enemies of socialism, and we deepen them as much as we can, but first of all respect our principles. We always call a spade a spade.

It is clear that the Chinese do not like these and other stands of ours, because they tear down the Marxist-Leninist disguise they want to maintain, therefore they are exerting pressure on us. This pressure is economic, because politically and ideologically they have never made us yield and will never be able to make us yield. **This is the beginning of the powerful economic blockade which they are imposing on us. But they will fail in this direction, too. We shall never kowtow to anyone, either the Chinese or anyone else.**

It is clear that this stand from their side is part of a great imperialist-revisionist plot which has been hatched up against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania. This act of the Chinese cannot be considered separate from the great political, ideological, propaganda, economic and military pressure exerted on us by the United States of America, the Soviet Union and their satellites, including those states of the «third world», as the Chinese consider Yugoslavia and Rumania to be. **Their pressure is not imaginary, but took concrete form in the military and economic plot headed by Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume, Hito Çako, Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, Lipe Nashi, etc.** The aim of these traitors was the liquidation of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist leadership in order to turn socialist Albania into a revisionist country. The Soviets, the Yugoslavs, the Chinese and others dream of such an Albania. They are all in opposition to and struggle against the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party, therefore they have organized the plot with their agency within our country, have assisted and continue to assist this agency, even now that we have uncovered it and are liquidating it. With their acts, these states continue to incite this agency defeated by the blows we have dealt it, continue to encourage it, and think that with this activity they will weaken us,

exert economic pressure, etc., so that we will not impose harsh sentences on the traitors. This is the aim of the present economic blockade which the Chinese are imposing on us.

Agents of whom were the traitors we unmasked? This is not important. They were mainly agents of the Soviets and the Yugoslavs, but the Chinese, too, have a hand in this, because precisely at these moments when we are in difficulties, they are trying to increase our difficulties with their stand.

Can it be said that friends act in this way? No! How did we act when China was in great difficulties and isolated from everyone? We assisted it with all our strength, stood alone facing the great storm which struck China and fought together with it through to the end. **Not only were Beqir Balluku and his group old agents of the Soviets, but they were also linked with the Chinese. The inimical strategic plan that Beqir Balluku was preparing was drafted on the suggestion of Chou En-lai. Beqir, himself, told us: «Chou proposed this plan to me», while we rejected his proposal as hostile. Beqir Balluku worked secretly in the direction that Chou En-lai proposed to him, that is, for «retreat to the mountains» and for «alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania».** This sums up the whole Chinese revisionist strategy, and not only its military strategy, but also its political and ideological strategy. We rejected this hostile strategy, because it was in favour of NATO and the Soviets, as well as in favour of the Chinese. The aim of this strategy was to turn Albania into an arena of intrigues for the rapacious imperialist powers. Is not the Chinese plan very sinister? And how have the Chinese acted in recent years in their economic relations with us? The very least we could say is that they have not been at all correct.

It is true that the Chinese accorded us a good credit for the 5th Five-year Plan, but they are far from the fulfilment of all their obligations. Of a total of 35 projects which they were to supply to us, they gave us only ten or fifteen. A number of projects we have not even begun, and this for no fault of ours. Three major projects, the metallurgical complex in Elba-

san, the Fierza hydro-power plant and the deep oil processing plant at Ballsh, over which we had to wage a great struggle, we began with difficulty. Despite this, their completion has been postponed for one or two years beyond the time limit set by contract. This postponement, also, was for no fault of ours.

All these things occurred at that time when Beqir Balluku was organizing the military plot and Abdyl Këllezi and Koço Theodhosi were sabotaging the oil industry and the economy in general. Can we call this co-ordination in aims and in time fortuitous? But when we liquidated the traitors' military putsch, when we struck the blow at Abdyl Këllezi and company, didn't the Chinese show us their wolfish snarl? It is highly probable that, being the Yugoslavs' man, Abdyl Këllezi was the man of the Chinese at the same time. Hence, this turns out to be a very extensive plot with the participation of many enemy states which want to change the situation in Albania through violence.

I believe China has a hand in this plot, but which China? This is the hand of revisionist China, of the revisionist current which must be strong and in power.

We will certainly overcome this difficult situation successfully. We shall mobilize the colossal energies of the people and the Party, their ardent patriotism still more and will smash this blockade, too, as we have smashed all the others. We shall proceed with caution. It will not be we who will blow up the bridges of friendship with China. We shall express our opinions and our dissatisfaction openly and in a comradely way to the Chinese comrades, therefore we have prepared an official reply, which Adil will give them orally, on what we think about the extremely small aid which they accorded us. We shall tell them that we cannot understand this action without any basis and contrary to everything they have told us previously. We shall tell them that this stand on their part will damage us seriously, not only economically, but also politically.

The Chinese comrades must be made to understand that they are making a mistake, and that we understand what the source of this mistake is and what this stand of theirs is intended to achieve.

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 18, 1975

THE CHINESE ARE NOT SUPPLYING US WITH ALL THE INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS

We received a radiogram from Adil. The Chinese working group, headed by Fang Yi, communicated the industrial projects with which they will provide us. From the twenty we sought, ten have been cancelled, that is, they will give us ten. Of these ten with which they are leaving us, apart from one or two, the others are reduced in capacity from what we wanted. Of these ten which they removed from the list, the most important for our economy are the Koman hydro-power plant (they have given us the Bushat hydro-power plant which is a small one), the plant for the production of urea, and that for the production of soda, which is very profitable for us, because we shall have its products for export, too. Of course, we must first tell the Chinese what we think about the aid which they are according us and, if they do not budge, then we must demand that they give us these three main projects which I mentioned, and remove two or three of those which they have granted us and which we can do without. We shall wait until Friday for the next radiogram after today's, which will tell us about the remainder of our requests and the materials we have sought, and after we have studied them together, we shall send our final opinions and instructions to our delegation in Peking by the Chinese aircraft on Saturday.

Together with Mehmet, Hysni and Haki, we decided on which projects we must ask for within the limits of the credit which the Chinese allocated us. These projects are: the Koman

hydro-power plant (in place of that of Bushat), the complete urea plant for the production of fertilizers, the plant for the production of soda, as well as equipment for the mines, and explosives.

For the other variants, Adil has lists of what he should ask for. We authorized Mehmet to give him some supplementary instructions about these.

On the 20th of June, Adil will certainly send us a letter by the Chinese aircraft about the materials which they accord us.

We shall see what effect our statement will have, but we are not hopeful. Politically, they are not disposed to look at the problem in favour of socialist Albania.

SATURDAY
JUNE 21, 1975

CHINA IS GETTING CAUGHT UP IN THE POLITICAL GAME OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

China is showing itself in favour of and supports the European Common Market and «United Europe».

What is China's strategic aim and is it based on Marxist-Leninist principles? In order to determine this, we must define the aims of these organisms which China defends or supports.

When it was created, the European Common Market had as its aim the development of economic and commercial relations between its members, which were six at first, and then became nine. The aim of this institution was to enable the capitalist bourgeoisie of each member country to make the maximum profit, as well as to strengthen the capitalist economy of each separate state and all of them in general. Of course, together with the regulation of the problem of customs conventions, a series of other problems, such as prices, money, and bilateral and multilateral relations, were tidied up, too.

At first the European Common Market could not avoid taking account of the powerful American economy and took its steps allegedly separate from it, but, in fact, coordinated with the steps of American imperialism. Immediately after the Second World War, the latter contributed to the economic revival of Western Europe with the «aid» it provided, but at no time did it forget its own interests which were and became major ones. Hence, with the creation of the European Common Market, on the one hand, the efforts of American imperialism to dictate its economic and political policy to this institution con-

tinued, and on the other hand, the efforts of the members of the European Common Market to liberate themselves from American tutelage also continued. In this way, contradictions, which grew steadily deeper, arose between them.

The so-called cold war concealed these contradictions to some extent, because even though the members of the European Common Market began seriously to display their economic independence, from the angle of defence, they were obliged to live under the American atomic umbrella. Naturally, the United States of America knew how to exploit the feeling of fear of a war with the Soviets, which emerged in the countries of the European Common Market, to its own advantage.

The Khrushchevites' betrayal freed the capitalist bourgeoisie from their fear of the revolution and communism, **assisted world capital and gave it the possibility to draw breath. The Khrushchevite betrayal split the revolutionary forces of the whole world, put off the proletarian revolution, fostered nationalist manifestations and gave the capitalist bourgeoisie time and the possibility to strengthen its weak internal position at the expense of the proletarian revolution and to undertake other activities and enter new combinations among states in the international arena.** Filled with nationalist sentiments, the Khrushchevite social-imperialists aspired to turn the Soviet Union from a socialist state into an imperialist atomic superpower, and they worked until they achieved this aim. Thus two superpowers competing for world hegemony were created. **The law of both of them — the United States of America and the Soviet Union, is the law of the fight for plunder, the law of the enslavement of the peoples. This law is associated with the achievement of monstrous «alliances», with the capture, through disguised force, of strategic points to be used for the preparation of war, with their arming to the teeth, and the build-up of ever more modern atomic weapons, is accompanied with the plunder and the economic and political gobbling up of many states by means of intimidation, blackmail, credits and «aid», and subversion.**

In these ever changing situations, Western Europe took more courage. France under De Gaulle developed a policy more independent from the Americans and the Anglo-Saxons in general. De Gaulle left NATO, respecting only the treaty. Of course, De Gaulle, too, dreamt of a European Common Market and a «United Europe» in which, without neglecting Adenauer's Germany, France would dominate. De Gaulle was filled with a great nationalism, a thing which he sought from his other partners, but channelled to such a Europe as he dreamed of. Of course, De Gaulle's aims could not be achieved, because his partners had their own aims, ambitions, and fears. Not all these states conceived the role of the United States of America in Europe and in the world in the same way. West Germany, first of all, at present divided from the rest of the country, prefers to make certain concessions to the United States of America in other fields, without following the course of France of breaking away from the American defence. Germany and the other partners place little value on the «atomic strength» of France or of Britain, or indeed of Britain and France taken together. They consider this strength a «dwarf», compared with the Soviet or American nuclear strength.

All these imperialist powers, whether the two superpowers, «United Europe», or Japan, aspire to hegemony. Since the time that the grave crisis of the dollar began, and the American military defeats in Southeast Asia — in Vietnam, Cambodia and elsewhere, «United Europe» has began to restrengthen its internal political positions and to aspire more strongly, as a self-contained organism, to turn into a new capitalist and imperialist superpower. This, then, is the «United Europe» which the China of Mao Tsetung encourages and assists. The France of Pompidou and later of Giscard, also, encourages and assists this «United Europe». Not only is France trying to preserve and further develop its nuclear strength, but it has begun to revive its old colonialist policy more actively under the neo-colonialist cloak, in French-speaking Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. Its economic strength does not permit France to compete

with the others, but to the extent that it can, this is what it is doing. The stand of France towards the United States of America is no longer like that of De Gaulle and Pompidou. Now this stand is somewhat softer. Despite this, however, its independence is apparent. Britain, too, is continuing to strengthen its lost economic influence in the Commonwealth countries to some extent, while Bonn is intervening economically in Central Europe, in the Balkans (apart from Albania), in Turkey, and wherever it is able, around this region.

All these efforts of theirs may increase their joint economic potential which is a necessary factor in order to be a superpower. However, in order to become a superpower, this factor alone is not sufficient. This «United Europe» lacks the nuclear strength which the two superpowers have. **On the other hand, in this «United Europe» there are such great political and economic contradictions between the states which comprise it that it will not be able to attain the political and military potential which the United States of America has, even for dozens of years.** From many viewpoints, the «United States of Europe» is not like the United States of America. It is difficult for these European states to become assimilated as those states of the American continent from which the United States of America was formed, have been assimilated. Each state in Europe has its own individuality as a nation, formed historically through the centuries. Each of them has its own history, its own social, economic and cultural development, different from the others. Within each capitalist and revisionist European state there are strong class contradictions, which make not only external unity, but also internal unity, difficult.

Hence, to support a course of European capitalism which aspires to hegemony, aspires to become a superpower, as China is doing, is wrong in principle. To act in this way means to leave the road of the revolution in oblivion and to become caught up in the political game of the two superpowers, struggling and manoeuvring from the standpoints of their policies, while overestimating the manoeuvres of the superpowers in the

changing situations of the contradictions which they have, underestimating the world proletarian revolution, and underestimating the struggle of the peoples against the superpowers and the capitalist bourgeois states. China is wrong when it preaches that «the main enemy is the Soviet Union, while the United States of America is less dangerous». It is true that the United States of America has suffered defeats, but it remains an imperialist power. To weaken the struggle against it means to weaken the revolution and assist American imperialism. The Chinese will be making the same mistake, if the United States of America starts «to show its wolf's teeth»; then China will begin to say that the «Soviet Union is less dangerous, whereas the United States of America has become more dangerous». **China is wrong when it puts itself in the position of Don Quixote towards the old capitalist Europe, allegedly because it will become a counter-weight to the Soviets, on the one hand, and the Americans, on the other, while «China will benefit», since it supports «United Europe».**

The contradictions between imperialists must be deepened and exploited in our favour, but only from the class positions, from the positions of the proletarian revolution. China is not doing this, but doing the opposite by telling the peoples of Europe, America and the «third world»: «Support your capitalist and imperialist bourgeoisie, because the main enemy is Soviet social-imperialism». This road is not Leninist, does not encourage the revolution, but defends that opportunism which the Second International defended and Lenin exposed. Hence, we cannot agree with this strategy and tactic of China. For us, the main struggle against the imperialist superpowers and world capitalism is the peoples' struggle, the proletarians' struggle, the world proletarian revolution. From this angle, and while supporting these just struggles, we must manoeuvre and benefit from the situations that develop by helping to deepen the contradictions.

The contradictions and crises within imperialism, social-imperialism and world capitalism have their source in the op-

pression of peoples by the capitalists and in the struggle which these peoples wage against capitalist oppression and exploitation. Then, either you must encourage and assist the struggle of the peoples against the capitalists, or you must assist the latter to manouvre, to fatten themselves, and to wage war on one or the other imperialist by telling the peoples, «Go and get yourselves killed for me». **The Marxist-Leninists must encourage and assist the peoples' struggle and unite their forces with it, with the struggle of the proletarians against the imperialist superpowers and world capitalism. This is the road which our Party of Labour has followed and will continue to follow.**

Mao's mistaken foreign policy in this direction gives the impression that it is simplistic. In this policy the Chinese not only do not proceed from proletarian class positions, but without saying so, indeed while denying this in words, they are proceeding on the road of a great power. China is not a superpower, but its influence in world affairs is and can be great. **China can and will play a role in the world on one of two roads: either on the Marxist-Leninist road, the road of the revolution, or on the bourgeois-capitalist road, with a new revisionist nuance.** Only by militating on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary road will China win the trust of the peoples who want and are fighting for the revolution.

At present, China is trying to convince the capitalist countries that «the threat to them comes from the Soviet Union». As if China were teaching the capitalists of the world something new! But the capitalists consider communism and the revolution their main enemies. If China proceeds on the revolutionary road, its statement that the «revisionist Soviet Union is the main enemy» will convince no one, while all the capitalists of every shade will aim their blows at China. **If they are not afraid of China at present, there are several reasons for this: either because China is communist only in words and not in deeds, or because it is still weak economically and militarily, or because it is an anti-Soviet factor which they want to exploit to the**

limit to weaken the aggressiveness of the Soviets against themselves.

The aim of the policy of both the Chinese and the Americans is to combat the Soviet Union, but while the Chinese want to set the Americans fighting the Soviet Union, the United States of America and its allies want to set China fighting the Soviet Union. Both sides are developing this *«chassé croisé»** from the same position and with the same hopes. However, the Soviet Union is not sitting idle. It is trying to avoid war with the United States of America, to dominate the peoples which it can oppress itself, to break up the NATO alliance, to isolate China and, if possible, to subjugate it. And all these aims it is pursuing under the disguise of socialism.

World capitalism, and European capitalism in particular, has gone through a series of world wars, which have had their source in the savage nature of capitalism. Thus, the «United Europe», the France of Giscard d'Estaing, or the Germany of Strauss, are not easily hoodwinked by the policy of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping. They will not go to war with the Soviets on Teng Hsiao-ping's urging. No, they are trying to avoid the collision with the Soviet Union, since they consider it stronger than themselves, trying to weaken the fortress from within, and then prepare the assault. All of them — the United States of America, Britain, France, the Federal German Republic, etc., are trying to weaken the Soviets, to weaken the alliances the Soviets have with Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, etc., but they are not proceeding in the way China wants them to. The old wolves are well acquainted with the tactics of attack, therefore it is hard to lead them on to those paths which suit you, because they themselves have used and are still using such plans, also in the direction of China itself. No doubt, the president of France has turned a deaf ear to the tale of «the Soviet danger». **Without doubt, Giscard d'Estaing has told Teng Hsiao-ping that the French want to develop their friendship with**

* Reciprocal change of places between two parties (French in the original).

China, but not against the Soviet Union, because they want to avoid the conflict. On the other hand, the d'Estaings and company indirectly urge Teng to move against the Soviets, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them while they look on.

The European bourgeoisie is an old whore that has committed all the sins. It is experienced in trickery and intrigues. Only the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples gives it its deserts. In the fight on this terrain it is exposed and smashed, and its intrigue and trickery loses its force. This is the terrain from which China should fight, proceeding from the principle that diplomatic recognition and trade with the capitalist countries of Europe should serve a sound revolutionary strategy, and it should not try to incite Western Europe to fight the Soviets. In the past, Britain and France used this wrong course of China's to incite Hitler against the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union against Germany. We know the outcome of those manoeuvres. Stalin did not fall into those errors, did not fall into the positions of the Anglo-Americans, or those of the Hitlerites.

By taking a firm revolutionary stand, you are better able to exploit the contradictions among the enemies and to weaken the most dangerous of them, first of all, without forgetting those which, though weakened for the moment, could revive. If you judge events and situations from the revolutionary standpoint you see clearly that your basis of support is not a temporary factor, but that you have a very powerful and lasting potential in the struggle against capital, you have the proletariat of each country and the international proletariat as a whole, as well as the peoples who want freedom and the revolution. The revolution must be made by fighting both the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 25, 1975

A HOSTILE COURSE OF CHOU EN-LAI AND HIS GROUP AGAINST ALBANIA

The Chinese have finally determined the amount of the economic aid which they will accord us for the coming five-year plan. The commission of the two sides has met. The «famous» Li Hsien-nien, well-known for his anti-Albanian feelings, headed the Chinese commission.

In a frank and friendly way, Adil presented our opinion about the aid which the PR of China accorded us, not for five years, but for seven and even eight years, because a number of projects are officially going from five to seven years over the period, apart from any other postponments of their completion, which the Chinese might cause on various pretexts, with the sole aim of damaging our economy. This is the way the Chinese have proceeded with the projects of the five-year plan which is coming to a close, and these projects go uncompleted into the next five-year period.

Hence Adil expressed to the Chinese our opinion that the sum of... for five to seven years is a great limitation which they are imposing on us, and this is contrary to their promises, contrary to the advanced state of the Chinese economy, and the situation of the blockade which is imposed on Albania by the imperialists, social-imperialists, Titoites and other capitalist neighbours. «We are dissatisfied about this,» Adil told them, while presenting our sound reasons and refuting their weak «excuses». Finally, we asked that their decision should be reexamined in a friendly and internationalist spirit just as we reexamined and reduced our requests...

Li Hsien-nien, this enemy of socialism in Albania, Chou En-lai's running-dog, gave Adil a disgraceful, brutal, hostile reply, saying: «Your proposals are not accepted. We shall not even examine them; our decision is definitive and approved by our whole leadership, including Mao Tsetung.» «We shall not budge a single yuan from what we have decided,» said Mr Li Hsien-nien. In other words, with this reply he wanted to say: «Take it or leave it; it is all the same to us, whatever you say.»

To the request that our opinions, which Adil also handed to Li Hsien-nien in writing, should be communicated to Comrade Mao Tsetung, Li Hsien-nien replied: «I shall give it to him, but don't expect any reply.» According to Li Hsien-nien, this meant: either **«Mao is firmly opposed to deigning to give a reply to the Albanian requests»**, or «I'm taking this exposition of yours, which I have no intention of giving Mao but will throw into the waste-paper basket.» **Whichever version you take, the clique hostile to Albania has great power in the leadership of China and is dictating its will to the Chinese friends of Albania.**

All this is the continuation of the hostile attitude of this group of the Chinese leadership. This group had displayed such an attitude before, but the Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary stands of the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania in defence of China, when **all**, I stress, all, had turned their backs on China and were attacking it, stopped the people of this group from implementing their hostile aims towards us as they wished. Now Mao is old, perhaps they don't ask him at all, perhaps they don't seek his opinion, not just about our case, which as far as we know he has defended, but even about other internal and international problems. The tactics of these dubious Chinese «comrades» continues. «We go about our business under the banner of Mao», they think.

What the Chinese are doing to us is the beginning of strong economic pressure, by means of which they hope to subjugate us politically and ideologically. They are acting like a great power, not as revolutionaries, and not in the least as

Marxist-Leninists. They do not want us to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line in any direction, but want our line and stands to be an appendage of their opportunist, unprincipled, pragmatic line. The people of this group are opposed to our line and began their economic pressure just as the Soviet revisionists did, thinking that they would force us to yield.

This line of hostility towards Albania on the part of Chou En-lai and his group is followed at the same time as we liquidated the enemy group of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi in our country. From this it turns out that these enemies were their men and simultaneously the men of the Soviets and Yugoslavs. To all of them — the Chinese, the Soviets and the Yugoslavs, this healthy situation of our country was intolerable and unacceptable, therefore, regardless of how the links between them were established, for the three sides mentioned, all those who were enemies of the Party of Labour of Albania and its Marxist-Leninist leadership were their friends and were assisted in various ways. The hostile plan of Beqir Balluku was dictated by Chou En-lai. Beqir Balluku worked secretly for the «antitheses» and the organization of the putsch. Chou En-lai suggested the «antitheses» to him. We rejected them, and Beqir Balluku may have informed the Chinese about this.

Chou told Beqir Balluku: «Strengthen your links and collaboration with Yugoslavia against the Soviets», and «for you there is no other strategy apart from the mountain strategy», That means to say: «Clear out to the mountains from the first day of the enemy attack»!

The Chou En-lai - Beqir Balluku plan was pro-Soviet, because it left them a free hand to capture Albania; it was also pro-Yugoslav, because it was intended to liquidate socialism in our country. The discovery, unmasking and punishment of Beqir Balluku and the people of his group was, at the same time, a blow to Chou, who had prepared this plot in great detail with Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi, who likewise as a traitor, carried out sabotage in the oil industry and the people's economy.

Chou, hence, lost the fight to overthrow us from within and, since it was impossible to operate otherwise, he used the weapon of the economic blockade. He and his group think like revisionists, that we will be isolated, will die of hunger and will be brought to our knees. They think: **«There is nothing the Albanians can do». And Chou En-lai repeated to Adil Çarçani his old diabolical plan: «Unite closely with the other countries of the Balkans, regardless of the disagreements you have». The dirty scoundrel, the pseudo-Marxist enemy! We have not been brought to our knees and we are not intimidated, neither will we be left without food, but we shall live honourably, free, independent and sovereign as Marxist-Leninists, as Albanian communists, as sons of this glorious and heroic people who have never bent the knee through the centuries.** We shall fight night and day in unity, with multiplied strength against any enemy, wherever he may come from. The banner of our Party will always fly triumphant in battle. With our Party at the head, we shall smash any blockade, any plot, **and our people will triumph, will march always forward successfully on the road to socialism and communism.**

Chou and company will break their heads, like the others, against the steel fortress of socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, an iron Marxist-Leninist party. This is an iniquitous and coordinated plot of the group of Chou En-lai!!

Just one or two days after Li Hsien-nien refused Adil Çarçani the credit, giving the reason that «China is very poor», Radio Moscow said in the course of a commentary about Albania: «Now the men of Tirana have realized that China is a poor state... which does not help Albania», etc. What can we say about this? **Co-ordinated Sino-Soviet economic pressure?!**

Two or three days after Chou En-lai told Adil Çarçani: «You must unite with the Balkan countries», a Yugoslav newspaper, in a long article claimed that, «despite the differences, Albania has turned its eyes to Europe, and especially to Yugoslavia in trade, cultural and other relations». The newspaper adds that «after China, Albania carries on its greatest trade with

Yugoslavia», etc. **Fine «prospects» co-ordinated for us by Chou En-lai and Tito.**

These facts must be connected. Amongst other things that we know, these also confirm the links between Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi in the plot and its connection with the blockade and with the «prospects» which the «famous» Chou En-lai opens to us.

We are keeping notes about all these things, we shall review our stands towards such people, but shall be careful to avoid falling for their provocations, because this is what they want. But they will not trap us.

They are ruining our friendship while we shall continue to speak about it, of course not in hypocritical terms, as they will do about us, adding insult to injury. We shall be correct, but the ardent words are over, as long as this clique continues its hostile work against us.

Not only will we not submit to their blackmail, but we shall display our coldness, to say the least of it, towards this clique, until the cup is full to overflowing and they expose themselves.

THURSDAY
JUNE 26, 1975

THE CHINESE HAVE CONCEDED US TWO PROJECTS. ON THE OTHERS THEY DIDN'T BUDGE AT ALL

The Chinese accepted an amendment within the credit allocated: they gave us the Koman hydro-power plant in place of that of Bushat and added that the urea factory should also produce fertilizers, but not in the quantity we sought.

Well, the situation is somewhat better, because these two projects are important. On the other projects, they did not budge at all.

FRIDAY
JULY 4, 1975

CHINA HAS JOINED IN THE POLITICAL DANCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

It is tragic that China is fighting chaos with chaos. The China of Mao Tsetung gives the impression that it is pursuing a «socialist» policy within the country, but if you go more deeply into this policy, at least as far as the external manifestations would allow you, you will see that the «Marxist-Leninist» policy which it trumpets about is a «Mao Tsetung» policy, a mixture of dubious stands and principles. Two lines can always be observed, sometimes running parallel, sometimes not, because the one overrides the other. A similar continuous instability can be seen on many capital problems. Their propaganda comes out in such a way that people will think that every stand and action of China's is «correct, principled, Marxist-Leninist, anti-imperialist and, especially, anti-social-imperialist».

In foreign policy, too, the China of Mao Tsetung poses as a socialist country which is following a socialist policy. In reality, this is not so. Although China cannot be put on the same footing as the two superpowers, its policy is not a Marxist-Leninist one.

Since China announced itself as a state which is part of the «third world», in principle it follows the policy of this «third world», which has nothing socialist about it. It is self-evident that in the «third world» China confounds its policy with the bourgeois, capitalist, revisionist policy of this «third world».

The policy of Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-

ping before the Cultural Revolution was: «Alliance with all the states of the world, including the Soviet revisionists». At present the policy of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping is: «Alliance with all the countries of the world, including American imperialism against the Soviets». But which line is Mao Tsetung with? It is implied that he approves and later disapproves these lines, but in fact he is with them and is contributing to this course which China is following. This is a policy with many consequences for China itself and for the world. The revolutionary world wants to see the revolutionary class policy of China, but it does not see it, because in reality it does not exist, and the revolutionary world has to imagine it as it ought to be.

China is pursuing a see-saw policy. It has opened up its policy, has diplomatic links with all, wants to affirm itself in the world. We, too, have wanted and suggested this to it. But how should China affirm itself in the world? As a socialist country or as a country of the «third world»? Of course, China should affirm itself as a socialist country. However, it is not doing this. It is affirming itself in the world as a state opposed to the Soviet Union. For China the Spain of Franco, the Chile of Pinochet, or the Rhodesia of Ian Smith are friends, while the «Soviets are the most dangerous, because they pose as Marxist-Leninists». This is not a principled stand. The struggle of China against the Soviets is not being waged on the ideological platform to unmask their social-imperialist policy on this basis. No, China is not doing this properly at all. Why is it not doing this? Because its policy is not based on the Marxist-Leninist theory. **China has joined in the political dance of the bourgeoisie, adopted a pragmatic policy** and is convinced that this policy is the most correct. **China forgets that the policy which it is pursuing indiscriminately with presidents and kings, with princes and princesses, with fascists and Bonn revanchists, with American imperialists, or with others like (Pinochet, is not some original policy.** The capitalist bourgeoisie has practised such a policy extensively, and so have the hereditary monarchies

and the aristocracy earlier. China seeks the friendship of ruling cliques in order «to approach the peoples», instead of winning the hearts of the peoples by convincing them that it fully supports their cause.

What aid does China give the peoples and the revolutionaries of Chile or the Philippines, or the German revolutionaries, When it scandalously proclaims itself to be with Pinochet, with Marcos, with Strauss, and others like them? It gives them no aid at all, it only discourages them. With the policy it is pursuing, China is encouraging the blackest reaction. China leaves the revolutionaries to suppose that this is a «political manoeuvre». In fact, this is a counter-revolutionary manoeuvre, because if the revolutionaries follow the policy of China, they must not fight against reaction. However, **revolutionaries cannot be two-faced, cannot fight against reaction and be with reaction at the same time.**

The Chinese try to give the impression that they assist the revolutionary forces secretly. This is not true at all, and cannot be true, because China is concerned about establishing good relations, for example, with the state of the Federal German Republic and its firms, and not with the German Marxist-Leninist communists. Its so-called assistance to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries is merely a support which China gives them if they praise China and its policy in Bonn, Paris, or Rome. However, to act in this way, means to be a friend to reaction in those countries. Of course, China should have diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with these countries, but these relations must be based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and serve the revolution.

China accords credits to a number of states, including us. These credits, especially those which are given us, take the colour of the policy which China is following at home and abroad. When the situation inside China is revolutionary, that is, when of the two lines, the revolutionary one prevails over the regressive one, the aid for us is generous and friendly, and the Chinese understand our needs and difficulties correctly. We

do not fail to tell them about our sincere gratitude, and they tell us that «the aid which you Albanians give us is very great, while that which we give you is very small. We must assist you more, and we shall assist you more in the future».

It seems, however, that when these words were said, the regressive line of Chou En-lai was weak and in the inferior positions. Now it must have gained supremacy, and its supporters speak quite differently.

After returning from Peking, where he had gone about the economic agreement, Comrade Adil said that he had met there with an icy, openly arrogant, disdainful and even hostile atmosphere on the part of people from the group of Chou En-lai and Li Hsien-nien. **Li Hsien-nien told Adil quite openly: «We were wrong to give you even that aid we have given you and I have been criticized for this».** Li Hsien-nien, the man with the big axe, told him, «I am for reducing the investments». This means, in other words: «You Albanians can think what you like, but I'm going to axe your demands». Our requests are reasonable, but to the Chinese, our opinions and political line are «unreasonable». The Chinese want us, too, to think and act as they do, to have an opportunist, unprincipled foreign policy, to have a liberal stand within the country towards the enemies of the people and the Party, whom we condemn, while the Chinese restore theirs to power. **The Chinese want our Party and state to lose the individuality which they have won through bloodshed and sacrifice and to become a satellite of theirs. They want our clock to tick in unison with the clock of Peking in everything. This will never occur if Peking's clock does not tick like the clock of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which the Party of Labour of Albania follows loyally and consistently.**

It is clear that the group of Chou En-lai is putting pressure on us and wants to prevent our correct Marxist-Leninist line from casting any shadow over and putting their line, which is not Marxist-Leninist, but which they are striving hard to smuggle into history as a «Marxist-Leninist revolutionary» line,

in a difficult position. This hostile stand of theirs has been spread everywhere. Various Chinese ambassadors speak about us in the language of Li Hsien-nien. The Soviets, Rumanians and Yugoslavs have sensed this stand and have stepped up their pressure against us again. This is the reality, but their pressure neither frightens us nor makes us waver. **The group of Chou En-lai is gravely mistaken when it thinks that it will bring us to our knees, just as the Khrushchev group was mistaken. We shall defeat this group, too, in the international arena.** The world and the peoples will see that a people, however small it may be, when it is led by a Marxist-Leninist party, cannot be conquered, but, on the contrary, marches courageously forward and triumphs. One day, the fraternal Chinese people, too, will understand the chauvinist policy which its leadership is pursuing against socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, which at every moment, and especially in the most difficult times for China, have stood beside it, and have defended and assisted it with all their strength.

We shall always be for the just cause of the Chinese people, we shall always be for the road of revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The great-state policy cannot be hidden for long by disguises.

MONDAY
JULY 7, 1975

LI HSIEN-NIEN ACTS AGAINST SOCIALIST ALBANIA

At the 4th Congress of our Party, Li Hsien-nien never smiled. On the contrary, he sat impassible, like a «Buddha», apart from a «twitch» of his cheek, apparently from irritation, because the delegates to the Congress never tired of cheering and clapping for whole days in order to slap the unity of the Albanian communists around the Central Committee and their loyalty and the people's loyalty to the Party of Labour of Albania and Marxism-Leninism, in the face of the Soviet revisionists, Pospyelov and Andropov. This Li Hsien-nien, who sat unsmiling at the Congress, posing as the representative of the great China over which all the turmoil occurred in Bucharest and Moscow, advised us to be cautious with the Soviets, to talk with Khrushchev and company. At the time of the Cultural Revolution, this lackey of Chou En-lai's had become as meek as a mouse that could not find a hole to hide in. That time, they nearly put the dunce's cap on him, even criticized him severely, abused him, condemned him and dragged him through the mire. These things he told us himself. During the Cultural Revolution, on the occasion of visits by our various delegations to China, he and his patron, Chou En-lai, who escaped the purge thanks to the intervention of Mao personally, sat like wet hens.

«*O tempora! O mores!*» The times of the storm passed, Chou and Li Hsien-nien surfaced again and took power, while Chen Po-ta emerged as the «agent of all» and was liquidated, Lin Piao, «an agent of the Soviets and a plotter, seized the aircraft, fled, and was burned to ashes in Mongolia», and

others were jailed. China went through the convulsions of reorganizing its disorganized party which met and held its congress. The National Assembly was brought together with difficulty. They say that they are preparing the congresses of the organizations of the masses. But amongst all these vicissitudes one thing was firmly established: the friendship with the United States of America began and is being strengthened. The batteries were aimed against the Soviets alone. Teng Hsiao-ping was rehabilitated, became deputy-prime minister, vice-chairman of the party, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, chief of the general staff, etc. He went to the meeting of the General Assembly of the UNO, where he declared that «China is part of the third world». China opened up to the whole world, preaching friendship with all, except the Soviet Union.

Following Chou En-lai's illness, Li Hsien-nien was boosted as the «king» of the Chinese economy. Not only that, but also as the «king» of the megalomaniacal international policy of China. He told our comrades: «I went to Pakistan and told Ali Bhutto to be vigilant against the Soviets and combat them», as if Bhutto was waiting for Chou En-lai and Li Hsien-nien to teach him; «I went to Iran and told the Shahanshah to be wary of the Soviets and to combat them», as if the Shah of Iran did not know he had to combat the Soviets and was waiting for Li Hsien-nien to tell him; «I advised the Iraqis to establish good relations with Iran and break with the Soviet Union». Don't you see, Al Bakr reached agreement with Pahlevi for the sake of Li Hsien-nien's beautiful eyes! «I advised the Afghans to be vigilant against the Soviets», that is, Daut waited for Li Hsien-nien to tell him not to link himself closely with Moscow. A «very wise» policy and the megalomania of a turkey-cock! They think that the «cordial» talks which they hold with the ruling cliques in various countries of the «third world» have decisive weight! These cliques act like the bourgeois-capitalists they are: they ask for dollars and, if China gives them, they say some good words about it, which do them no harm, because they take from

all sides, wherever they can, and their loyalties change according to which way the wind blows. They have never had principles. Moreover, a talk and false friendship with China weakens the positions of the revolution in their countries, destroys the work of patriots, communists and democrats, who think and propagate that China is with the revolution. Regrettably, the policy of China is with the monarchs and bourgeois dictators. China is doing the work of the United States of America which has allowed it a certain freedom of action in its spheres of influence, because it arouses anti-Soviet feelings, and this is of interest to the Americans.

This is how the «clever» Li Hsien-nien lays down the great economic and international policy of China. He speaks from under the shadow of the banner of Mao and acts against the Party of Labour of Albania, against socialist Albania, the loyal friend of China. At present these elements have power in China. As a result of their rehabilitation, Teng Hsiao-ping and, of course, many others like him, whom the Cultural Revolution attacked, are making the law in China, fighting the Marxist-Leninist friends and defending the anti-Marxists, the waverers, the bourgeois, and those who have become their lackeys. Mao has said that a revolution will be carried out every seven or eight years in China to purge those who are in power. According to this «forecast» the time is approaching. We must wait and see what will develop.

THE CHINESE POLICY IS NOT BASED ON A PROLETARIAN CLASS LINE

We must not forget that the Soviet Union, as a social-imperialist state, sees a great danger in Mao's China, and is therefore striving to erode it and possibly even to attack it. But, as the social-imperialist state it is, it thinks that China, too, might attack the Soviet Union. I think that China will not come to this, but strategically is aiming to gain the time it has lost in order to become a great power economically and militarily, with a very modern agriculture and industry. If China achieves this objective undisturbed by wars, it will become a colossal power, a third great world power. But what sort of great world power? Socialist or imperialist? This depends on the political and ideological stands of the Communist Party of China. If China puts itself in strong, unwavering Marxist-Leninist positions it will become a great socialist power, the pillar of the world revolution and a sworn enemy of the two imperialist superpowers: the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Otherwise, China, too, will become a social-imperialist power. Then these three powers will dominate the peoples through predatory wars, will play the game of imperialist alliances and unjust wars for hegemony and the redivision of spheres of influence, etc.

What are China's positions in the international arena at present? In my opinion it is not maintaining a revolutionary stand, not pursuing a policy seen as it should be, from the class angle of the revolution. China considers that the main

enemy of the world is the Soviet Union. This is not completely so. Today there are two main enemies in the world: the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Strategically perhaps the Soviet Union may be the immediate enemy for China, but in world politics one cannot make this division, this distinction, because then it emerges that China thinks only about itself and does not think about the other peoples who are suffering and want to be liberated. But from whom do the peoples want to be liberated, only from the Soviet Union? But what about the United States of America? Of course, the peoples want to be liberated from both these superpowers, and from all the capitalists of the world, all of whom are sucking their blood.

The distinguishing feature of the current international policy of China is its call for the «unity of all»: American imperialism, other big capitalist powers, the «third world», in which it publicly includes itself, the «non-aligned world», and finally the peoples, the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries. Hence, it calls on all these, without distinction, for «unity» against the social-imperialist Soviet Union. This openly non-Marxist policy of China says to all: **«Put the class struggle to one side, forget the revolution for a time (until I, China, become a great power), proletarians of the whole world, unite your efforts with the bourgeoisie that oppresses you because (listen to me and follow me) we must first of all defeat the number one enemy, the social-imperialist Soviet Union, and then we shall see what we shall do».**

This sort of policy of China, which assists American imperialism and the world capitalist powers, is confusing and splitting the revolutionary forces and the communists throughout the world. This is what the Khrushchevites did, too. What did they say? «Peaceful coexistence, friendship with all, especially with the Americans; struggle against Marxist-Leninists, against revolutionary wars; revolution in a peaceful way», etc., etc. What is China saying now? All these things we mentioned and which are now well-known, but meant for and aimed

against the Soviet Union. China also speaks «against» the United States of America in undertones, while in his time Khrushchev spoke «with big bombs». The contradictions of China with the United States of America are, you might say, dormant.

With astonishing naivity China thinks that the United States of America and the other countries to which it is appealing for unity, «will march» against the Soviet Union, as it wants and when it wants. There is a great gulf fixed between its desire and the reality! In life the opposite is occurring. American imperialism and its allies accept and support the policy and call of China, because it means colossal gains for them. They are greatly assisted by this policy in their activity for the confusion and suppression of the revolutionaries, for the toning down of the class struggle, and the incitement of all forces against the Soviet Union and other revisionist parties in whatever country they are operating. In their global strategy, the American imperialists and their allies are inciting China against the Soviet Union as much as they can, while doing everything in their power to frighten it with the Chinese danger, in order to more easily achieve their own aims, to weaken and undermine the Soviet Union even more thoroughly and as quickly as possible, and then to turn on China with multiplied forces. This is clear to anyone with a few brains, but not to the Chinese «Maoist Marxist-Leninists». The Chinese leaders boast that they are weakening the Soviet Union and deepening the contradictions between it and the United States of America with their policy. But they forget that there is also another possibility on which they are not reflecting at all, that this policy is in favour of the United States of America. The Chinese naively believe that with their policy they are weakening the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Socialist China can play a truly decisive role in the world, if its foreign policy is a Marxist-Leninist class policy which

is based on the strength, desires, and aspirations of the peoples. In words this is easy for the Chinese to say, and they do so frequently, but not in deeds. China is establishing diplomatic relations with many states of the world, even with fascist states. It is carrying on extensive international trade, may even provide credits, **but it can be seen clearly everywhere that it devotes great importance to and strives to point out its links with the heads and regimes of these countries, in particular.** It must be said that inter-state relations cannot be avoided, but to act in «such a friendly way» with the heads of the ruling cliques, as China is doing, clearly means that it has forgotten the class aspect of relations between states. The peoples and revolutionaries of these countries are becoming bitterly disillusioned with this Chinese policy.

The people are the only real basis of the struggle against the Soviet social-imperialists, the American imperialists and the local bourgeoisie. This factor must never be forgotten on any occasion. However, the Chinese have forgotten it. Their alliances and hopes are based on the bourgeois and capitalist chiefs. The Chinese think that these are «loyal allies» of the revolution, provided they show even the slightest sign of anti-Sovietism. The fascist regime of Chile is thoroughly anti-Soviet and pro-American, and for the Chinese it is an ally and a fellow-traveller.

China is very displeased that Vietnam, Laos and North Korea are pro-Soviet. And it is right about this. But these countries, too, are displeased that China has proved to be pro-American. Neither side is pursuing a principled, Marxist-Leninist class policy. Their stands are opportunist and fraught with danger for all. Through the Vietnamese, the Soviet revisionists are trying to dominate Indochina. It is self-evident that China certainly wants to enter into unprincipled competition. If it finds itself in a position inferior to the Soviet Union, either it will fall out with the countries of Indochina, or it will indirectly call the United States of America to its aid. What will be the

outcome of this? Vietnam and the others like it will become the prey of a series of imperialists.

This is what China is doing in the international communist movement, too. At first, when the new Marxist-Leninist communist parties were emerging, it was not greatly interested, and later not at all, while now it is showing greater interest and calling for non-principled unity of different groups under the slogan of «struggle against the Soviet Union in alliance with the United States of America and the capitalist bourgeoisie of their own countries». Naturally, this policy has aroused great confusion and real dissatisfaction in the ranks of our comrades throughout the world, but like them, we, too, do not want to speak out openly against this policy of China. However, we cannot sit with our mouths shut, nor can we become gramaphones for the mistaken Chinese policy.

Openly and forcefully, we affirm our stands and policy on everything, about every event, about every political combination to the detriment of the peoples. For all these reasons we see that our policy differs from that of China on many matters of principle. We think that this is good, because the peoples and the Marxist-Leninists are able to judge for themselves who is thinking and acting correctly and who wrongly, and then it is up to them to follow the Marxist-Leninist road and to adapt this to the concrete situations in their countries.

Many times our Party has wanted to have comradely discussions with the Chinese comrades about these vital matters of principle and still wants to do so, but the Chinese do not want these discussions and avoid them. Indeed, they express this idea openly by postponing the visit of the delegation of our Party and Government at a time when almost every reactionary has been welcomed in their country. It is clear to us that they are not in agreement with our correct stands, and do not. want to confront us in discussions, because their positions are not Marxist-Leninist.

Such a mistaken policy of China in the international arena results from non-Marxist-Leninist views affirmed in China.

It is difficult to define precisely what is going on in that country, but one thing we can say: there cannot be stability there, there must be powerful rival groups there, which, under the banner of Mao, are each seeking to gain dominant positions in the party and the state. The elements which were denounced by the Cultural Revolution are being rehabilitated and are occupying the posts they had lost. Of course, they will take revenge on those who carried out the Cultural Revolution. Officially the Cultural Revolution is still a banner of every action and step which is taken there, but it is becoming a very battered banner. Those who carried out the Cultural Revolution cannot be in agreement with this course which events are taking, with the rehabilitation of their opponents of yesterday, with the soft policy which is being followed towards the American imperialists and the departure from the right road of struggle against the revisionist Soviet Union and the United States of America. Those in favour of this road have been called followers of Lin Piao, who has been proclaimed an «agent of the Soviets». Now there is talk about disturbances in the army, in Hangchow, Shanghai and other cities of China. It is said that these are caused by the «partisans» of Lin Piao. They may be partisans of Lin Piao, but the important thing is what are their real political and ideological opinions.

The celebration of our Army Day in Peking was very feeble. After an hour, the organizer of the official celebration, an employee of the protocol section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: «The celebration is over». Hardly any of the main leaders were present in the hall.

Why are these things occurring? Why is it that the Chinese are making no mention at all of our article against the Helsinki Conference at a time when they are trying to find phrases in every kind of rag that speaks against the Soviet Union regarding this conference? If they want really strong words against the Soviet Union they will find them in our article. Then why is

this article not mentioned by the Chinese comrades?! The reason is clear to us: this article speaks just as strongly against the United States of America, while the Chinese do not want internal opinion in China to know about it. We cannot find any other explanation for this important political occurrence.

TUESDAY
AUGUST 5, 1975

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHINESE TOWARDS US IS GETTING WORSE

We are seeing a number of politically incorrect stands towards us on the part of the Chinese, which attract our attention, because we have never seen them before.

At their Army Day celebration they have always put our military attaché in Peking in a place of honour, at a table with the Chinese military and civilian leaders, or with representatives of those states with whom we have relations, such as the Vietnamese, the Koreans, etc. **This time it was different, and they went about it in a quite openly provocative manner: they had allocated our military attaché to a table with the Soviet military attaché. As soon as he learned this, our attaché refused to sit down, demanded another place and protested that the Chinese comrades wanted to put him at a table with the revisionist enemy. They shifted him from that table and allocated him to another, headed by the British military attaché. From one provocation to another. Our attaché did not accept this place, either, and demanded that they allocated him to another place, otherwise he would be obliged not to attend the celebration. Then the provocateurs allocated him to another place.**

These stands from the Chinese side are occurring at a time when our articles of recent days are not being published in the Chinese press. The Chinese did not even publish a news item about these articles, a thing which could not help attracting the attention of many foreign ambassadors in Peking: How is it possible that China is mentioning the whole world press

about the Helsinki Conference and not saying one word about the Albanian press?!

As well as this we have sent an exhibition of paintings to Peking. However, the Chinese are not going to open this first in Peking, but in Canton, «because the halls are occupied, since they are to open a Rumanian and a Vietnamese exhibition», etc.

It is quite clear, and I think that such unfriendly gestures towars us will increase, because the Chinese are not in agreement with the line of our Party, are displeased that we are not following their liberal, pro-American and pro-Western line. Certainly they were displeased that we uncovered and attacked the military traitors Beqir Balluku and his men, who had the advice on «defence», which Chou En-lai gave them, at the foundation of their plot. Beqir Balluku and the Chinese may also have discussed other questions which we don't know of, but we do know of Chou En-lai's «ideas and advice», which he gave Beqir when he was in Peking.

On the other hand we may have trodden on the Chinese corns with the blow we dealt to the enemies Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, etc., not because Abdyl Këllezi was the chairman of the Albania-China Friendship Association, but because he was in agreement with the political and economic ideas of Chou En-lai, a friend of the Chinese, a «dear friend», if not more. The decentralization of the economy, the move towards «self-administration», the sabotage in the oil industry, the inflation of the bureaucracy and other evils of Abdyl Këllezi and company were greatly to the liking of Chou En-lai, if it was not Chou himself who suggested all these things to them. **However, Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi were two snakes whose heads we cut off and thus they could not bite us as Brezhnev and Tito, Chou and the United States of America may have dreamed and ordered them to do.** Chou and the people of his group think that we discovered what they were up to, and they are right, because we do not think about them except oh the basis of the facts which they themselves give us. We are making no direct accusations, but since they

are confronting our friendship with these hostile stands they make us suspect that behind the scenes they may have had hostile aims towards us, may have been involved in other mischievous things which we still do not know of, but which time will certainly reveal.

We must defend our line and the Marxist-Leninist principles. These we must affirm openly and forcefully, must preserve our friendship with the Chinese people and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, and be cautious and guard against their provocations, because this is what the Chinese revisionists want. They will try to trap us and then put the blame on us for ruining relations with China. But we must not make the relations with China worse. We must safeguard our principles, and when the Chinese do something important against us, which violates our Marxist-Leninist principles, we must, without fail, point this out to them and oppose them. As for the petty meannesses which they commit, let us respond in a friendly way and with caution, as the functionaries of our embassy did over the question of the exhibition.

There is no doubt that someone from these enemies and saboteurs whom we discovered, such as Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi, Hito Çako, or some other of them, must have told the Chinese, «Our (Albanian) leadership criticizes you over many questions», etc. And apparently the Chinese leadership has taken this as their excuse and that is why it is maintaining the attitude we know of and is still not accepting the official delegation of our Party and Government. The manner and form in which they received our request for credits for the 6th Five-year Plan are evidence of this, too.

In this instance the stand of the Chinese was unequivocally savage and hostile and not as before when, even though they had not fulfilled all our requests, their tone was kindly and friendly.

In these last two years the attitude of the Chinese towards us has changed and has grown steadily worse. What is the reason? Our correct principled stands which are not in accord

with their stands. But they have known these things for a long time. Our stands are open on every problem, and we have always stressed our great friendship with China. What then?! There is no doubt that our ideological differences are at the basis of this anger of theirs, but here a major intrigue by the enemies has been going on. They are striving at all costs to ruin our friendship with China, to weaken our defence and economy and then to attack us and take power. Thus, Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi, etc., worked in parallel, intrigued and slandered with the Chinese and carried out sabotage internally.

With the arrest of the military traitors and the liquidation of the hostile work of Abdyl Këllezi and company, the Chinese may think that we attacked those enemies from «anti-Chinese» positions. We informed them of the hostile work of Beqir Balluku and we shall also inform them about the activity of Abdyl Këllezi. We must speak to the Chinese about the hostile activity of these traitors and make the Chinese comrades clearly understand the truth that the traitors whom we have discovered, apart from other things, have been great slanderers, deceivers. We must appoint a comrade of our Political Bureau as Chairman of the Albania-China Friendship Association in place of Abdyl Këllezi.

It is possible that, if they do not understand matters in a Marxist way, but in a subjective way, the Chinese will connect our friendship with China with a person who was a saboteur like Abdyl Këllezi. We must clear this situation up and liquidate it if possible.

THURSDAY
AUGUST 21, 1975

UNBALANCED CHINESE ACTIONS

The foreign press is talking about and making an issue of the «Hangchow disturbances» in which «the workers have revolted over questions of pay». On the other hand, this same press is alleging that leaflets from the «people» have been sent to the foreign embassies in Peking against Teng Hsiao-ping, whom they describe as «the one to blame for the suppression of the insurgents and the bloodshed».

The class struggle continues and will continue in the period of the construction of socialist society, but we have the impression that in China this struggle is not carried out consistently, is weak and not based on sound and lasting principles. When there are vacillations in line there will certainly be wavering stands towards enemies.

If you do not have a stable line, you do not have the situation in hand at key moments and things go the way they did: the Cultural Revolution was carried out against the traitor group of Liu Shao-chi, and Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Teh-shen and others were included in this group. After a time they emerged as «blameless» and were raised to their former positions, «were re-educated». The «magic» words, the «miracles» of «Mao Tse-tung thought»! However, there are many who cannot swallow this quick rehabilitation and ask the question: Who was right, those who carried out the Cultural Revolution or those who were against it? Naturally, there will be clashes, perhaps with dazibaos, perhaps with disturbances and strikes, and possibly even with arms, if the contradictions grow deeper.

I think that this policy of China, with zigzags, with promotions and demotions, with «pro-American» tendencies, an unclear and unstable «global policy», will not be successful among the states and peoples of the world.

Off the record, the Vietnamese and the Chinese do not speak well of each other. The Vietnamese say that the Chinese are interfering in their internal affairs. How true this is we do not know, but China is interested in ensuring that Vietnam does not become a base of the Soviet Union. Vietnam is a great danger to China in case of an attack by the Soviet revisionists.

Kim Il Sung, for his part, is a pseudo-Marxist. He has begun to make *«la tournée des grands-ducs»** in Europe and Africa, like Tito and Ceausescu...

The USA has become the «Mecca» of the revisionists. They all come to kiss the hand of the «Great White Father», the American President in Washington. In return for dollars the revisionists are carrying juicy parts of their homeland on silver platters to the American president. In other words, they go to the President of the United States of America and sell the freedom, independence and sovereignty of their homeland, as if there were nothing wrong with this...

The Japanese, Miki, held secret talks with Ford. Why? In the interests of the United States of America and Japan. Of course, Japan is against China, too. Ford and Miki will now follow a balanced policy against both China and the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that Ford has promised the Japanese the atomic weapon, but Japan, on its part, has promised Ford the friendship of the Asiatic gendarme against whomsoever may endanger this American-Japanese friendship.

Thus China is twisting and turning between the cunning and hostile Japanese, the vacillating, revisionist megalomaniac, Kim Il Sung, the pro-Soviet Vietnamese, and hostile India! Nothing healthy can emerge from such a policy lacking a Marxist-Leninist backbone. If the Chinese think that with such a policy they

* The Grand Dukes' tour (French in the original).

will manage to strengthen and consolidate the positions of socialism inside and outside their country, they are gravely mistaken and will be bitterly disillusioned. The Chinese believe that the capitalist cliques lean towards the policy of China because of some bourgeois diplomatic smiles, but they should be clearly aware that these cliques are bound hand and foot to world capitalism, to the two superpowers. They want «friendship» with China for some credit or some sporadic blackmail. To them China is a «fashionable state» which they say, «causes us no problems, at present it is no danger to us, but of no benefit either». They consider China as a «buffer state» to soften any unexpected shock.

Unfortunately China believes that the «friendship» of these cliques is the same as the friendship of the peoples which they rule. Here China is gravely mistaken, or is acting in this way, because this suits it better.

MONDAY
SEPTEMBER 29, 1975

RUMANIA AND CHINA HAVE THE ONE LINE

What are these Rumanian revisionists with Ceausescu at the head, whom the Chinese love and support so much?

In recent times top personalities of the Rumanian party and state come and go on visits to China as if to their own home, have meetings with top figures of the Political Bureau, give and take, embrace and shake hands, write to and praise one another.

There is no doubt that throughout history the Rumanian bourgeoisie has been renowned for its «love affairs». It has made «love» to all and sundry at all times. The bourgeoisie has done this with bourgeois France for example, the new revisionist bourgeoisie has done and is doing this with the Soviet Union of Khrushchev, with the China of Mao, with the Yugoslavia of Tito, with the United States of America, the Federal German Republic, and all that give it money. This is clear to everybody, except the Chinese. To the Chinese, Ceausescu's Rumania is «against the Soviet Union», therefore «it is a socialist country» and the «Rumanian party is a Marxist-Leninist party». All such ideas are without foundation. The opposite is the truth.

If there is the slightest trace of anti-Sovietism in Ceausescu, this comes from the fact that he is an adventurer of the Khrushchevite, Titoite, or similar type, who has got a job as a pander, indeed very likely with the knowledge and aid of the Soviets and the pander lives unharrassed by them in return for the services which he performs for them. He lives on the money

he gets from the United States of America, the Federal German Republic and all those who pay him. The Ceausescu regime is a regime of corruption, bankruptcy, of personal and family dictatorship.

It is a disgrace for the Chinese that they call such a party Marxist-Leninist and such an adventurer as Ceausescu a «great politician»!

But why do the Chinese adopt these stands towards Rumania and Ceausescu? There is no other explanation: they get along well together, their policies bring them together in strategy and tactics. The Rumanians pose as being against the Soviets, the Chinese are against the Soviets. The Rumanians are friends of the Americans and intervened to bring about reconciliation between the Chinese and the Americans. Ceausescu and Bodnaras became the «god-fathers» of the Sino-American friendship, which is similar to the Soviet-Rumanian, or Soviet-American relationships. They abuse one another for appearances' sake, but behind the wall they indulge in political, commercial and other sodomy.

The Rumanians are for a broad policy with the capitalists of Europe to which Rumania has sold itself, allegedly for protection from the Soviets. China, likewise, is for a policy of rapprochement with European reaction, but against the Soviets. The tactic of the Chinese in this direction is: «Protect yourself Europe, or the Soviet Union will gobble you up with a war!»

Hence, Rumania and China have the one line. The former also takes credits from Europe, China doesn't do so yet, but nevertheless carries on «interesting» trade. Rumania has the United States of America as her powerful «husband» from whom she snatches dollars and other favours, while China carries on trade with the United States of America, buys and sells, welcomes more groups of all kinds of people than it sends, and welcomes them warmly.

Ceausescu has undertaken to make diplomatic royal tours of all countries of the world. Ceausescu is to be seen more outside Rumania than inside it. What does he do abroad? He buys

and sells, makes and settles deals, receives a percentage and sometimes even a decoration. Ceausescu is replacing Tito as a go-between in the shady deals all over the continents.

China is not conducting itself in the world like Rumania; it likes the tactic of «opening up and recognition», but for the time being it is not doing such shameful things as Rumania. Rumania has rejected communism and the revolution. China, also, is heading in the same direction. China has declared itself part of the «third world», but if you are part of the «third world» you are also part of the «non-aligned world». As to what difference the «third world» has from the «non-aligned world» only the «theory» of Tito and the «theory» of Teng Hsiao-ping, who inaugurated the inclusion of China in «this world», know this.

Hence, all these and other things make Rumania «China's best friend»!

We condemn the anti-Marxist, pro-American and pro-revisionist policy of the Rumanian leadership. Naturally, such a stand of ours causes the cooling of China towards us.

There is a great deal of pro-Rumania propaganda in China. A person in Shanghai told a comrade of ours: «An attempt was made by Soviet agents in Albania to overthrow your government, but two Rumanian divisions came to your aid and saved the situation». I believe that he was not urged from above to say this, but must be an enemy element, or an element who heard about Beqir Balluku, linked his case with the «loyal ally of the Chinese - Rumania», and built up the story for himself.

Such is the international policy of Rumania and such are China's opinions about it. We are against the one and against the opinions of the other, and we base these stands on realistic analyses seen from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

Rumania is certainly carrying out a «great policy» in Europe and in the world, but it is also trying to take over the conductor's baton of the policy in the Balkans. This is the

long and short of it: the Chaush* wants to become the Bash-Chaush* of the Balkans by advocating a meeting of leaders of all the states of the Balkans, in which the United States of America should be invited to take part together with Italy. The «little» Latin sister together with its big Latin sister, which are notorious for their collaboration with fascism and submission to American imperialism, dream of leading us into the fold of the Americans.

Rumania knows that this proposal it makes is no more than a soap bubble, but what of that! — before it bursts the bubble has «some rainbow colours».

What is Ceausescu's anti-Sovietism based on? On nothing important. Allegedly, he does not take part with troops in the Warsaw Treaty manoeuvres, but he takes part through army staffs. Rumania is in the Warsaw Treaty and there it will stay. It is totally involved in Comecon, but raises some opposition, kicks out a little, but even the Bulgarians, who are as intimate with the Soviets as «their underpants», do this in Comecon.

Then, where is their anti-Sovietism expressed? Is it that they have not become like the Bulgarian leaders?! But they are just about as bad, if not worse. Sometimes the Bulgarians may do something unexpected and surprising, while the Rumanians are not «bold spirits» of that sort.

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* Sergeant, Sergeant-major (Turkish), a play of words with Ceausescu's name.

TUESDAY
SEPTEMBER 30, 1975

NOT A WORD WAS SAID IN CHINA ABOUT THE SPANISH HEROES

It is a scandalous, anti-Marxist stand on the part of the Chinese that up till now they have not said a single word in defence of our five Spanish comrades, of whom three were members of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), whom the hangman, Franco, executed. The whole world rose to its feet in stern protest, the entire world proletariat, indeed even the bourgeois governments and the Vatican protested against this filthy, revolting act and recalled their ambassadors from Madrid, while only «Mao's revolutionary socialist China» said not one word about the Spanish heroes!! Is this a revolutionary stand?! A Marxist-Leninist stand? No, this is a reactionary stand in the full meaning of the word. China defends Franco, just as it acted yesterday in defending Pinochet of Chile. Hence, it is clear that China defends the fascist running-dogs of American imperialism, defends the United States of America. Such stands cannot be covered up with slogans like «...the peoples want revolution», etc., when in fact China is defending the counter-revolution.

WEDNESDAY
OCTOBER 1, 1975

WE MUST NOT MERELY EXPOSE THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS BUT MUST FIGHT THEM, TOO

Last evening, all of us from the Political Bureau and the Government had dinner with the Chinese ambassador on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. The «Dajti» Hotel was packed with guests, a lavish banquet! China is ready to open its purse for lunches and dinners, but is tight-fisted when it comes to fulfilling some needs for our plan. However, this question is closed and we did not mention it in the talk we had with the Chinese ambassador.

Naturally, during the talk we raised some problems. As always, the Chinese ambassador used the well-known platitudes and slogans, in other words, «baloney». He had just come from China and told us that «the biggest meeting which the State Council has organized» had been held in Tachai, and thus he began the well-known formulas about Tachai. I said, «We have read that Teng Hsiao-ping and Chiang Ching delivered important speeches at Tachai. Could you tell us something about the content of these speeches, because 'Renmin Ribao' tells us nothing?» The ambassador replied, «The same meeting was repeated in Peking, too». In other words with this he wanted to say, «I know nothing more» or «I am not authorized to tell you more than this». Despite this, I asked him, if he had the possibility to send us the speeches «so that we could benefit from their importance». «Without doubt,» he said. Of course, we

will be waiting for them till... the millennium, like the other materials.

More concretely I spoke to the Chinese ambassador about our agriculture, about the wheat, which turned out not too bad. I pointed out to him that now we were struggling for higher yields in maize, etc., because this year we have suffered from drought, which is still going on and causing us damage.

Likewise, I told him about the hostile work of the agents of the Soviets and the Titoites, Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi, etc., pointing out that they have done us great harm, and we are now working to repair the damage which their activity caused. I stressed that these traitors were in the service of the Soviets, were saboteurs, slanderers, liars, etc. The Chinese ambassador listened and said only: «Like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao».

Then I continued the conversation about some key problems of the international situation and the aggressive role of the two superpowers. He interrupted me and stressed their slogan of struggle against the Soviet Union. He did not mention the United States of America by name but said only: «We must expose the others». I replied: «We must expose them, and fight them, too, because if we do not fight them, exposure alone, will not do them much harm».

Then the Chinese ambassador brought out the formula: «Chairman Mao teaches us to prepare for war, therefore we must store grain».

I replied: «What Mao says is right. Preparations for the time of war require grain, but also require modern weapons. We have the one line, and we know that man plays the main role in war, but weapons are very necessary, too. Our enemies are armed to the teeth and with ultra-modern weapons. The superpowers have not only armed themselves, but are also arming their allies, like Tito, who is getting modem weapons both from the United States of America and from the Soviet Union. Rumania is following the same course. Against whom will they aim these weapons? Will they aim them against those who

provide them?! Doubtful as it seems, this eventuality cannot be excluded, because contradictions between them exist, but first of all these weapons will be aimed against us, therefore we, both China and Albania, must arm ourselves as quickly as possible with modern weapons. There is only one road open to Albania to get weapons, that of our great ally, the China of Mao. If this road is closed to us, and it will be closed to us in time of emergency, socialist Albania will be fighting in encirclement».

The ambassador produced the other well-known formula: «We are very far behind because of the hostile work of Lin Piao».

This was too much for my patience, and I said: «This situation must be overcome without fail and as quickly as possible. Otherwise Mao's idea that war cannot be waged properly with conventional weapons cannot be fully applied. You Chinese judge matters correctly when you say that the Balkans is a point under threat of imminent attack by the Soviets. On this we agree with you because this is how we judge matters, too, therefore we are greatly activizing our defence. The Party has charged Mehmet with the task of the Minister of Defence. We shall not allow the enemy to set foot on our territory alive, but it will be superior in the air and on the sea, therefore we need weapons suitable to cope with these modern means that the enemy possesses». I continued to develop my idea saying that truly the danger of an imminent assault was in Europe, but that they must watch out in Asia, too, because neither the Soviets nor the Americans are asleep.

The «clever» Chinese ambassador turned the conversation back to the experience of Tachai!

Thus our conversation ended.

THURSDAY
OCTOBER 2, 1975

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA IS NOT REVOLUTIONARY

In its international policy the Communist Party of China is maintaining wrong, non-Marxist stands. Its policy is not a revolutionary, proletarian class policy, is not pro the revolution. Up till yesterday the People's Republic of China and its foreign policy were shut in their own shell, but now they have opened up indiscriminately and in our opinion the opening has taken a wrong direction.

What is their wrong direction?

The Communist Party of China poses as though it is assisting the world revolution and the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties, but in reality it is not doing this.

The Communist Party of China claims that «China is part of the third world», instead of affirming itself as a socialist country and assisting the peoples of the world and not the cliques ruling them, especially the blood-thirsty cliques of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who sell themselves to any imperialist in order to maintain their domination over their own peoples. China propagates friendship and alliance with the whole of the «third world» without any political distinction, and especially without making any class distinction, without struggling or doing anything to deepen the contradictions between the working class of these countries and their oppressors, the reactionary bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China and the policy of the Chinese state are ignoring these contradictions and acting to soften them by openly defending cliques such as those of

Pinochet, Franco, Mobutu, and many others. This is not a. Marxist-Leninist policy, but an anti-Marxist one, because it is an attempt to quell the class struggle at the international level. Hence, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state forget their class ally, the world proletariat, underestimate it and highlight their alliance with the heads of the bourgeoisie who are ruling over the proletariat and the peoples. And this kind of alliance, not seen from the class angle, is switched according to circumstances.

The Chinese foreign policy is guided by two basic criteria:

The first criterion: Are you well-disposed towards China, or not? If you are, or pose as if you are, whoever you may be, you are the ally and friend of China, and «I, China, forget the class aspect of policy and defend you, welcome you with cymbals and even give you credits; if you sing my praises, I love you greatly whoever you may be; if you love me to some extent, I regulate my friendship within these bounds; if I should hear that you oppose me or switch your affections, then I turn the weather-cock right around to the beginning of hostility». Hence, unstable friendship, friendship of a bourgeois character.

The second criterion: If you are against the Soviet revisionists, you are a friend of China, whoever you may be. The principle which the Chinese policy pursues is: the main enemy of China and the whole world is Soviet social-imperialism, because it «is unexposed, war-like and seeking world hegemony». Therefore, according to the Chinese policy, a «holy alliance» against the Soviet Union must be created with the United States of America, about which the Chinese say, «it is imperialist», but a second-rate «enemy», after the Soviet Union. This is said for the sake of appearance, but the Chinese aim to establish a social-democratic alliance with the United States of America. They have reduced their propaganda for the exposure of American imperialism, have softened, or more concretely, have ceased their struggle against the United States of America, and have gone even further in the consolidation of this false and monstrous alliance. In every party which poses as a

Marxist-Leninist communist party, or in the states which claim to be socialist states, the Chinese publicize, advise and assist every pro-American trend and exert their influence so that very little or nothing at all is said about the aggressive activities of the United States of America; they mislead and compel the revolutionary, liberation or Marxist-Leninist movements to act in the direction of the Chinese policy. Even where American imperialism has deeply insinuated its bloody tentacles and the cliques of that country have become agencies of the Americans, the progressive and revolutionary movements are advised and encouraged, whether they like it or not, to say: «the main enemy is the Soviet Union».

This is terrible. This means to deceive the proletariat, to quell the revolution and incite an imperialist world war, instead of marching on the Marxist-Leninist road by fighting to weaken the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, by assisting the revolution and not quelling it, by assisting the peoples' national liberation wars against the two superpowers in order to destroy their plans for predatory imperialist war in this way, or if this war cannot be avoided, to turn it into a civil war, a liberation war, and revolution.

However, China is not proceeding on this road. It has declared, and it has signed this in the Shanghai communique, that the United States of America is not after hegemony and is not going to fight for hegemony. To think in this way and to trust a «scrap of paper», as Ford described such declarations when he was in Peking, means that you have deviated from the Marxist-Leninist theory and are proceeding on the opposite road.

China uses a number of slogans like «the nations want liberation», and «the peoples want revolution», while in reality it does not assist national liberation wars and revolution, but extinguishes them. «There is great disorder in the world, but the situation is excellent», say the Chinese. To say that «the situation is excellent» when the two superpowers are oppressing and enslaving the peoples, when they are preparing for impe-

rialist war, when they are inciting the peoples to shed one another's blood, etc., etc., and when you, China, take the side and seek the aid of one imperialist state in order to fight the other, and sacrifice the revolution, the Marxist-Leninist movement and the peoples' national liberation wars for the sake of this iniquitous policy, means to commit a great fraud and betrayal at the expense of the revolution. The dangerous game China is playing shows this.

The exposure of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon, showing that the Soviet Union is infiltrating into Bolivia, for example, where it has built a cement factory, etc., all this is done by the Chinese propaganda, and with this we are in agreement. We have always been in agreement with the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism. But to accept that American imperialism has been tamed, as China does, that NATO is necessary, that the European Common Market is necessary, that it is necessary to say: «Long live united bourgeois capitalist Europe!», and «Long live Franco and Pinochet!», on these views and others like these we have not been and never will be in agreement with China. Indeed we are and always will be opposed to and will openly fight all views of this nature, because they are in favour of American imperialism and world capitalism, and against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism.

The crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world is greater and deeper than any that has been seen before. But what is China doing? Is it assisting the millions of proletarians who go on strike? Is it assisting the millions of unemployed in the world? Is China assisting these colossal masses that have risen to their feet and deepening the crisis of American imperialism and Soviet revisionism through its assistance? No, not at all! Unfortunately, China is assisting the United States of America and the Western capitalist states to get over the crisis painlessly; it is assisting them politically and ideologically. It has opened up the market of its own country to them and permits investments of foreign capital in China. All this is being done

under the disguise of a «Marxist-Leninist» policy and allegedly in order to fight the number one enemy, the Soviet Union, which tomorrow may quite possibly become its number one friend.

In fact, China is allowing the revisionists, social-democrats, who are all in the service of local and international capital, to manipulate all these masses of strikers and the unemployed. China neither supports nor assists the revolutionary movements and the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties, but divides them into categories: those that speak well about China and follow its policy are good, the others are nothing.

But the tragedy for the international communist movement lies in the fact that it protects China, defends it, and says nothing against it even when it is wrong. We Albanians are not attacking China openly, because the overall interest still does not allow this. However, our external and internal policy is open, resolute, and in opposition to that of China on all the issues I mentioned above. China knows it, the peoples of the world know it, the Marxist-Leninists also know it, because we have not kept our mouth shut and we are not going to shut it. We are not going to allow anything, any interference or pressure, to violate or distort the line of our Party which is known world-wide. Those statesmen and progressive bourgeois people in the world who speak with great sympathy about the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania are by no means few.

Why do they express this sympathy?

First, because we speak openly, courageously and correctly against the two great powers, speak, and at the same time, act. They like this correct policy, because many others do not do this since the two superpowers have bound and gagged them.

Second, because our policy towards bourgeois governments is neither liberal nor sectarian. We know hew to distinguish which governments are progressive and which are not, and all of them have understood and see that our policy defends the interests of the working class and the peoples of these countries first of all, and that we support this or that government

or those statesmen on these issues and from this viewpoint, when we see that, in general outline, they include such demands to some extent in their government programs.

Third, because they see in the courageous policy of our Party an example, which they, too, their peoples, whether small like us, or big, want to follow. In moments of crisis and violence on the part of the two superpowers, many bourgeois governments or members of such governments, striving to escape from the iron grip, remember Albania and take courage from its example.

We have loved and still love China as a big socialist country sincerely, have defended it and will defend it on the Marxist-Leninist road, but we deeply regret these mistakes it is making in line. We do not like them and cannot accept them. We want to discuss these things, but the Chinese do not agree. They find it «comfortable» that we do not speak openly about these things, apart from the fact that it is obvious to the world that our stands are not the same. Such positions should not exist between our two parties and states. It is going on for two years, during which we have three times repeated our request to send a delegation of our Party and Government headed by Mehmet to Peking, but three times the Chinese have postponed this, turning a deaf ear to the request. On the other hand, they are welcoming all the statesmen of whatever category, imperialist, bourgeois, monarchs and princesses, from Ford down to the Yugoslav revisionist Prime Minister, Biyedich. How can we consider this disdain and disregard except as an expression of the views of the big state which, between ourselves and in a low voice says, «You are my friends», but says to itself, «friends who do not bring me baskets of figs», that is, «do not support my international policy»? This unfriendly stand of China towards Albania cannot be interpreted differently. But the Party of Labour of Albania knows how to keep its temper and avoid losing its patience.

We have suffered a great deal and have encountered many difficulties, but have overcome them with success, because we

have defended and followed Marxism-Leninism, have been fair and prudent and have known how to link our national cause closely with the workers' international interests. The Party of Labour of Albania knows that its strength lies in the people, in its free and sovereign socialist Homeland. This is the primary and decisive factor. International aid takes second place. We follow the international situation vigilantly and likewise follow the innumerable, shifting manoeuvres of various states in the world and try to draw lessons and correct conclusions which serve us in the policy of our state. But the policy of our state cannot be based on or switched according to these changing circumstances. The policy of the Party of Labour of Albania is based on its strategy and tactics, founded on the Marxist-Leninist theory and applied in the conditions within the country and internationally. Many who pose as, but are not, Marxists, can utter this formula, but Marxism must be applied in the correct way. For us, the changing relations in politics are a secondary factor, something unstable on which one cannot base oneself. A pragmatic policy based on today's circumstances may have a direction from which you can benefit tactically if you know how to exploit these circumstances, while tomorrow the situation may change completely to your disadvantage. Hence, the policy of your Party and country must not get caught up in the sinister labyrinth of traps, which the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist states set.

TUESDAY
OCTOBER 7, 1975

CHINA AND YUGOSLAVIA

The leaderships of these two states have fallen in «love»! Old acquaintance and sympathy. The Chinese and Mao himself were very pleased with the struggle which Tito waged against Stalin, cheered him in this struggle and described it as right. From Mao's own mouth came the words: «Tito was not wrong, but Stalin was wrong». That Mao said this is completely true, not because he said it to us, but because even today Chou En-lai, Keng Piao and others are making propaganda against Stalin. «Yes,» say the Chinese (to the gallery), «Stalin was a great man, but he made mistakes.» What mistakes did he make? «His view of the question of China was not correct», «his view of the question of Tito was not correct, either», «nor was his view of the question of the Soviet Union», «the question of international communism», etc., correct.

Then if he made these mistakes, as the Chinese claim, why do they say that «Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist»? But who was Khrushchev, whom the Chinese now consign to the cesspool? «The Lenin of our times», said Mao at the Moscow Meeting of 1957. An evaluation of «genius» about the traitor on the part of Mao!

The Chinese have maintained an unprincipled stand towards Tito and Titoism, too. If we see pronounced zigzags in the Chinese line on the political and ideological definition of the revisionist activity of Tito and Titoism, this stems from the opportunist policy of the Chinese. They had to speak well about Tito, because that was their conviction, but they had also

to «expose» him, because others were exposing him, and even Khrushchev threw the odd stone at him. The time came when the Chinese ceased the polemic against Tito and their *de facto* political and ideological rapprochement began (although, in appearance, they still do not maintain ideological and party relations).

When China took its pro-American and anti-Soviet stance, this policy was manifested in all its relations with the foreign world. Imperialist America, the fascists Pinochet and Franco, Tito and Ceausescu, renegades and adventurers, German revanchists and Italian fascists are its friends. For China ideology has no importance. It looks at nothing from the class viewpoint, sees nothing from the angle of the world revolution and the liberation of peoples! According to the Chinese leadership, only one enemy exists for China and the world — Soviet social-imperialism. The bitter and tragic fact is that they forget the other enemy — American imperialism.

The anti-Marxist tactic of the Chinese is alliance with the whole of world reaction, even with declared and branded fascists, provided they are opposed to the Soviets. Not only is this anti-Marxist, but it shows that their analyses of the development of world problems are carried out by the Chinese in such a wrong and crazy way that they leave one aghast. Every political action of the Chinese brings grist to the mill of imperialism and world reaction.

The Chinese imagine (there is no other way their actions can be interpreted) that the whole world thinks and is convinced that China is red and revolutionary. This policy which China is pursuing has a «revolutionary» aim: to unite the «third world», the «second world» and American imperialism against the Soviet social-imperialists. And from their actions it turns out that in order to achieve this «ideal» they must not take much account of principles. «We now defend the United States of America,» the Chinese justify themselves, «because it is weaker than the Soviet Union, but with this we must also deepen the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the

United States of America». What ideas of genius!! The world allegedly proceeds as China wants!! The earth goes round, the continents with their peoples and states allegedly follow such a policy as China wants!! What madness! The whole of world reaction, with the exception of Soviet reaction, is urging China on this wrong course and applauding it. The Chinese leadership is puffed up with pride like a turkey-cock, but allegedly a... modest one.

Having deviated from a principled Marxist-Leninist class policy, China, naturally, must base itself on the political conjunctures, on the manoeuvres and intrigues of reactionary governments.

Let us come to the Chinese-Yugoslav friendship. This is now real, but it will suffer defeat if the Chinese see pro-Soviet tendencies in the Yugoslav policy. As we know, the policy of Tito, in essence, is anti-Soviet and pro-American. But Tito feints and dodges, he always has done this, and has shown himself to be an adventurer and an acrobat. Tito pursues an anti-popular, anti-socialist, hence, anti-Marxist policy, and has captured the position of the «leader» of the meaningless «non-aligned» bloc. In reality, Tito is pursuing the policy of those states which are linked with the superpowers in fact, although they do not take part in their treaties and military pacts.

Tito runs errands and receives cheques and favours from all. He enslaved Yugoslavia, created the new wealthy stratum there, lives like a king himself and poses as a «great political thinker». Not everybody believes Tito's nonsense, but when they need to use him they boost him, and when he is no longer useful to them, they cast him aside, or will do, like a squeezed lemon.

There is no doubt that the Soviets want to have Yugoslavia under their yoke, and for this they employ every means, every policy, every conspiracy, every manoeuvre; they flatter Tito, write and speak well about him, promise him and give him credits. The old fox Tito is making approaches to and smiling at them. When they are unable to achieve their full aims, the So-

viets snarl. Then Tito assumes the pose of the cat which sharpens its claws and raises its whiskers against the Soviets, while miaowing for help in the direction of the Americans.

Such is the Titoite policy which greatly pleases the Chinese. Why? First, because they are of one mind with Tito, and second, because in essence he is pro-American and anti-Soviet, and third, because the Chinese have to increase their friendship with Tito in order to «deepen the contradictions between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union». Brilliant tactics!!

Yesterday, Djemal Biyedich, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, arrived in Peking where he received a «warm and affectionate» welcome, with crowds, with cymbals, with slogans and banners. Certainly, even Mao will receive him. The leading article of «Renmin Ribao» eulogized «Barabbas» and Titoite Yugoslavia. In order to disguise the game, it did not use the term «socialist Yugoslavia», but by stressing the great economic successes and the stands of the Yugoslav leadership against capitalism, imperialism, and hegemonism, this term was clearly implied. Hence, according to the Chinese, Titoism is in the same «progressive political» position as China.

China has placed itself in the «third world», while Tito is in the «non-aligned world». Among them is Rumania, too, because it is allegedly anti-Soviet. While being aligned, Rumania poses as «non-aligned» with the Chinese, with Tito, and the Soviets. **The difference between the «third world» and the «non-aligned world» is like six of one and half a dozen of the other.**

The «Renmin Ribao» article referred to dwells on the famous analysis, «Soviet imperialism is threatening Europe and especially the Balkans with war and aggression». The Chinese issue the «call»: «Europe and the Balkans, you are in imminent danger, therefore, unite with one another, put aside whatever quarrels and differencies you have, rely on the United States of America, NATO, and the European Common Market. You, Balkan countries, are almost in the wolf's mouth, therefore unite with Yugoslavia, with Tito at the head». In other words,

they are telling us Albanians: «You are wrong that you do not trust the Yugoslavia of Tito, the Rumania of Ceausescu, the Greece of the colonels, the Turkey of the Demirels, and why not, even the Bulgaria of Zhivkov, as we do. You Albanians are not doing well in failing to participate in this Balkan dance». With these stands which they maintain the Chinese want to tell us: «Why do you Albanians need to look at the essence of matters? Look at the signboard over the shop door and be satisfied».

The Chinese military attache in Belgrade told one of our diplomats that «the Chinese delegation was warmly welcomed by the Yugoslav armymen»; they «showed the delegation everything», spoke «openly and frankly» to them, «demonstrated their weapons», etc. **The Chinese military attache wants to convince us that the wolf has become a lamb, but he forgets that the wolf always remains a wolf, and indeed there are cases when the dog reverts back to the wolf as in Jack London's novel.**

While they postpone the date of the visit of our delegation for more than two years, the Chinese welcome the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Biyedich. With this stand they want to tell us: «We do not want to accept you, because we have political and ideological contradictions with you, while with the Yugoslavs we Chinese have no contradictions (and the facts show this with the visit of Biyedich)».

Naturally, the Soviet revisionists and their running-dogs do not like Djemal Biyedich's visit to China, and knowing this, Teng Hsiao-ping made the occasional allusion, at the dinner which he gave, to «a superpower which wants war», or something like that. At this the Soviets and their friends got up and left the hall. The Chinese think that they deepen the contradictions in this way, but they are wrong. Tito put things right from the other side. **You, Chinese, just live on with your illusions, fulfil the material demands of the Yugoslavs and continue the road on which you have set out, because Tito has seen countless such games! Tito is a master of such tricks.**

FRIDAY
OCTOBER 10, 1975

MAO TSETUNG RECEIVES DJEMAL BIYEDICH

Biyedich was warmly welcomed in China. Teng Hsiao-ping praised Tito for «his manly stand against brutality», which plainly speaking, means against Stalin. What a disgrace for the Chinese to praise the hostile gesture of Tito against such a great Marxist-Leninist as Stalin! But according to the Chinese, it was Stalin who was wrong, and not Tito.

Even Mao Tsetung warmly welcomed Biyedich. To all this pomp and circumstance we devoted only «one line» in our press, just one line and nothing else. We did this to let the Chinese know that we are not in agreement with them, not because Biyedich went to China, but because by remaining completely silent about the request we have presented three times on end for our delegation to go to China, they have not accepted it.

The Chinese are tricksters, too. At the Koreans' reception for the 30th anniversary of the Korean Workers' Party, Teng Hsiao-ping and all his group went up to Behar in a demonstrative way and shook hands with him alone. They did this to say to us and those present that «it is true we are talking with the Yugoslavs, but with the Albanians we are close friends».

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 10, 1975

WE ARE WORRIED ABOUT WHAT WILL OCCUR IN CHINA AFTER MAO'S DEATH

The reports which come from our comrades in Peking are worrying, especially about the health of Chou En-lai, but also about Mao Tsetung's serious problem of old age.

As the Chinese comrades tell us, and their official press confirms this, Chou En-lai is in hospital. They do not say what he is suffering from. Some of the foreign news agencies say from cancer (hence an incurable disease), others say from his heart. For a time, he received foreigners and friends in hospital. He received our delegation with Comrade Adil for fifteen minutes and told them that he was going to be operated on and did not know how it would turn out, for the better or the worse.

For some time bow he has not received anybody, even in hospital. Li Hsien-nien replied to one of our comrades who asked about Chou En-lai's health by saying: «He is ill», and made a gesture to imply that there was no hope of recovery.

As for Mao, there is no talk about his being ill, but about his old age; he «cannot walk at all or walks only with difficulty, does not speak at all, or speaks very little, sits very bent with his mouth drooping open». But, during the period of Chou En-lai's illness, Mao welcomes and farewells foreigners, appears on television with them, shakes hands energetically with them, etc. We have seen Mao on Italian television, but no one tells us anything about his state of health. Of course, we ask because we are worried about him, but those we ask tell us that he is keeping well. And this is what we want, too. The thing that

worries us is: In what state is Mao leaving the party?! What will happen in China after his death?

We know that the struggle against factions and factionists, against «deviators», «opportunists, liberals, and sectarian elements» has been carried out with zigzags, while the method of «education» has been used without discrimination, and after a time all these people have been «re-educated», have been «rehabilitated». Hence, what these people are doing now and what they will do when Mao dies, we do hot know, of course, but we are convinced that they will not sit quiet, that they are neither re-educated nor corrected.

As far as can be seen, Teng Hsiao-ping is carrying out the functions of premier of the State Council. At present he speaks in the name of Chou, because Mao is still on his feet. But after Mao, Teng may speak in his name, too. Another person «trained» by Chou is Li Hsien-nien who, in our opinion, is not a sound person. Now he is taking the bit between his teeth.

In the Political Bureau there are other new comrades, too. This is true, but they are not appearing or appearing very little. The two I mentioned previously are the main ones on the scene. We cannot say precisely what course the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state will take after the death of Mao. We shall see and judge from the stands they adopt in internal and external policy. As we have always done we shall pronounce ourselves only on the basis of facts, examined through a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 19, 1975

CHINA AND VIETNAM ARE ANGRY WITH EACH OTHER OVER BORDER QUESTIONS

Apart from other things, China is angry with the Vietnamese over the question of some islands which «North Vietnam has occupied». China claims that they belong to it, and must be returned, in a word, is bringing out the old «title-deeds», activizing its geographers and historians to prove its theses. Vietnam is keeping quiet, remaining on the islands, because it is said there is oil there, and grabbing credits from China. Meanwhile, China tells us, «We cannot give you credits as big as you require, because we are assisting Vietnam».

FRIDAY
NOVEMBER 21, 1975

WHAT THEY SAY TODAY THEY DO NOT SAY TOMORROW

The Chinese ambassadors everywhere are trumpeting that the Soviet Union is going to attack Western Europe, that war is imminent, therefore, «we (the Chinese) are with you, victims (the Western capitalist states), with 'United Europe', the European Common Market and NATO».

However, since the Soviet Union is not attacking, since the Western capitalist states are trying to reduce the tension, Chiao Kuan-hua, the foreign minister of China, tells Nesti: «This attack will not come today or this year, but in the future».

What the Chinese ambassadors say today they do not say tomorrow. They say, «The Soviet Union is encircling Europe, then it may attack. At present it is trying to interfere, or to carry out subversion in the Balkans, in Portugal and Spain, and to get a stranglehold on Europe in this way».

We shall see what new version they bring out.

WEDNESDAY
DECEMBER 3, 1975

FORD WAS RECEIVED BY MAO TSETUNG

Gerald Ford in Peking. Mao Tsetung received him and talked with him for two hours.

Teng Hsiao-ping and his suite welcomed the American president at the airport. The talks were held with Teng. He put on the banquet and delivered the speech. Ford delivered a speech in reply.

In essence Teng Hsiao-ping's speech was this:

«The world is in turmoil, war is being prepared and is knocking at the door, the situation is excellent! The Soviet Union is preparing for war and threatening Europe. The Soviet Union is fighting for world hegemony. As we have said in the Shanghai Communique, you, the United States of America, and we, China, are not for hegemony. Therefore, you (the United States of America), we (China) and the third world must unite in. an 'alliance' and break the ribs of the Soviet Union. We Chinese are not deceived by 'the reduction in tension' which the Soviets are preaching, therefore you Americans should not be deceived by the Soviets, either». Their own formula was also used: «The world wants liberation, the world wants revolution», etc.

This is the essence of Teng's speech to which the president of the United States of America replied with a short speech: «We are going to arm because this secures peace; we shall do everything in our power to ensure that the tension is reduced and not raised; we have our interests and our policy will defend them and the peace of mankind», etc.

We know very well who Ford is, and also know what American imperialism is and what its objectives are, but we must analyse Teng Hsiao-ping's speech, which expresses the fundamental line of the policy of China and Mao.

At the time when Liu Shao-chi was in power, and Teng at that time was general secretary of the party, the famous slogan was launched: «Alliance with all, even with the Soviet revisionists, against American imperialism». We did not accept this front against American imperialism with the Soviet revisionists as allies, for reasons which are known. This Chinese slogan and the Chinese policy based on it did not last long but fizzled out.

Now the other slogan has emerged, also from Teng, but naturally with the approval of Mao and Chou En-lai: «A front with all, including American imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism». Again we are in opposition to this Chinese slogan and policy. These two lines, both the former and the latter, are anti-Marxist. The former lines us up with and reconciles us to the Soviet revisionists and to other sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the revolution. Our views, that American imperialism and the revisionist Soviet Union were and still are sworn enemies of socialism and the peoples, turned out correct. Life showed that those with whom the Chinese called on us to join in an anti-imperialist front, proved to be social-imperialists. Hence, our line was Marxist-Leninist, while the Chinese line was wrong, liberal and pro-revisionist. They blamed Liu Shao-chi for this.

The new Chinese line, the present one, is again liberal, opportunist, and anti-Marxist, while our line, which opposes it, is correct. Our struggle must be a stern one against the two imperialist superpowers, which are oppressing the peoples, which are against socialism, which want to redivide the world, and which are both struggling for world hegemony and jointly preparing for war. From the class angle, in the interest of the revolution, we must make the contradictions between the two superpowers deeper, must weaken the two superpowers, not by uniting with these two oppressors of the peoples and the revolution, but by

uniting with the peoples, the revolutionaries, the proletariat of the whole world.

Besides this, China, in fact, is inciting the world war, which allegedly will break out in Europe, instead of fighting against predatory war and encouraging just revolutionary wars. China does not even raise the great objective that, if the imperialist war cannot be prevented, it must be turned into a revolutionary war against the warmongers. No, it is not assisting the peoples who are fighting against the capitalist-imperialist-revisionist yoke as it should, but seeking alliances with the United States of America, with Pinochet, with Franco, with Giscard d'Estaing, with Heath, with Strauss, and all the bourgeois capitalist cliques who are ruling over the peoples.

Teng and Mao brought out the theory of the «third world» and said that this world is «the ally of China». Teng «frightens» Ford with this theory, posing as if he has this «third world» in his pocket. But Ford laughs, because it is he who has the ruling cliques of this «world» in his pocket, and not Teng. Teng could have had the peoples of the so-called third world with him if China had followed a Marxist policy, but the policy of China does not take proper account of these peoples. It has taken up the wavering cliques who turn whichever way the wind of the dollar or the ruble is blowing. The oppressed peoples see that China wants and establishes alliances with reactionary cliques, and now, above all, with American imperialism. Tomorrow the weathercock may turn towards Moscow.

China's game is dangerous and immature. China is in danger from the Soviet Union, but at present it is hiding this danger, posing as strong, to «convince» the United States of America. Hence, China is trying to say that the Soviets are unable to attack it, but since they are social-imperialists, they will attack someone. Therefore, China has made its «Marxist» analysis according to which «the Soviet Union is going to attack Europe. Hence, you in Western Europe beware, because war is knocking at your door. Listen to me, China, you peoples of Europe, you must arm yourselves, unite with your reactionary bourgeois gov-

ernments who oppress you and hurl yourselves on the Soviet Union. Don't reduce the tension, but raise it. I am with you. And you America, too, must watch out, get out of the crisis, unite more strongly with Western Europe, and all world reaction, and don't reduce but raise the tension with the Soviet Union, if possible, attack it and pull the chestnuts out of the fire for me».

Teng went so far as to repeat to Ford, «In Shanghai we decided that we two will not be after hegemony». China believes that the United States of America is not out for hegemony!! Even the closest friends and allies of American imperialism neither say nor believe this anti-Marxist enormity.

China has adopted an incorrect, non-Marxist policy, which does not judge things from the revolutionary class viewpoint. Even if we suppose for a moment that it will gain time with this policy, exert a «kind of blackmail», and drive the others against the Soviet Union, which China considers the number one enemy, still it cannot achieve any success in this political manoeuvre.

Ford replied to Teng that he did not accept the policy of not reducing the tension, of «friendship with the peoples», and expressed the view that «every state has its own policy to defend its interests». In his speech he set out what the interests of the United States of America are. It is evident that its interests are: to continue to dominate the world, hence, it is for hegemony; to weaken the Soviet Union, and also to have China under its control, possibly even to drive it into war with the Soviet Union, so that it is China which pulls the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States of America.

Many times history has seen bargaining between rogues: each trying to outwit the other. But is it so easy to deceive American, French, West German, or British imperialism? One would have to be naive to believe such a thing. Such a short-sighted policy, based on dreams, based on the view that «I am a great power», or the idea that «all the peoples, all the revolutionaries applaud whatever I do», because «I call myself a

Marxist-Leninist party» (when in reality you do not follow the Marxist-Leninist principles), must be abandoned.

Teng's speech to Ford must be condemned for the appeal directed to American imperialism to form an anti-Soviet front, and for his trust in the Shanghai Communique, according to which the United States of America is not going to fight for hegemony. Teng says that «the peoples want revolution». Does this mean that he has hopes that American imperialism will unite with those who want to carry out the revolution, or can it be that with this he is threatening Ford, «You have two roads: either join with us, or the revolution will break out»? Or can Teng think that the bourgeois cliques of the «third world» are in favour of the revolution?

Astonishing!! Truly astounding ideas! What sort of people are these who are ruling in China? What pseudo-revolutionary manoeuvres are they up to? If one analyses this question more deeply, I think that an attack by the revisionist Soviet Union on Western Europe can in no way be ruled out, but this does not exclude the possibility of an attack by the Soviet Union on China, too. All this does not depend on the desire of any one person or group of persons. In my opinion, the warmongers still have to make more preparations for war. As I have said in another note, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are afraid of each other, because of the threat of nuclear war. But this does not avoid the sharpening of contradictions between them, and when these contradictions become so sharp that they can no longer be contained, then weapons will be used. At present the two sides are arming and holding talks, making political, tactical and strategic deals. The revisionist Soviet Union has turned Eastern Europe into one of its provinces and is preparing it to have it as a battlefield, both for attack and for defence, because he who thinks of launching an attack must also think that he could be attacked. The Soviet Union might organize a putsch in Rumania and liquidate the Ceausescu gang, because it is no longer doing its job, and the

United States of America and the Western powers may fold their arms.

A similar thing could occur in Yugoslavia, with a pro-Soviet government, and the Americans and the Western powers might likewise do nothing, although the defence of NATO — the Western states, Greece and Turkey would be jeopardized. We may be wrong, but we do not see a direct war of the Soviet Union against NATO right now, as the Chinese predict, as such an easy matter, although it is not impossible.

I have explained how the situation may develop, and our stand has taken account of all the most ominous variants. But it would be shortsightedness to exclude the chance that the United States of America and the Western powers may make efforts to drive the Soviet Union in the direction of China. No. Just as China is trying to do in fact, in wanting to drive the Soviet Union against Europe and the United States of America, the United States and the Western powers arc likewise striving to have the Soviet Union attack China.

As soon as Teng left France, Giscard went to Moscow to revive their «friendship». Scheel of Germany did the same thing, and likewise Wilson of Britain and now, recently, Leone of Italy. Let Teng say, «You Western powers are heading for war against the Soviet Union»; the Western powers go there and receive concessions, make investments, and so on.

China is against the Soviet Union, but instead of working in Asia and around it, it is interesting itself in Europe in an unrealistic way. The Soviet Union has insinuated its tentacles into the two Vietnams, into Laos; is threatening to get them into Cambodia or Thailand. Towards India, where the Soviet Union is penetrating deeply, China maintains a cold, not to say a hostile stand; then how much is the temporary friendship with Pakistan, or the visit of Madam Marcos of the Philippines, worth? The same thing can be said about the Princess Pahlevi who was received with such honours by Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai.

And what is China doing about Japan? Nothing, only trade. Now it is said that China is to get, or has already taken, short-term credits, for five years, from the capitalist states, except that they are not from the «states» but from private capitalist companies. Six of one and half a dozen of the other. A very astounding and dangerous policy!

TUESDAY
DECEMBER 16, 1975

COMRADE KANG SHENG HAS DIED

Peking reported the sad news of the death of Comrade Kang Sheng. I was very grieved, for I knew him well. He was here in 1966. He was at the Moscow Meeting of 1960, when we opened fire on Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites. He was an outstanding and very staunch Marxist-Leninist. We were in agreement not only over major principles, but he approved our tactic and considered it correct in all its aspects. He was a comrade loyal to principles, a pupil of the school of Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern. Kang Sheng greatly admired socialist Albania, had a great and sincere love for our Party, defended us in all situations and was one of our best comrades in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. We have lost a close comrade and friend, and the Communist Party of China an outstanding theoretician and a worthy leader, while the world revolution has lost a militant loyal to the cause of communism and a proletarian internationalist.

1976

THURSDAY
JANUARY 1, 1976

THE ZIGZAGS OF THE CHINESE LINE

At other times I have written what I think about the line of the Communist Party of China, and in connection with this, I have expressed opinions on many questions and problems of its national and international policy and judged these events (of course, as far as I have been able) from the angle of our Marxist-Leninist theory. I have given my ideas on all main events observed in China and on the political-ideological course which they took. Within the possibilities which have been allowed me through the information provided about these events, I have tried to understand and interpret them, first of all, from the angle of the line of our Party, but also from the development of international events, thinking that these incorrect stands of China were temporary, and forced on it by the internal and external circumtances, as the big state it is. Regardless of these circumstances, however, I have described the mistakes in line of the Communist Party of China as mistakes, always hoping that they would be corrected once the difficult situations through which China was passing had been overcome.

Another thing, which could lead one to a wrong judgement of the Chinese line, is their great secrecy about events. The Chinese leaders keep these events hidden with the greatest jealousy, and when something is announced, still it is only partial information, unclear, often incomprehensible and astonishing! The «explanation» about some event (I am referring to important events) comes unexpectedly, and this is proclaimed as the

«perfect line» for years on end; then for one or two years it is mentioned with allusions, and later it is declared «openly» that it has been reactionary. «Openly», they say, for after two or three years of «speaking openly» about the mistakes and the people who have made the mistakes, it is announced that «the mistakes have been corrected and the people have been rehabilitated». This shows great instability of line, of ideas, of stands and actions, hence a continuous uncertainty in line, which swings from left to right like the pendulum of a clock.

The political and ideological line of Liu Shao-chi was declared to be a revisionist, liberal, opportunist line. And this is what we think: it was precisely this. Many epithets were officially applied to Liu Shao-chi, but the one applied to him in particular was that of the «Khrushchev of China». This «Khrushchev of China» had become «omnipotent», and from what was implied (because all the questions in China are left like this — to implication) we gather that «Mao Tsetung had been isolated, had been pushed aside», but everything was done «in his name and under his banner». To us this means that Mao could not have been «isolated», as they claimed, because he led the Party, led the party congresses. In 1957 he participated in the Moscow Meeting and spoke pro Khrushchev whom he called «the Lenin of our time». On this occasion Mao also criticized Stalin, saying: «When I went to Stalin, I stood like a pupil before his teacher», and Mao did this in order to show the «despotism» of Stalin towards him. He also congratulated Khrushchev because «he had done well to strike at the anti-party elements», that is, the Molotov group. Can it be thought, then, that Mao Tsetung had been isolated by Liu Shao-chi? No, it seems to me that, on the contrary, he was in the same position as Liu and Khrushchev.

Hence the political, ideological, economic and other views of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, at which we were present in 1956, were not only the liberal rightist and revisionist ideas of Liu Shao-chi, but also of Mao, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai, Peng Chen, etc., in other words, of the whole

leadership. At this point the question arises: Why did not Mao himself do what he congratulated Khrushchev on doing, by sweeping away all these factionalists? He did not use the broom because they had power?! No, this has never been said. But what was this gang of Liu Shao-chi, «rightist» or «leftist»? This has never been stated openly. But Mao himself — was he rightist, centrist, liberal, leftist, or Marxist-Leninist? He has always posed as a Marxist-Leninist, as a disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, large photographs of whom are placed on the walls of China, but in reality Mao has not acted and does not act on the basis of their teachings against deviators from and enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

In his writings, Mao has expressed and continues to express that «the peasantry is the most revolutionary force on which the revolution must be based». Contrary to the Marxist theory, Mao puts the decisive role of the proletariat in the revolution in second, if not third place. «This is how the Chinese revolution was carried out, therefore this theory must prevail,» he says. «Long live Marx!» says Mao Tsetung, but for him, Marx's theory about the leading role of the working class is not valid. In other words, according to Mao, it is impossible for the working class to lead the revolution, and the poor and middle peasantry to be its ally in the revolution, but the opposite must occur: the peasantry must lead the revolution and the working class be its ally.

Another expression of this anti-Marxist line of Mao's is the concept that «the countryside must encircle the city». This means that the poor peasantry must lead the revolution, that «the proletariat of the city has lost its revolutionary spirit, has become conservative and has adapted itself to capitalist oppression and exploitation». Of course, this theory is anti-Marxist and cannot lead to revolution, cannot establish and give the role that belongs to it to the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to its leadership — the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. Anything can be covered up with words and propaganda, but not the essence of the question, and consequently, if not today, tomorrow,

the time will come when the roof and the walls will fall in, because, without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist communist party and without resolutely implementing the immortal theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the correct way, socialism cannot be built.

Irrespective of its appearance and the way it advertizes itself, the Communist Party of China is not, and cannot be, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party in sound revolutionary positions. The history of this party shows not only that various ideological factions have existed in its ranks, and these have acted against one another, which is natural because the class struggle exists and is waged within the party, but also what is more important and disturbing, that these factions are permitted, continue to exist, are made official, up to the point that «Let a hundred flowers blossom» is publicly proclaimed. **A party which allows liberalism, kulak, revisionist, or anarchist views of any kind to flourish in its ranks, or allows rent to be paid to the urban capitalists, at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established (sic!), cannot be called a Marxist-Leninist party.**

In such a party, the petty-bourgeois peasant mentality dominates, and it cannot be otherwise, when, in its activity, the Marxist-Leninist principles are not implemented, but are violated, underestimated, and used as a curtain to conceal the non-socialist reality. This opportunist revisionist line had caused the decay of the party and was leading China on to the Khrushchevite road.

Mao Tsetung reacted vigorously, but not like the leader of a Marxist-Leninist party. I am referring to the «Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution». What was this Cultural Revolution?! Who led it, and against whom was it carried out?! Mao Tsetung and a narrow staff around him, you may say, led this revolution. Mao made more or less this call: «Attack the headquarters». But who were these headquarters? They were staffed by Liu, Teng, Chou, Li Hsien-nien, and many, many others, down to the committees. Who were to attack these headquarters?

The youth, which on Mao's call, came out in the streets in a spontaneous, anarchist way.

All this activity was carried out not in the Marxist-Leninist way and not implemented in this spirit. It is characteristic that those who rose in this «revolution» were students, pupils, intellectuals. **Thus, the famous «revolution» was carried out by the intellectuals outside the control of the party, which not only did not lead it but, in fact, was virtually liquidated.**

The staff of the revolution had no confidence either in the party of the working class, or in the class itself. Bloody clashes took place, indeed even regular battles with artillery and mortars. The red guards made the law in the streets and the squares, arrested people, innocent or guilty, discredited them, made them wear the «dunce's cap» and even killed them in the streets; they even went so far as to set fire to foreign embassies. Xenophobia expressed itself savagely against foreigners, against the culture of other peoples, and even the cultural inheritance of China itself, thousands of years old, was fought against.

What did all this storm demonstrate? It is clear that it did not demonstrate the Marxist spirit and principles in action, but testified to the implementation of anarchist theories of Stirner, Bakunin, and those of Proudhon, against which Marx and Lenin had fought with the greatest severity. The «Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» was not a cultural revolution (it was aimed against that culture which Marx and Lenin advocated). It was a political revolution, not on the Marxist-Leninist course, but an anarchist revolution, without a program, against the working class and its party, because in fact, the leading role of the working class and the party itself were liquidated. But apart from the confusion and anarchist spontaneity, even the authority of the local organs of state power likewise no longer existed, while the army led by Lin Piao, who fought under the banner of Mao, with the little red book of Mao, and with billions of badges in all sizes showing Mao's face, stood as Mao's all-powerful «reserve». Lin Piao had become the main figure in the staff of the revolution, along with Chen

Po-ta. However, later, these two were declared to be «plotters, traitors, and organizers of various abortive attempts on Mao Tsetung's life».

Mao Tsetung gave the order that the countryside must not be aroused to revolution because, allegedly, everything there was in order. As was said, «the evil was in the cities, in the party, in the working class» (sic!). This looked like and was described as leftism, but in fact it is rightism, and this means that the revisionist rightists, and these were the people of Liu Shao-chi's group, had taken control of the working class and its party, while the «leftists», Mao and company, aroused the students and the intellectuals to revolution to recapture control of the party and the class! What astounding things occur in China! Here the rightist theory of Mao, according to which the «countryside and the youth must attack and capture the city» (sic!) comes out clearly.

During this chaotic and anarchist revolution, allegedly repairs were carried out on the party, allegedly it was reformed. And how many were expelled after all this great turmoil and period of distrust and insecurity? Only three to four per cent. However, this figure does not indicate that the party had «decayed», but implies that Mao and some of his followers had no confidence in the party.

What other «benefit» did the Cultural Revolution bring? None at all! The ruined state power of the dictatorship had to be revived, but how? — A Russian salad, although the Chinese leaders were against the Russians! The state power created everywhere was comprised of people of the party, the army, the peasantry, and workers. The main leader of this state power was the most senior officer. Even now it is still not known how the state power is formed in China. They say that the party has been organized, but the mass organizations have not yet been formed and they are not holding their respective congresses.

In theory, the class struggle allegedly continues, although all those who were condemned and humiliated by this «revolution» have been rehabilitated, and Teng, *de facto*, now oc-

cupies the top place in the leadership, since Mao and Chou are sick. All those who had had top responsibilities, such as the ministers, marshals and generals of Chiang Kai-shek, have been pardoned and freed. It is said that they are «working conscientiously» for their homeland, socialist China.

All the non-Marxist theories of Mao's have been called «Mao Tsetung thought». Of course, such a thing has been done in order to make a separation between Marxism-Leninism and «Mao Tsetung thought». They tried to impose this «theory» on us and on all the communists throughout the world, but we did not agree to fall into such a fatal error. To perpetrate a fraud, that is, to peddle the liberal, revisionist and anarchist views of Mao as Marxist, the Maoists produced the other formula, «Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought». The fraudulent nature of this disguise is quite obvious. The revisionist-capitalist world and certain lackeys of the Chinese, that call themselves Marxist-Leninist «communist» parties, like that of France, adopted this «theory». The revisionist «Mao Tsetung thought» is now being applied without any kind of disguise in international policy.

The Chinese policy is based on «the main struggle against Soviet social-imperialism». «Whoever has contradictions with the Soviet Union is on the same side as China». With this the Chinese leaders imply, and say openly, that «Soviet social-imperialism is the main enemy». They say this also to strengthen the idea that China is a «socialist country» and «guided» by Marxism-Leninism.

In its foreign policy, China is not guided in anything by Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the class standpoint. All the basic Marxist-Leninist principles have been abandoned in China. It is not waging a class struggle against the two superpowers, its non-Marxist policy has eliminated the Marxist ideology in its foreign policy. The China of Liu was for «alliance with all, including the Soviet revisionists, against the United States of America», while the China of Mao is for «an

alliance with all, in the first place, with American imperialism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the Soviet Union».

China is distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory which teaches us that the proletariat stands at the head of the peoples on the one side of the barricade, and on the other side are imperialism and world capitalism, to which Soviet social-imperialism has been added.

Mao's theory that «the countryside must encircle the city» continues to predominate in the foreign policy of China, and this is expressed in the «theory» that the «third world (in which China is included) must encircle and liquidate the second and the first world». But Mao's China is effectively supporting these two «worlds», which it pretends it must encircle and fight, in their oppression of their own peoples and the peoples of the «third world», which it allegedly considers the soldiers of the revolution. Tito, Ceausescu and others of the same ilk are the allies of China, are for the «revolution» (sic!). This is how the Khrushchevites consider them, too, indeed the Khrushchevites carry this game to the point that they call the countries, which are led by those whom we have mentioned above, «socialist». China defends Franco, Pinochet, NATO, the European Common Market and «United Europe», reactionaries like the German Strauss, the Englishman Heath, the Italian Fanfani, and others. This cannot be called a Marxist-Leninist class policy. The famous «third world» cannot be accepted en bloc as the Chinese do. A genuine socialist country absolutely must make some differentiation in its alliances with different states and in giving state aid. Its relations with a state of the «third world», not to mention relations with Franco and Pinochet, must first be looked at from the class viewpoint in order to avoid hindering the revolutionary and progressive forces who are fighting in this or that country; on the contrary its relations must ensure that these forces are assisted. With Mao's theory, however, China neglects this, indeed it makes it quite plain that it does not want to fall out with the bourgeois, capitalist and despotic leaders of these countries who are against their

own peoples, who are with those great powers who give them the most support and credits. This can never be the policy of a socialist country.

A wrong policy on the part of China is apparent, also, in connection with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties which have been formed in the world. Besides these parties, Trotskyite and anarchist groups of every kind, from the groups which acted under the guidance of Sartre to those of any bourgeois and provocateur faction, have popped up like mushrooms, and China maintains contact with them all without any distinction. It welcomes and farewells their representatives, to whom it preaches unity with the social-democrats, propaganda about China and Mao and alliance with the local bourgeoisie and the United States of America against the Soviet Union.

This is a hostile anti-Marxist, anti-revolutionary bourgeois great-state policy. But such dangerous adventures cannot go down with our Party. The Chinese know that we are not in agreement with them over the line and we tell them of this opposition every day, by defending the views of our Party on every problem. For the time being we are not coming out openly against them and they are acting in the same way, they are keeping quiet about our differences, say the occasional good words among the people but they publish nothing about our stands because then problems which could be dangerous to them, would emerge. Even when they publish something in their press, they distort it with Chinese sleight-of-hand.

There is a characteristic common to both the Chinese and Soviet press, that profound theoretical articles exposing each other cannot be found there. The articles which they publish are stale, superficial, made up of worthless slogans, and this because, were they to make a profound analysis of the problems, they would expose each other's bluff, because both of them are revisionist states and parties.

At a superficial glance, these ideas about China's stand and our view that China must be considered a revisionist country may seem surprising. Such an opinion may appear to be wrong

and unrealistic, but there is no other way to explain these stands on a series of issues of internal and foreign policy. China is ready to agree to talks, indeed to reconciliation, on many questions with the revisionist countries and the revisionist parties which only yesterday supported the Soviet Union and which criticize it today. What I am saying is not a supposition but the reality. The Chinese welcomed the Spaniard Carrillo to Peking, talked with him and parted with him as friends. Why not? Why was no communique to prove the opposite published? Diplomatic relations were established with Franco's Spain, while the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), the members of which are being killed by the Falangists, is entirely disregarded by the Chinese. Why? Because the Marxist-Leninist communists of Spain do not think like Jurquet of France, who is a devotee of Mao Tsetung thought and tells the adherents he has to support the army of the French bourgeoisie.

China speaks well of any revisionist country provided only it seeks rapprochement with American imperialism. Towards Poland, which is entering the sphere of American capital, down to Zhivkov's Bulgaria, not to mention Rumania and Yugoslavia, China is shifty in its stands.

For the Chinese, Rumania is their dearest friend. Why? The pretext is that it «is standing up to the Soviets». This «resistance» of the Rumanians to the Soviets is only a mask. The Rumanians and the Soviets have many things in common, their internal policy is identical and so is their foreign policy. In both cases the two parties are revisionist, the two states are capitalist, and their contradictions, if they have any, are minor ones, are ephemeral, or just a game. China is not making any analysis of this situation and does not want to do so. Rumania is a «socialist state» to China and as such China defends it.

Likewise, China supports Yugoslavia politically, because, for the moment it cannot support it ideologically for the reason that it stinks, reeks of betrayal. But Titoism is nothing but liv-

ing capitalism; and Titoite Yugoslavia a state which is guided by the anarchist idea of federalist «self-administration», where the state is maintained for the needs of the moment and where Titoism liquidated the party of the communists. It liquidated the party and allegedly left the class «to administer itself», but in fact, in this way it favoured the wealthy bourgeoisie, new and old, to become the owner of Yugoslavia, to enrich itself and sell the country to foreigners. In reality, chaos and anarchy reign in the economy, politics and ideology in Yugoslavia. The bourgeois and revisionist world calls Yugoslavia «socialist», while it calls Tito a «great man», because he stood up to Stalin, but in so doing he performed and is continuing to perform great services for American imperialism and big world capital.

In the policy of China we do not condemn the diplomatic relations which it has established with various capitalist and revisionist states (of course we condemn its relations with fascist states), but we condemn the non-Marxist line which guides this policy. We are not in agreement with its non-class stands, or those Chinese stands which serve neither the world revolution nor the national liberation of the peoples in the «third world». With its political and ideological stands China **is doing great harm to socialism and the revolution and the peoples' liberation struggle on a world scale.**

The capitalist world recognizes this service on the part of China. Any true Marxist-Leninist movement, or the riots of students led by Cohn-Bendit, or the Tupamaros, regardless of their different characters, the capitalist world calls «Maoist» and China rejoices at this description, at this «honour» which world reaction pays it. Indeed, it advocates unity of all these Maoist «opposition», anarchist trends with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, without regard for the diametrically opposed views which exist among them. **Besides this, China advises these parties to collaborate with the bourgeois governments of their countries, to support their bourgeois armies, which suppress the peoples and the proletariat. Those Marxist-Leninist parties which do not follow the line which China advoc-**

ates, it abandons and fights. Then, how can you call this line Marxist-Leninist? No, this is a revisionist line.

The distinguishing characteristic of modern revisionism is «peaceful coexistence», seen and implemented from an angle which is not a class, revolutionary angle. Another of its characteristics is the peaceful, parliamentary road of taking power in order «to go over to socialism». Such is also the line which Khrushchev advocated and the Soviet revisionists preach today, and such is the line of the Italian, French, Spanish and other revisionists. This is also the line, the road of the Chinese. They, too, are advocating this road. Since they preach alliance and collaboration with all the bourgeois, capitalist states and all their institutions, including their bourgeois parliaments, they have abandoned the revolution. This is the reality, in theory and practice, irrespective that theoretically the Chinese do not admit this. Neither do the Soviets admit their crimes: they call Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence «Leninist» and they never forget to accompany the parliamentary road of taking power with Lenin's statement that, «It is possible that power can be taken on this road, too». But the revisionists have made this the only road and *de facto*, combat the other road, the road with arms, with violence, the road of revolution and the establishment of genuine socialism.

Fidel Castro is trumpeting that «the army is the party». The modern revisionists do not say this openly, but the fact is that in China the army commands the party, which Mao Tsetung «broke up» during the Cultural Revolution. During this revolution it was the army that was left and remained as the only «pillar» of the regime: without the party, without the trade unions, without the working class in power. This is what happened, this is the fact. But why did this occur? It is quite clear — because of a non-Marxist-Leninist ideological world outlook.

These fundamental theoretical problems must be gone into thoroughly and not superficially. One must not trust words but facts, and these facts must be analysed from the angle of our Marxist-Leninist theory. How can one understand the gesture

of the Chinese in the last days of the last year when they freed the Soviet helicopter with its crew of three, whom they had held prisoner for 21 months on end «because they had entered 400 kilometers into Chinese territory»? They did well to release them, because there were two things which should have been done: either to put the Soviet airmen on trial, or to release them after a couple of months. But what occurred? For 21 months the Chinese press left nothing unsaid about this helicopter: «This is a criminal act, an act of espionage, a brutal provocation», etc. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PR of China, they had told Behar Shtylla officially, «The Soviet airmen are spies, the helicopter was full of espionage apparatuses, we have captured important documents»; «the helicopter had landed in Sinkiang to kidnap people», etc. Meanwhile the Soviets maintained that the helicopter had lost its bearings. However, after 21 months the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China made a different statement, saying that the helicopter had lost its way, that the airmen were innocent, therefore they were being freed, and an official dinner was put on for them by the Foreign Ministry, and they were farewelled «solemnly» at the airfield.

What can you call this stand? What name can you give it? This doesn't make sense except as part of something going on behind the scenes. There is something behind all this, something that stinks. It will not surprise us if such a switch a la Chinese is called «a majestic political gesture of Mao Tsetung», and of course, a «Marxist-Leninist» switch. Perhaps after this «brilliant switch», Chou En-lai or Teng Hsiao-ping will tell our ambassador in Peking, «Come on, let's go to Moscow, what are you waiting for, the situation has changed», because this is precisely what Chou En-lai told our ambassador when Khrushchev fell. Someone starts a rumour that the «fall of Brezhnev is expected», and the Chinese dream of an about-turn and prepare secret plans, perhaps in agreement with the Soviets. We shall see revisionist and traitor tricks.

The Chinese stand towards our Party of Labour and social-

ist Albania is not sincere. Up till now we have been «the best and loyalest friends of China and the Communist Party of China». In China this spirit has been developed and extended very well down at the base, and we have nothing to complain of about this. But the centre maintains a different stand. While we have put forward our views to them openly and have sought to exchange delegations and hold talks, they have turned a deaf ear to our requests. Without saying explicitly that it is not in agreement with us on many questions of principle, with this stand it is taking, the Chinese leadership in fact implies that it is not in agreement. **The economic aid which we sought from the Chinese for the projects of the five-year period, 1976-1980, which will certainly take six to seven years to complete, was much reduced.** They gave us 20-25 per cent of the credit we sought, receiving us coldly, closing the door to any possibility of an addition, saying, «This is Mao's opinion, too». «We are very poor,» they told us, while up to two years ago, without adding to their words in any way, even to those of Chou En-lai, they declared: «We are helping you little, very little, but after two or three years, in the next five-year period (that is, the one we have begun) we shall give you more». However, it turned out quite the opposite, and with what contempt they speak today, telling us: «Don't ask for anything more, because no other request will be accepted». Can we call this economic pressure? Indeed we can, without any reservation. Why are they maintaining these stands? Because they are not in agreement with us on line.

We sought military aid through a message from me and Mehmet addressed to Mao. This time the Chinese granted us a ludicrous amount of aid and shamelessly told us, «Now don't ask for any more!» Why has this change taken place? Because they are not in agreement with our political, strategic and ideological line and want us to submit to their revisionist line.

The Chinese leaders have told us, «you should collaborate and link yourselves with Yugoslavia and Rumania», that is, we must become revisionists like them; «you should es-

tablish diplomatic relations with the United States of America», and other such iniquitous things, that is, go the way China is going. This is a betrayal which we reject in disgust and we are fighting this line in one way or another, openly on every occasion with our press and our propaganda.

It has been proved that the traitor group of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi was for this Chinese line, which in reality, is at one with the line of the Soviets, the Yugoslavs, the Rumanians, the Americans, etc., because all of them want and struggle for the liquidation of our Marxist-Leninist Party and its leadership which defend Marxism-Leninism and socialism in Albania. Hence the Chinese leadership took all these measures to weaken us. For the moment, these actions are not so brutal as those of Khrushchev, but that is the direction in which the Chinese are heading, thinking that gradually they will get a stranglehold on us, but... a fat lot they can do to us!

Not only that, but Mao Tsetung is acting precisely like the Khrushchevites. Two or three important messages have been sent to him in the name of the Central Committee of the Party and over my signature, while he on his part, has not deigned to give us any reply even to maintain the standards of politeness and reciprocity. Either he has not deigned, or he does not want to leave any document about the problems which we have raised. Even the oral replies, which we have been given through his comrades, have been very negative. An official letter should be given a reply by letter, whether positive or negative.

The Chinese methods of operation are unpleasant, and why not say, cunning, too. Over the supply of arms, all the members of the Chinese delegation, with whom the problem was discussed, behaved in a disgraceful fashion on this occasion and closed all the doors to us. The leader of our delegation expressed his dissatisfaction to them. In his speech at the final dinner, Yeh Chien-yi began with the stale platitudes, «Come and see us next year and we shall discuss the matter», and other such tasteless rubbish, while on the other hand they had told us, «We shall be in a position to help you about the year 2000».

Not only are these stands on their part unfriendly but they go even further, they make attempts to split our cadres from the leadership by hinting to them, «You see, we welcome you very well, but we cannot give you weapons, because we are not on good terms with your leadership». Trotskyite methods!

THURSDAY
JANUARY 8, 1976

CHOU EN-LAI HAS DIED

This evening Behar sent us a radiogram from Peking in which he informs us that Comrade Chou En-lai died of cancer. This news was communicated to Behar in the name of the Central Committee by the Foreign Minister of China, Chiao Kuan-hua, who had gone to dine with Behar. When Behar asked about Chou En-lai's health, apparently in order not to spoil the dinner, which he might well not have attended, Chiao Kuan-hua replied that he would tell him after dinner.

Chou En-lai was a revolutionary and a member of the Communist Party of China since its foundation. It must be recognized that he was a personality of a high calibre, a very clever and capable man, a great organizer and worker. After Mao, Chou En-lai was the man with most authority in China. At the same time he was a great international personality. We have been closely acquainted with him, had talks with him, and have appreciated his great ability in work and organization. He was Mao's closest collaborator and fought as a «communist» under the banner of Mao. We considered him a friend of our country, respected him, and welcomed him and talked with him sincerely. But it must be said that although he contributed to the aid China has given Albania, we also had arguments with him when the Marxist-Leninist ideology and friendly spirit between us were violated on his part.

It has frequently happened that we have had differences of principle over his line and stands and those of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which we have

expressed in a comradely way to Chou in particular, but also to the Central Committee of the CP of China, orally and in writing. I have written about all these views when Chou has expressed them, or when the line of the Communist Party of China has not been in accord with the line of our Party, at the moments when they occurred. However, neither we nor they have made known to the public the contradictions in line over principle which we have had with the Chinese comrades. Our parties have maintained their respective stands. Despite the disagreements over line, neither we nor the Chinese comrades have made them public, and the friendship between our two peoples and two countries has continued almost as before.

We have been generous and understanding, but we do not violate the principles of our Party, and neither do we play the game of opportunist politics. I have written a great deal about Chou En-lai, I trust, without prejudice, but I have not moderated my terms, and I do not want to dwell longer on this here. I want to say only that, despite all this he was a great man and a great politician, but he did not base himself on Marxism-Leninism. Chou En-lai was a «man of balance», a man of unprincipled compromises, of «very extensive» compromises.

Although there were many issues on which we were not in agreement with his opinions and policy, the death of Chou En-lai grieves us sincerely, because China has lost a great man, the greatest after Mao, indeed I should say no less «effective» than Mao himself, a man who played an appreciable role in the running and administration of the affairs of such a great state as China.

THURSDAY
JANUARY 22, 1976

THE CHINESE ARE NOT PROPAGATING THE CORRECT LINE OF OUR PARTY

Volume 19 of my works has been printed and distributed in many languages. The whole foreign world, friends and enemies of Albania are talking about the correct line and courage of our Party in its exposure of the Khrushchevite revisionists, and the struggle it has waged against them in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and, in particular, in defence of the Communist Party of China. In China alone, nothing has been or is being said, and neither has any organ of the press come out to say anything, even if only to announce that such a work has been published in Albania.

The Central Committee of the PLA and the Presidium of the People's Assembly published the text of the new draft-Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. Abroad everybody is still talking about it and analysing it publicly. **In China alone, this event of such importance to our country, this document of our Party and the Albanian State, of such political, ideological, organizational and constitutional importance, has not been mentioned at all.**

What is written in the Chinese press about our country is worthless. First of all, the press there does not forget to reprint the good things that are said in our country about China, while the other news amounts to banal accounts: This meeting was held, that rally was held, so-and-so spoke there, so-and-so spoke here, so-and-so arrived in Albania, so-and-so left Albania; they also publish sports news. But there is never

mention that «this or that delegation of this or that Marxist-Leninist communist party went to Albania». This is the level to which China has reduced its political and ideological relations with our country! This is what is happening in the press and propaganda, while the political and ideological discussions between our two parties have long been reduced to absolute zero. Not even the slightest exchange of views about events in the world takes place.

In regard to economic relations and aid to the army, these, too, have been reduced to the absolute minimum. Despite this, in appearance, the Chinese are bluffing and want to show that «Albania is their loyalest ally».

What significance should we place on these stands? Can the explanation be that the Chinese have been informed by their people with delay? This does not hold water, because we are not dealing with minor things, but with important events and materials of our country and Party. Then, besides the Hsinhua representatives in Tirana, every week there is the aircraft from Tirana to Peking and back and China also has an embassy in Tirana.

Can it be that the Chinese need time to translate and study our materials? This does not hold water either, because they have a battalion of translators and we are not asking them to publish any articles and make any comments on these events, but simply to publish a simple news item, from which the Chinese public will learn that these «documents have been published» in Albania. Then why are they acting in this way? What is going on? There is no explanation other than this: there is sabotage from the Chinese side, they are not in agreement with the political line of our Party.

The Chinese talk about «the dictatorship of the proletariat», and we are fighting for that, too; they speak against the Soviet Union, but what is volume 19 all about? And what are we doing every day? In that case, why do they not at least publish the news that these documents have come out?

What is the explanation to this Chinese puzzle? They do

not want to propagate the correct line of our Party for these reasons:

a) because their false stand emerges;

b) because the megalomania of the big party and great state exists;

c) because they are not in agreement with our Marxist-Leninist line, either in theory or in practice, therefore if they propagate the correct line of our Party the confrontation will automatically become obvious;

d) because the Chinese formulas and slogans are allegedly Marxist;

e) because they want us to curry favour with them, to speak and act the same as they do. The Chinese do not accept the principled Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party. They want us to become their servile minions. This, naturally, will never occur;

f) because they did not like the internal measures which we took against the enemies of the Party and state — Beqir Balluku, Hito Çako, Petrit Dume, Abdyl Këllezi, etc. Why? To what extent did the Chinese have a finger in their plot? One thing we do know: the Chinese comrades liked the line of the traitors of our country;

g) because the Chinese want to drive us from our Marxist-Leninist positions, want us to unite with the traitors Tito and Ceausescu, and to throw us into the revisionist cesspool. Naturally, we have condemned these anti-Marxist and capitulationist views of theirs.

I have posed all these things as questions many times and have given some explanations of them. I have tried to be objective and correct in my analyses, regardless of the very strong terms I have sometimes used. But I think that things must be called by their proper names.

Analysing the facts on this question, it seems to me that the main thing which should be examined in this Chinese puzzle is this: Is the Communist Party of China on the correct, Marxist-Leninist road? Has it been on such a road? Is it on the

organizational road of a party of the Leninist type, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin teach us? (Not to mention Stalin, whom the Chinese have always been against. The Chinese speak pro Stalin because there is nothing else they can do, since at one time they took a stand in connection with this question, and for the sake of form they put Stalin in opposition to Khrushchev.)

Of course, I cannot claim to know the Communist Party of China in its development and organization. However, my opinion is that this party did not take its initial step correctly, on the Marxist-Leninist road, on the Leninist principles, whether on organization or the various problems which it had to face and solve, either in the bourgeois-democratic revolution or later, in its fusion with the Kuomintang, in the Civil War, in the Anti-Japanese War, on the role of the working class and on the role of the peasantry. Hence, on all these problems of primary importance I think that the party of China has proceeded in a chaotic manner.

We see that until Mao came to the leadership of the party, deviations and factions like those of Li Li-san, Wang Ming, etc., etc., appeared in its organization, ideology and practice. Of course, such things occurred in the party of Lenin, too, the enemies attacked the Bolshevik Party from within and from without; but Lenin acted against them with clear Marxist ideology and an iron hand; he tempered the party and gave it the immortal norms which guide and will always guide the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolution in the world correctly.

I believe that when Mao came to power he established some sort of order, created and led the army and the war, but in the organization of the party and its stands, neither the Leninist basic principles nor the Leninist norms were properly established. The Communist Party of China built up its reputation, but it needed to temper itself in the long years of war and the post-war period. First of all, Mao's views, from the start down to the present day, about the hegemony of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry are not in

accord with the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this direction his views are liberal, regardless of the slogans, and I think that here we have the source of the vacillations in the line of the Communist Party of China and Mao. **As theory and practice teach us, these are the vacillations of the petty-bourgeoisie, of the peasantry.** The peasantry played a truly great role in the national liberation war, both in China and in our country, but in China it was not guided by the ideology of the working class, as it was here. In our country the working class was not dominant in numbers, it was very small, but its ideology was great. This means that our Party was organized on a Leninist basis and put the working class in a position to exert its hegemony.

In China, however, while it is true that the Communist Party was formed, the view that «the countryside must encircle the city» predominated. It was inevitable that weak organizational links of the party would result from this, that the party norms would only be partly established and that a series of factions and anti-Marxist deviations would flourish in its ranks, as they did, irrespective of the fact that the Li Li-sans and Wang Mings were overthrown.

Thus, I think, the Communist Party of China went to war not properly organized. It did not have a clear line and could not play the true role of the vanguard. This party grew up with factions and continued with factions, both leftist and rightist.

The army and the war covered up these dangerous illnesses and the factionists gathered under the leadership of «warlords», but this time they were commanders of armies and communists, according to the ideas of the Communist Party of China. The party existed, but the army was so all-powerful that it must be considered that it was not commanded by the party, but that the party was commanded by it instead. All these outstanding and courageous commanders called themselves communists, but they understood communism according to the inaccurate and vacillating views and orientations of their party.

In his wartime writings Mao deals with many party questions correctly. The cadres were educated with them, but to what extent and how they were educated is another matter, the consequences of which were to appear later. The main military leaders, headed by Mao, were in the leadership both during the war and after the war, and this was a natural thing. Together with them, not only people who had fought in the war, but others, too, came into the leadership of the party and the new state. This selection was allegedly carried out in party forms, but in fact each leader brought with him more of his own men than men imbued in the party spirit.

After the war, great China had to be organized as a state. But what sort of state? A state of people's democracy, but its red flag had four stars which represented the four classes of the Chinese society (?!) and another star in the middle of them. Whose hegemony did this star represent? «Of the working class,» it was said, but the economic, political and organizational reforms which were carried out did not proceed in this direction, because the party itself was not monolithic, ideological unity did not exist in its ranks, but «unity» around Mao. The capitalists continued to exist as a class in this state and even to receive rent.

Under the banner of Mao, Liu Shao-chi took control of the state and the party. Teng Hsiao-ping ran the party while Chou the state. Mao was the pivot around which everything rotated. The army was in the hands of Marshal Peng Teh-huai. This powerful group manoeuvred as it liked. There was talk of socialism but movement was towards revisionism.

Peng Teh-huai was so untrammelled that he manipulated the army on the Khrushchevite road, adopting all its psychological, political, material and organizational features. Liu, with Peng Teh-huai and Teng Hsiao-ping, prepared the counter-revolution. Peng Teh-huai was dismissed from the Central Committee and his comrade, Lin Piao, took his place. New reforms, quite the opposite of the former ones, were carried out in the army, and these were done by Mao. The army was always the

pillar, allegedly because Mao had it under his personal direction. Liu Shao-chi had the party, while Chou En-lai was the opportunist moderator from the time he was born to the time of his death. The struggle for power flared up. But how? With opportunist slogans, beginning from that of «a hundred flowers», that is, permitting all ideologies and factions in the party, the «struggle against the Opera and the University», down to «everything must march in step with the army», and thus Lin Piao became the all-powerful «saviour». Liu Shao-chi saw the danger and tried to topple Mao, as Brezhnev did to Khrushchev.

Mao also recognized the danger and raised the red guards in their millions. The Cultural Revolution began without the leadership of the party, without the working class. Liu acted, too, «the rebels» and various organizations emerged. Anarchy was reigning in China, the party was liquidated, the mass organizations were liquidated, and then civil war between the factions began. Imagine what sort of a communist party that of China was! Then Mao called on Lin Piao, whom he covered with titles, to give the order to the army to intervene, and the army did so. Liu Shao-chi and some main leaders like Teng Hsiao-ping were eliminated by this «Cultural Revolution». (What became of the former is not known; while Teng was «re-educated» and now, as though nothing had happened, -«the number two enemy» of China is back to the positions he had before.) During the Cultural Revolution Lin Piao became the «warlord», he made the law; he published and distributed the «little red book», the Maoist «Bible», and produced the Mao badges, while Chen Po-ta made the speeches. The army predominated over the party and the state, the «revolutionary committees» were created and did what Lin Piao told them. Lin was cooking something up for himself, «made preparations to blow up Mao and to link China with the Soviet Union», so they say. Mao manoeuvred, toppled Lin Piao, and together with Chou, directed the aerials towards the United States of America, the European Common Market, «United Europe», Franco

and Pinochet, and declared China a member of the «third world» together with Spain, Egypt, Chile, Yugoslavia, Turkey, etc., etc.

What conclusions can we draw from this brief, rather incomplete line-up of these events which have occurred in the Communist Party of China?

Its own leadership says that there are two lines in the Communist Party of China. It accepts their existence and, it seems to me, makes it a condition for the existence of the party, and calls it the class struggle in the party. However, **I think that there are not just two lines in this party, but many lines which are clashing with one another for power. The party is chaotic and does not wage a class struggle on sound Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles, or, to put it better, the party does not wage the class struggle at all, but a struggle of clans goes on within it.** The clans are in the party and the state, at the base and in the leadership. All the supporters of factionists, who have allegedly been condemned, can be found within the party and are operating. All this development has been and is being carried out in the name of Mao, who is being made a taboo, his quotations are learned, but each faction is going about its own business on the quiet. Mao himself permits the «two flowers», if not «a hundred flowers». «Let there be two or three factions and let them co-exist,» he says, «then we shall make a revolution each seven years and shall see who will triumph. If the rightists win, the leftists will rise and overthrow them.» This is «the brilliant theory of Mao»!! And in fact this is what has occurred. From the time Mao emerged in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, Li Li-san was overthrown, Wang Ming rose, and he was overthrown, and then Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were raised and overthrown, only Chou En-lai died in power. But how will things go now? Mao is still working in the same way. At present China has no premier, the functions of the head of government are carried out by Teng, who is also chief of the General Staff. But we know who he is. As a political leader confronting Teng, stands Chang Chun-chiao, and in the place of the minister

of defence, because there is still no minister, there is an old man who leans more towards the trend of Chou En-lai, while heading the economy, without being at the head, stands Li Hsien-nien, the most faithful supporter of Chou, of Teng, of Lin Piao, of Mao, of all of them, but never of Marxism-Leninism.

This is the state of affairs in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, not to speak of lower levels. There you have «leftists», «rightists», «moderates», whatever you want. All of them claim to follow the line of Mao, and in fact they are obliged to follow it because they are afraid of the blows they might receive during the factional struggle, but this will break out, if not right now, as soon as Mao dies. The squabbles have already begun: the minister of education is a revisionist, he is not in order, etc. The campaign against Liu has been toned down, the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius is now on the order of the day. How long will this continue? Is it being reduced? Two verses by Mao were published and a great fuss was made about them. What emerges from these verse-parables? One cannot make head or tail of them. As usual they continue to speak in a disguised way, and one needs an interpreter of the holy writ to explain them, as Lin Piao did in his time.

An article, which is not bad, has been written about the dictatorship of the proletariat. The drum continues to beat against the Soviet revisionists and, on the other hand, the American imperialist policy is supported. The question arises: Who is predominant in all this? The leftists: Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan, or the rightists, with Teng and his gang, or the moderates, opportunists, and revisionists like Chou and his circle? Nothing at all can be determined precisely. China is carrying on «by its own inertia», it is said to be growing strong economically and militarily, but we cannot say that things are going well ideologically and politically. The Chinese people are courageous, intelligent, industrious, but politically and ideologically they are not being led on the right road.

They say that the leftists are dominant in the leadership, but we do not see any obvious change in the policy of the party and the state. It is said that the supporters of Lin Piao are in large numbers, and this may be true; they say, also, that Chou En-lai did not have much support apart from that of Mao. Some say that Teng's men are taking power, while others say that Lin's men are taking power. But who to believe or to disbelieve? One has to decide everything from their policy, ideology and actions. About both one side and the other it is precisely these things that are enigmatic and unclear.

What does this show? In my opinion, **this shows that the Communist Party of China does not have a correct Marxist-Leninist line, that there are currents, factions and vacillations within it, and no stability, because there is no Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action.** The party is not effectively in command; the army is going ahead but it is not under the command of the party; the economy is going ahead but likewise not under the command of the party; a policy is being carried out, but not guided by the party and not on the Marxist-Leninist road.

The people, the groups and factions working under the umbrella of Mao run things, clash, and what they say today they don't say tomorrow. Hence, no one knows what the future of China will be, what tomorrow will bring. Where is China going, where will it go, and how will it go? This is not known. As I have said at other times, in this situation, this state of affairs is dangerous to the revolution, world peace, and socialism.

The stands of China towards our Party and People's Republic are explicable. We do not budge from our correct positions because we are guided by Marxism-Leninism, while the stands of the Chinese towards us are vacillating. The rank-and-file people in China love us, speak well of us, while the leadership has been shifty in its stands; at one stage it spoke well of us, then it did not speak at all, and now it has thrown out the friendship with us. It is self-evident that these stands towards

us are neither principled, nor Marxist-Leninist — this is the explanation.

Could the Chinese leaders change? Could we have «blue skies» later? Anything can happen with the Chinese. We are vigilant and defend our Party, its Marxist-Leninist line and the Republic. We are working and will work for the revolution.

FRIDAY
JANUARY 23, 1976

HESITATION OVER THE REPLACEMENT OF CHOU EN-LAI!

According to what we read, the Chinese people were deeply grieved over the death of Chou En-lai, and their sorrow is very great. And they had reason for this, because to them Chou was the most outstanding and hard-working person, and the cleverest organizer and statesman, after Mao.

A good many days have gone by since the death of Chou En-lai, but we do not see a new premier appointed. I think that after this spiritual shock China should not remain without a leader of its supreme executive organ. China is a big country with many complicated affairs which must be settled. Naturally the leadership in the socialist countries is a collective leadership. This applies to China, too, but since many events have occurred in the leadership of the party, there should be no hesitation and the development of factions should not be permitted, because, regardless of what is said and written about there being no factions, the spirit, the current and the people of Liu Shao-chi exist, are alive and working, and have been rehabilitated in their functions and, without doubt, they are intriguing and, if they can, will try to seize power.

The spirit, current and people of Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta exist, are alive and working, and have been rehabilitated in their functions or have been treated as «unimplicated» and undoubtedly are intriguing, and also trying to seize power, if they can.

There are also the «moderate», «diplomatic» elements, like

Chou himself, who relied on Mao and swung as much to one side as to the other. There are any number of people with views like Chou, both in the leadership and at the base.

Finally, in the party and in the state there must also be genuine Marxist-Leninists, who must lead, strengthen and temper the Communist Party of China and the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue the class struggle consistently.

Apparently, however, there is hesitation over the appointment of a premier. Why? Is this hesitation over procedural matters or is there factional struggle? The latter is dangerous, and the quicker this is settled correctly in the Marxist-Leninist way, the better it will be for China. We have also seen the following practice in China: in the Cultural Revolution the government ran things without ministers but with deputy-ministers only. Now, too, it may be left without a premier, but with deputy-premiers, with Teng Hsiao-ping as the First Deputy-Premier. The tactics of Mao are: test, see, take your time, then decide which faction should dominate, or which faction you must replace with another and finally decide. There is no continuity or stability about such a line, since it depends on the individual, irrespective that it is called collective and democratic centralism exists in principle. We shall wait and see how things develop.

THURSDAY
JANUARY 29, 1976

THE CHINESE ARE MOVING TOWARDS A BLOCKADE AGAINST ALBANIA

The main person among the Chinese specialists at the metallurgical combine at Elbasan has begun to make certain ill-intentioned, baseless complaints which have the smell of provocation. He went to the director of the combine and the party secretary and told them approximately: «Your people down in such and such enterprise are telling our comrades (the Chinese): 'You can go home, because we (Albanians) have no further need for you; you (Chinese) are too many,' therefore we (the Chinese) have withdrawn some people. It would be good,» he continued, «to have fewer Chinese specialists, but good ones rather than many indifferent ones. We are brothers, therefore, please, put things in order down below», etc.

Naturally, our comrades opened their eyes in astonishment and said to the Chinese comrade: «What are you saying? We have great need for you, indeed not only for those who are here, but also for others. In no way should the Chinese comrades be withdrawn, and if you want to remove some of them, decide this yourselves and inform us about it. But, please, tell us who are these among our people who have done such a thing without our permission?»

The Chinese replied: «We cannot tell you their names, because you take measures and punish them,» and went on. to add: «One person (Albanian) has even given one of our people in writing this idea that he (the Chinese) can go».

«You surprise us that you do not want to tell us the names

of these people or show us the letter», said our men. «What can we do in that case? How can we solve this mystery?»

«Take measures down below,» he added.

«But against whom, when we do not know who are the culprits? Then how can you base yourself on one or two people, who may even be provocateurs, who want to cast a shadow over our relations? On these questions, when there are problems to be solved, we think you should come and talk with us, the directors, and we with you.»

In fact this is a provocation carried out against us to give non-existent weapons to that faction in Peking which does not wish us well and is trying to find fabricated reasons to slow down or hold up the work and the completion of projects in. our country. Such provocations are not personal, but are certainly committed on orders. This is economic pressure to lead up to political pressure, prior to our 7th Congress. We understand such actions very well because we have experienced others in the past. And now the rightist faction in Peking is trying to pick a quarrel and then to accuse us of starting the fight.

Therefore I advised our comrades to keep cool in their talks with them. I told them that the Deputy-Minister of Construction should go to the combine to talk directly, in a «comradely and fraternal way», as the Chinese like to say. First of all, I advised them to make inquiries from the director and secretary of the party of those enterprises of the combine from which the Chinese have departed. The comrades did this and all our people there replied that «the Chinese themselves have come and told us that so-and-so and so-and-so are to go», and they replied: «In no way should they go, we have great need for them, therefore please take measures so that they are not withdrawn».

It is quite obvious that this is something deliberately hatched up. But they are doing something much more serious in Peking. One of the Chinese employees of the Ministry of Industry tells our trade attache in China that the nickel cobalt

factory which should begin and end in one phase according to the contract, «We must do in two phases».

This is another major provocation and we shall see what consequences it will have, because we shall insist that the contract is carried out.

The refinery at Ballsh is completed, except that it needs two or three compressors, the time of the delivery of which is overdue.

«We are experimenting with them,» they tell us.

«But how long will we wait? When will the experiments be completed? What about buying them for us in West Germany?» we asked.

«No, we have no currency,» reply the Chinese.

«What if we supply the currency, because it is not a large sum,» we tell them. But they don't accept this, either.

What is all this?! It is clear to us. This is sabotage, pressure. The Chinese are moving towards a blockade against Albania. We should take care because they want to lay the blame on us.

WEDNESDAY
FEBRUARY 11, 1976

MAO PERSONALLY SIGNS AND SEALS

A new campaign of dazibaos has begun in China against «leading people vested with power», who were condemned by the Cultural Revolution, made false self-criticism and have been rehabilitated. These formerly condemned people are again in leading positions and are precisely those who have said, «It is not important whether it is a white cat or a black cat as long as it catches mice» (the saying of Teng Hsiao-ping). «If these people oppose the line of Mao Tsetung,» they write in dazibaos, «they will suffer the same fate as Liu Shao-chi,» etc., etc. It is said that forty-five dazibaos against Teng Hsiao-ping have gone up in Peking University. He has «disappeared from the scene» since he read Chou En-lai's funeral oration. Foreign news agencies say that the «economist» policy of Chou En-lai is also being attacked in the dazibaos.

Li Chiang, the Minister of Trade, told our people that Li Hsien-nien is in hospital with a heart complaint. Why did he tell us this? Does he think we shall be upset over this revisionist, a double-dealing lackey and one of the Chinese leaders who has never had any liking for our Party and country?

It is known that now Teng Hsiao-ping no longer appears as the First Deputy-Premier.

Foreign news agencies are saying openly that the leftist radical group, the Shanghai group, has taken power. But what is going on in reality, we do not know. Some years ago Mao pulled Teng out from some hole, rehabilitated him, made him Vice-Chairman of the Party and Deputy-Premier, who signed

and sealed in the name of Chou En-lai, and during the time Chou was in hospital, made him chief of the General Staff, and it remained only to make him the «outstanding comrade-in-arms of the great helmsman», as he did with Lin Piao.

But what is going on now? Mao has brought Teng down again. Will he raise someone else only to overthrow him again, and then bring out some other Teng? There is no understanding what is being done there, except that it is clear that Mao personally signs and seals, personally promotes whom he wants, maintains and encourages two lines in the party and state, demotes one, promotes the other. Every party congress which has been hold in China has had this aim, and Mao has acted to overthrow one group which was in power in order to raise another. This is a non-revolutionary, non-Marxist-Leninist, opportunist policy. It does not create trust in, but, on the contrary, discredits and sabotages the building of a truly socialist system, of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a Marxist-Leninist line. The Chinese line is a typically petty-bourgeois line, couched in Marxist-Leninist phrases and slogans. The facade is red and the propaganda says it is red, but the content is neither red, nor socialist, and we are obliged to say about all this that the architect of this structure is the «great helmsman».

WEDNESDAY
FEBRUARY 25, 1976

CHINESE PUZZLE, MAOIST CONFUSION

Something is brewing in China. After the funeral of Chou En-lai a great campaign began against the rightists, against «the main people in the leadership who have taken the capitalist road», against those who «were opposed to the Cultural Revolution», against those who «were rehabilitated and recommenced the struggle against the line of the great helmsman». The newspapers and magazines have been full of articles which expose this trend, this «plague». In line with the Chinese custom, at the moment no one is being named, but the labels the «second Khrushchev of China», «the main one after Liu Shao-chi», «an enemy like Liu and Lin», etc. are being used. It is evident that the reference is to Teng Hsiao-ping. He has not appeared on the scene for a month, his glory has declined; the welcoming and farewell ceremonies which he performed as Chou En-lai's Deputy-Premier are now done by another, called Feng or Fan, whose name we have not yet learned, because these people are promoted today and brought down tomorrow. This is Mao's tactic: he is not exposing Teng, but neither is he counting the new one as premier.

It is clear to me that Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien and their group are being attacked through Teng. By whom are they attacked? By Mao?! I don't believe this. Mao is an opportunist. They say that it is the «leftists, the radicals» like Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, and Chang Chun-chiao. It is highly possible that this is so. But to what point and for how long will they continue this campaign? Nobody knows but

Mao, who up till yesterday followed Chou, while now he says to these «leftists»: «Carry out your revolution».

Bat what has changed in all this disorder? What is changing? Are the people, the policy, or the ideology changing? These, especially the foreign policy, which ideology impels and leads, are moving more and more to the right. Nothing is shifting: the Americans are friends of the Chinese, the Soviets enemies. But in Mao's pro-American policy unimaginable and astonishing things can be seen, too. At a time when the «leftist campaign» is being developed, and China is seething like a cauldron, the former American President, Nixon, the Watergate rogue, the savagest anti-communist and fascist, is invited to China, welcomed by the Premier with a great suite of thousands of people, who meet him at the airport, waving American flags and cheering!!!

This is the Chinese puzzle, the Maoist confusion.

The whole world does not understand why this is being done, and it can be excused for not understanding, but I shall give my explanation. Mao is not in his right mind and neither are the comrades close to him. He thinks that he is pursuing a great and clever policy. His aim and strategy is to deepen the contradictions between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. According to him the main enemy is the Soviet Union, therefore we must gather the forces against it. Mao says, «The war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union will be waged in Europe».

With Nixon, Mao was more certain that this strategy of his would be applied, but in fact, in getting involved with Nixon, «he has done himself in the eye». Meanwhile with Ford he is not certain, therefore he received him coldly. And for his part, Ford took a stand openly against Mao's strategy. Then, in order «to shake up Ford and the United States of America» and to win the support of all the fascist governments and fascist statesmen in Europe and everywhere, who are implicated in the new scandal about bribes which they have received from Nixon and his government, the «genius» Mao invites

Nixon to China and receives him with great pomp, just as if he were president. And in fact, with what Mao is doing he wants to say that he is not in agreement with the accusations levelled against the «marvellous» Nixon and «if you Americans want good relations with China, you must follow the policy of Nixon, who even though not president, urges the American concerns to make big deals with socialist China». Meanwhile, Mao tells the whole world: «What are you worrying me for! I am the representative of a great state and I know what I am doing»!

We cannot find any other explanation of these things. Time will tell whether we are reasoning correctly or not.

I can make the following deductions about the development of events in China: **In the first place, Mao Tsetung is not a consistent Marxist-Leninist, although he has been called a «theoretician», «philosopher», and even a «classic» of Marxism-Leninism. He leans towards the right of the leftists. In reality he is not a man of action.**

When he came to the head of the party, Mao leaned more to the right than to the left, his true positions were centrist, neither restraining the leftists nor attacking the rightists. He allegedly discarded the rightists, especially some main leaders of this wing, but at the same time he left them to «vegetate» in villas, while even giving them their salaries inside the country and abroad, as he did with Wang Ming who was in Moscow. He tolerated the leftists until they seized power. However, in the period after liberation, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and Chou En-lai and their wing ran China, the party, the economy, the army, under the banner of Mao whom they made a god and shut up in a temple. Mao was made an object of worship, but the keys he held unlocked no door. But was Mao in opposition to them? No, he approved their ideas because his views coincided with theirs.

These «leftists» wanted and strove to act and go further: the «leftists» were transformed into rightists. They continued to pay rent to the capitalists (who remained in leading posi-

tions), and were in unity with the Khrushchevites. This did not please Mao, who in words had shown himself a zealous supporter of Khrushchev, but when the latter did not give China the atomic bomb and went to Washington to establish friendship with the Americans, Mao was revolted, because he wanted to establish links with the Americans himself. However, he saw that the Liu-Teng-Chou trio had the internal power, therefore Mao had no recourse other than to raise the red guards in «revolution», to exploit his own fame in order to attack the «headquarters».

This is how the Cultural Revolution began. Liu and Teng were exposed, while Chou, as the «equilibrist» he was, abandoned the «Liu-Teng» ship which was sinking, and raised high the «little red book» prepared by Lin Piao, while not changing one iota from his rightist views. Chou demonstrated that he was an organizer, an economist, and a politician, but a *versatile* politician. Liu needed him and Chou served him. After the overthrow of Liu and Teng, Chou became necessary to Mao and thus, during the Cultural Revolution, Mao kept him at the head of the government and even protected him from the attacks of this revolution. During this chaotic period Chou showed himself to be a skilful manoeuvrer. He made himself a door-mat for Mao, Chiang Ching and Lin Piao and at the same time tried to strengthen his own position, a thing which Mao wanted because he had no one else of the calibre of Chou to do the work for him.

In these conditions, during these events Chou gathered round himself all his own men, men of Liu and Teng, and while making obeisances to Lin Piao, became the fireman to extinguish the flames of the Cultural Revolution. Lin was overturned, while Chou with the apparatus remained «top-dog» after Mao, who lived within his ivory tower. Chou made himself essential to Mao for this period, too. He snuffed out the revolution, made the economy the number one issue, brought his cadres to power, and waited for the death of Mao in order to climb onto the saddle. However, a number of new people

came into the leadership of the party and the state. Chou accepted them because they were the «seedlings» of the Cultural Revolution, but he hoped to mow them down later. Did Mao know what Chou was? I think that he knew, but Chou was necessary to him and was adaptable to his political-ideological vacillations.

Both of them, Mao and Chou thought about the future. For his part, Mao brought into the leadership some young people whom he could mould under the influence of his personal cult. For Mao these were the «left wing» of his ideological game. Chou, suffering from cancer, also thought that he had to leave his heirs for later. Hence, it was natural that Teng Hsiao-ping had to be rehabilitated to follow the road of Chou as the future «chief of the rightist line». Mao liked this initiative of Chou's, because he knew that he was going to die and thought that Teng, who had been exposed by the Cultural Revolution, was much less dangerous than Chou. Thus, Teng took off at a gallop and went ahead rapidly, just as rapidly as Chou's end came.

Chou died. One obstacle was removed from Mao's path and likewise from the path of the younger leaders, and with the «permission» of Mao, they began the exposure of Teng. «A small, bloodless revolution», a revolution with ink, because Mao knows that the young leaders have to govern together with the middle aged and older cadres, the overwhelming majority of whom have been and are for Chou En-lai's line. Hence: **«Get rid of some of the main ones and then continue the old game of the two lines. If the leftists become too radical then we let the rightists off the chain, and in this way we shall carry on».**

WEDNESDAY
MARCH 3, 1976

TODAY IS TROUBLED, WHO KNOWS WHAT THE MORROW WILL BRING

The drums are beating loudly in China against «the new Khrushchev of China», against «rightist enemies», «agents of the Kuomintang», against those «who have tried to seize power», «who have created splits in the Central Committee of the Party», «who are against the road of Mao Tsetung», etc. Who is this enemy? Teng Hsiao-ping, «the little bit of gold», as Mao called him, whom the Cultural Revolution exposed as «the number two enemy of China» after Liu Shao-chi, and whom, three years ago, Mao not only rehabilitated but appointed first deputy-premier, in fact almost premier (because Chou was dying), and also appointed him a member of the Political Bureau, vice-chairman of the party and chief of the General Staff, and now? And now — *patatras!** The house of cards, the cult of Teng collapsed. They say Mao overthrew him. But why raise him and then bring him down? «Because he was plotting, because his self-criticism was a fraud». «The great helmsman» is very vigilant!

Who ruled China: Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai? Or the Communist Party of China? It is hard to say. But as life confirms, it was those two more than the Communist Party of China. Mao was the banner, in fact Liu acted and ruled, later Liu and Teng were brought down and in came Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta. They, too, were brought down, and Chou reigned

* Crash! (French onomatopoeic word).

with Li Hsien-nien and the rightists, who rehabilitated Teng and company. Teng immediately became all-powerful! From a re-education camp he was sent straight to the UNO, to France, and to the head of the «third world». Teng handed over the Soviet helicopter and the spies and struck at socialist Albania in both the economy and military aid. Teng was riding the clouds, he had reached heaven. But one morning Chou En-lai died. Teng found himself at the bottom of the stairs...!

Then the dazibaos began without address, according to the Chinese custom, but recently they began to mention by name both «the son-in-law and the father-in-law», both Teng and Chou, but the latter in undertones, because Chou En-lai is in fact the head of the rightists and held in exceptional esteem by both the internal and the international bourgeoisie who have called him «the cleverest, the best behaved, the most refined diplomat, the greatest mandarin». The drums are still beating but Teng continues to occupy the posts he had. It is true that he is under a cloud, together with Li Hsien-nien, but who knows — «the little bit of gold» may make another self-criticism and «the great helmsman» may pardon him again.

In any case, nobody can guess what will happen. The Chinese policy has its own special ideology with a Chinese name, has its own tactics and strategy, likewise Chinese! No one knows what tomorrow will bring, while today is chaos! On the one hand, the Chinese people «are struggling» against the rightists, and on the other hand they were bursting with incontainable joy and unrestrained enthusiasm for the fascist, the trickster — the former president of the United States of America, Nixon. This is the policy of the «genius» Mao. It is hard to make head or tail of it all: **Mao was pro Khrushchev, then he turned against him, especially when the latter went to Washington; later Mao personally kissed Nixon; Chou, who was more with Liu and Khrushchev, united with Mao against Khrushchev and pro the United States of America. Then came Teng who, as a collaborator of Liu, must have been pro Soviet, but became**

pro-American, because he had to disguise himself, to pose as if he was with Mao at every moment.

What will happen now? What Mao will say! They say that the leftists are taking power, but their kisses with America are becoming more clinging, allegedly because «poor America has been weakened and requires help», since the Soviets are becoming dangerous.

There is much confusion in China at present, so much so that no one knows where he stands. The Chinese tell our comrades at the embassy, «We cannot protect the Albanian students from reactionaries». Then who has the situation in hand there, the communists or reaction? «The waters must be stirred up in order to clear them», Mao has said. Then let us wait until they clear!

VLORA, THURSDAY
APRIL 1, 1976

WHERE HAS CHINA BEEN AND WHERE IS IT GOING?

China has been and is called «Chung Kuo» by the Chinese, which means in French *«l'Empire du Milieu»* (this is how it was also called in ancient times), which means the «Middle Empire». But why the «Middle Empire»? Because for scores of centuries on end (archaeological artifacts from fifty centuries ago have been discovered) the Chinese considered their country the «centre of the world». This «centre of the world» has had a great and ancient culture, not just when Marco Polo saw it, but it may have been older even than that of the Egyptians and the Sumerians, who are considered the peoples with the world's most ancient culture.

It is understandable that this word «Chung Kuo», which is still used by the Chinese today, is not just a simple traditional name, but the outcome of the formation of a world outlook through thousands of years, through all the Chinese generations, which, consciously or unconsciously, is preserved even today.

The religious beliefs of Buddhism and Confucianism, which Mao Tsetung eventually remembered to «draw attention to» and to «combat» (and this he linked with the struggle against Lin Piao) have implanted the idea of «Chung Kuo» in the Chinese, together with their mystical and philosophical religious world outlook, their forms of organization and management and their written and unwritten customs. It is understandable that the ancient Chinese culture did not become the culture of the Chinese people but remained the culture of the mandarins

and the written language remained a privilege of the emperors and the mandarins, of the «warlords», who oppressed the peoples of China and sucked their blood.

Many times during history, China was attacked by foreigners and fought against them, but frequently, too, the foreigners exerted their influence, carried out there an organization and leadership of their own. However, while leaving its traces, the culture of invaders was unable to assimilate the rich and ancient Chinese culture. Naturally, the opposite occurred.

Religion created its own cult in China, the cult of Buddhism, and linked it with the cult of «Chung Kuo», gave birth to the theories of Confucius and increased their influence among the Chinese. Buddhism and Confucianism aroused xenophobia against anything foreign, just as they aroused megalomania about everything which was theirs, pertaining to «Chung Kuo». Everything was entangled in these religious and ethical outlooks. These and the centuries of great poverty made the Chinese peasant, oppressed by the emperors and the feudal lords, fatalistic, hard-working and disciplined, patriotic, xenophobic, somewhat introverted and suspicious towards others, whether local or foreigner. Every action and thought of his was formulated and done in such a way that it was hard to understand what he really thought and to follow the thread of the problem. In other words, the Chinese did not have a frank and open method of thinking and acting, but worked in roundabout and wily ways, and often these features of character, which were of a defensive nature, were turned into habits of hypocrisy.

During the centuries, however, and especially in our times, the character, beliefs and customs of people changed, underwent a profound evolution, but without entirely losing their old features. Even after the final liberation from the foreign yoke, after the creation of the People's Republic of China, and after the revolution led by the Communist Party of China, China still remained, to some extent, a «closed» country. Under

the disguise of the people's democratic regime, and under the guidance and leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung, despite the radical changes its people carried out, China still remained diffident, created «friendships» at this or that juncture, closed its doors, or kept them closed to progressive world culture, and tried to do everything, to carry out each step in its evolution in an «air-tight jar». Everything foreign, including the Marxist-Leninist theory, which was adopted as «the guiding idea», underwent changes in the form of eclecticism, allegedly applied in the conditions of China.

Even after the triumph of the revolution, Chinese culture did not have a vigorous development, no purge of old retrogressive and reactionary theories was carried out, and sound foundations for a national and revolutionary culture were not laid as they should have been. The fact is that after the Great Cultural Revolution, which was a revolution with other aims, slogans were launched and a number of «revolutionary ballets», which were described as if they were everything — as if they were the foundations of a revolutionary culture, were created.

The whole of Chinese culture was, and still is, in the grip of the old Confucian culture. What the Maoists call «revolutionary culture» is day-to-day journalistic political propaganda. The schools either remain closed or teach a form of knowledge grafted on the old stock. «Culture» has been restricted to the struggle against Kao Kang, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, not forgetting Confucius, under whose mantle all these bosses have been included.

The ideo-political activity of the Communist Party of China is astonishing (and this not without reason). It has remained a closed book to foreigners, especially to the fraternal communist and workers' parties. I think that this has its own reasons and they are a matter of principle. «We shall wash our dirty linen amongst ourselves, and not display it to others». **From the time of its founding down to this day, mistakes of line have been made in the Communist Party of China, which have left pronounced traces and resulted in the party's having an**

unstable line, in which right opportunism is marked. But what mistakes have been made in fact and what is the nature of these mistakes? No document, no analysis of this can be found. One finds political articles with general formulae and lists of names of «the main anti-party elements». **The Communist Party of China still does not have an official text of its history.** There are articles about isolated episodes, written without any responsibility, which circulate today but may be withdrawn tomorrow, when other articles with different ideas come out. Only the reports of the 8th, 9th and 10th congresses of this party are known publicly. All these, or only these, are considered correct, no part of them has been withdrawn, although they include colossal mistakes. All these reports are covered with the name of Mao, because they have been produced by Mao, Lin, Teng and Chou, therefore if the mistakes in line in them are to be cleaned up, what happens to the authority of Mao, who has been at the head of the party?

There are also the four volumes written by Mao during the time of the war. These were collected, «tidied up and embellished», as though they were based on the Marxist-Leninist theory. These materials came out several years after the liberation of China, and they say that they were edited by the Soviet philosopher, Yudin, who was ambassador in China. There are no other works by Mao. They carry on the struggle with his old eclectic quotations. What has this «great theoretician» been doing during all these years? Has he given his opinions, has he spoken, has he found solutions to a series of major problems? Almost nothing about this has been published. **They simply propagate «Mao Tsetung thought» as equal to Marxism-Leninism, indeed there are lackeys of Mao's who have placed his picture in the photographs of the classics, after Engels and before Lenin.**

What results from all this? A hiding of the truth on the development and struggle of the Communist Party of China and an artificial inflation of Mao Tsetung. **The anti-Marxist Chinese megalomania has been unfurled, the cult of Mao has**

become identical with that of Confucius. Everything Mao does, everything he says is «right». Everyone must believe what Mao Tsetung says. Reasoning is not permitted, only fanaticism.

I pointed out above that many mistakes have been made in the Communist Party of China in the line, right from the start. But on what bases was the party formed in China? Nothing is known. Mao himself has not written about this, or has written few things, but even these are not known. The four volumes of Mao that have been published deal with questions of the policy and line of the party, speak about its organization and Mao tries to paraphrase Marx and Lenin there, but he gives everything the colour of a theoretical lecture, aiming to educate the cadres or to emerge and pose as a recognized theoretician. The living struggle of the party, the factional fights, the class struggle inside and outside the party are not brought out, or are brought out very little in these works. No, allegedly it is his theory there, but in fact it amounts to a lame paraphrasing of Marx or Lenin. The ideas of Stalin are not found in these volumes. **In China one finds Stalin only in a portrait in Tien An Men.**

Many factions have existed in the Communist Party of China, and this because the basic line of the party has not been a completely Marxist-Leninist line. It must have been like this from the time of the founding of the party, because its protagonists, Mao, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, not to mention the Li Li-sans and others, have not been developed Marxists and have not made the proper efforts to master Marxism-Leninism. They wanted the national and social liberation of China, but the ideas about communism and its ideology must not have been clear to these comrades.

China's being shut away in itself, kept Mao and Chou shut up in this environment. They did not see beyond China, and certainly in their initial notions, which led towards the revolution, many national, bourgeois, democratic, progressive and mystical views were combined. We do not see any clear material of the Communist Party of China which expresses at least some

critical opinion about the republic of Sun Yat-sen, of which they speak well. Things, both at that time and now, are left obscure, there are all sorts of opinions and interpretations, therefore, «make your choice and take your pick». It is mainly foreigners who have written about this revolutionary and progressive epoch. For the Chinese, the dawn and the struggle of China begin and end with Mao.

Sun Yat-sen was a great personality, who correctly understood the value of friendship with the Soviet Union of Lenin, who extended his hand and gave China aid and support. The Communist Party of China had just been formed at that time, and, naturally, its influence among the masses was slight, while the influence of Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang was great. As to how the Communist Party of China acted, linked itself with them and fought at those moments, we cannot speak with certainty, or can speak only on the basis of what foreigners have written, because only they have made analyses, but their analyses are guided by other principles and aims on which we cannot base ourselves. The facts confirm that as long as Lenin and Stalin were alive, the Soviet Union maintained and developed its friendship with China and the Kuomintang, both at the time when Sun Yat-sen was alive and at the time when Chiang Kai-shek replaced him.

The Chinese communists collaborated on this line, but we can guess what contradictions arose, how they arose, to what extent they developed, and why they arose, because we are Marxists and know what Chiang Kai-shek represented. Such a study and analysis has not been made by the Communist Party of China, at least as far as we know. No history of the Chinese people has been written by the Chinese proletarian state and the Communist Party of China. Everything we have read on this major problem we have read from foreign bourgeois historians, scientists and sociologists.

There are many things we do not know, but we do know that the Communist Party of China trumpets *«in petto»**: the

* In secret (Italian in the original).

Comintern made mistakes over China, Stalin made mistakes (and according to Mao, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) has acknowledged the mistakes), the Soviet Union issued the directive that the Communist Party of China should collaborate with the Kuomintang when it should not have done so, etc., etc. All these things are whispered in the corners and around the corridors and I think that they have the objective of elevating Mao, «who has never made mistakes», and downgrading Stalin, «who made mistakes».

What conclusions can we reach from all these things about which there is no analysis? In general, Stalin and the Comintern made no mistakes either about the revolutionary struggle in China or about the alliance of the Communist Party of China with the Kuomintang, while Mao and the Communist Party of China made mistakes. They did not interpret and apply the line of the Comintern correctly. The alliance of these two forces — communist and bourgeois progressive, was necessary for the liberation of China from the colonizers and militarist Japan. It is possible that in this struggle, in these contacts, people like Blücher and other delegates of the Comintern, who turned out to be Trotskyites and were condemned, made mistakes, but the line of the Comintern, intended to bring about the alliance of the progressive forces in China which were fighting Japan, was correct. Chiang Kai-shek betrayed, broke with the communists, tried to liquidate them and weakened and abandoned the fight against Japan. This is a problem which is linked with a dark and complicated period, and the blame for which cannot be laid on Stalin or the Comintern, as the Chinese comrades do. «Stalin made mistakes», claims Mao, but in fact it is Mao Tsetung himself who has made mistakes, and not only at that time, but now, too, he has made many mistakes which we are seeing, together with their bitter consequences. In China they still say that Mao has never made mistakes, either yesterday or today, and neither will he make

any tomorrow. For the Chinese this is a taboo, but it is an anti-Marxist claim.

The attitude of Mao and his comrades towards the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin makes one suspicious. It has not been correct and sincere. We at least, do not know of any grudges having been displayed, especially on the part of Stalin, the Soviet Union and the Comintern, during the time of China's liberation war. Kang Sheng, one of the finest Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leaders of China, was the representative of the Communist Party of China in the Comintern, and he never had a bad word to say in this direction.

We considered post-liberation China a state of people's democracy, led by a glorious Communist Party, at the head of which was a great Marxist-Leninist, who was called Mao Tsetung. Like all our countries which were liberated and established the order of people's democracy, China, too, was closely linked with the Soviet Union and Stalin. Later, we learned many things about the ups and downs of the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, about the «Long March», about Mao's friendship with foreign officers and journalists, like the American Edgar Snow and others who stayed at his headquarters; we learned of the «fruitful» contacts of Mao and Chou with Vandemeyer and Marshall, who organized the American aid to Mao and Chiang, as well as about the China lobbies in Washington. Of course, these things made an impression on us, but we considered them simply tactics, and not a tendency towards the United States of America, such as became apparent later. We saw Mao as a communist, his party as a communist party, and China as a socialist country, a friend of ours and, first of all, of the Soviet Union and Stalin.

While Stalin was alive, Mao went once to Moscow where he met and talked with Stalin. What they talked about, we do not know, but we assume that Stalin welcomed Mao very warmly and certainly granted China all the aid it sought. The Communist Party of China itself has declared officially that «both Lenin and Stalin have acknowledged that the Czarist re-

gime seized territories of China which must be returned because they belong to China». The Chinese publicized these statements when China entered into conflict with the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Hence, as far as we can judge, Stalin treated China as a friendly socialist country, dealt with the border problem in the Marxist-Leninist spirit and considered Mao Tsetung sincerely a comrade. However, at the meeting of the communist and workers' parties, which was held in Moscow in 1957, that is, before the Meeting of the 81 parties, Mao, in order to support Khrushchev who was betraying Marxism-Leninism, said openly in a scornful and ironical tone, that when he met Stalin he felt «like a young pupil before his teacher». With this Mao wanted to defend, and in fact defended, Khrushchev's slanders about the «cult of Stalin», who had allegedly considered «this great Mao» a small boy. This was an attack which Mao made on Stalin. I say this with full conviction, because at my first meeting with Stalin, when I was so young and overcome with emotion, Stalin, with that kindly behaviour of his, with his love and respect for a comrade, treated me as an equal and his friendly conversation immediately put me at ease. At that meeting Mao went further, he said that Khrushchev was right to liquidate the «anti-party» group of Molotov, etc., and moreover called Khrushchev «the Lenin of our time».

What conclusion can we draw from these actions of Mao?

That **Mao was against Stalin and that he, together with his comrades, worked to build up his own cult.** The aim was that Mao was to take the place of Stalin, «brought down and besmirched» by the traitors, in the line-up of great Marxists in the international communist movement. He thought that for the sake of the aid which he was giving Khrushchev on this occasion, Khrushchev would favour the new cult of Mao and China would become the centre of the revolution. «The East wind is blowing», «The East is red», «Mao Tsetung is the sun of the world» — these were the slogans which the Chinese propaganda issued at that time.

But things did not go as Mao thought and desired. Soviet revisionism and Khrushchev gave him a cold shoulder. Mao and the Maoists tried to avoid a clash, but things could take no other course. Then the tactics of Mao Tsetung changed. The boosting of the cult of Mao Tsetung as «a great Marxist-Leninist» who fought against modern revisionism, and, first of all, against Soviet modern revisionism, and at the same time against American imperialism and against the reactionary world bourgeoisie, continued. Such a struggle was correct, therefore we supported it and the Chinese supported us. But in fact they employed this tactic not from the class standpoint and not in the Marxist-Leninist way. With this tactic, the Chinese wanted and tried to strengthen the position of China in the communist movement and among the peoples in the world as «a truly socialist state, irreconcilable with the class enemies and the enemies of the peoples who are fighting for liberation». Meanwhile, within their party, Mao and the Maoists had to fight the rightist faction of Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, etc. who, under the shadow of Mao, were fighting for the re-establishment of capitalism and aimed to change the policy towards friendship with the Khrushchevites.

Mao Tsetung found himself between two fires, which in fact he had kindled himself, with the aim of achieving his objective of turning China into a great world power. Thus, he found himself between the Soviet revisionists and the dangerous faction of Liu Shao-chi. Then he launched the Cultural Revolution, about which I shall say nothing here because I have said and written a great deal about it.

What course did Mao choose (because it seems to me that the will of the party does not come into this) to come to these non-Marxist stands? He began to follow a conformist line. As long as Stalin was alive, the line of Mao was one of «friendship» and «admiration» towards Stalin. At that time friendship for the Soviet Union was cultivated in China. After the death of Stalin, Mao showed himself to be an opportunist and tried to take the place of Stalin in the international communist movement.

The flattery on his part to deceive Khrushchev began and naturally, he levelled his criticism against Stalin. In Peking in 1956, he defended the revisionist and traitor Tito in front of us, because he, himself, was a revisionist, a liberal, a supporter of Khrushchev.

After the fall-out with Khrushchev, when Liu and Teng were in power and held key positions in the central organs of China, a series of ideological articles on the Marxist-Leninist line were published against the Khrushchevite revisionists. These were theoretical articles and not ordinary propaganda against revisionism. This was a change, a good one, of course, because, by exposing revisionism theoretically, the Communist Party of China was educated. But this did not last long. The articles of this nature disappeared into drawers and vacillations in line began to appear. The Communist Party of China did not continue to educate the masses of communists on the correct Marxist-Leninist line, but restricted itself to publishing ideological articles of our Party. We were pleased about this, but we did not want China to cease the polemic against revisionism and withdraw from the battlefield, we thought that this was not right. This showed the liberal vacillation in the line of the Communist Party of China once again. The publication of our theoretical articles in the Chinese press was not meant to support our Marxist-Leninist line, but to create the impression that the Communist Party of China had not altered its stand on line, to conceal the liberal change it was making and to leave the impression among world opinion that «It is I, China, that dictate these articles, this line of the Party of Labour of Albania». And the bourgeois press world-wide said openly that «Albania is a satellite of China», that «Albania is a gramaphone of China», and that «what China thinks it dictates to Albania, which expresses these things». This was a dishonest, non-Marxist stand on the part of China. However, since the Marxist-Leninist ideas of our Party were being propagated, we said, «Let the smoke go straight up». However, in China the smoke did not go straight up.

Khrushchev fell. Immediately the opportunist line of Mao came to light. He thought that his time had come, therefore, through Chou En-lai, who hastened to Moscow, he demanded that we, too, should go to take part in the revisionists' «wedding». We categorically refused this opportunist step, and likewise categorically refused the Chinese proposal for «the creation of an anti-imperialist front together with the revisionists». This showed the burning desire of the Chinese leaders to reach agreement with the Soviet revisionists, but, as revisionists, their aim was that they themselves should dominate on this course. This did not work out.

The Cultural Revolution broke out. **This revolution was the result of the struggle between two rightist, liberal revisionist trends over who was to seize power: Mao or Liu.** Mao triumphed in this encounter and accused Liu and Teng as «the enemy number one» and «the enemy number two». Mao took Chou into his own service, because, like Mikoyan in the Soviet Union, Chou was the servant of all. Mao emerged as the «saviour», as a «revolutionary» because he was carrying out «revolution» and his fame as a «great Marxist-Leninist» increased because he triumphed over Liu Shao-chi.

We supported the Cultural Revolution and were the only party in power on their side. The Chinese leaders themselves recognized this support and made great propaganda about it.

Of course, as I have said previously, the Cultural Revolution was not based on a clear Marxist-Leninist line, because the party was destroyed and the mass organizations did not exist either. Only the army with Lin Piao remained immovably pro the revolution. Everything was in disorder, things carried on *par inertie*. Chou, who went whichever way the wind blew, held the helm of state in one hand and with the other waved the «little red book» of Mao which Lin Piao had prepared. During the Cultural Revolution xenophobia was expressed so strongly that the premises of foreign embassies were burned down, diplomats were beaten, etc. At the head of these ugly

acts, which resembled what Suharto had done in Indonesia, was Chou En-lai personally, too.

Teng, Liu and company «were conquered», but what was broken had to be stuck together, and in fact, many things were smashed. The revisionist Chou En-lai put these things in order, allegedly under the instructions of Chairman Mao, who, at the time of the Cultural Revolution, wrote to his wife, «both the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries will use my writings». Mao himself admitted that he did not have a Marxist-Leninist line, but two, or even a score of lines, the same as the theory of «letting a hundred flowers blossom».

Our Party has done everything in its power to strengthen the friendship between our two countries and two parties, but the Chinese have refused many times to exchange working delegations between our parties. They turned every delegation into a «friendship» delegation for mass meetings, speeches and toasts at banquets. We saw that **the Chinese leaders did not want an exchange of the experience of their party with our Party and avoided political, ideological and organizational debates.** This was a closed door. Like the other comrades, in the talks with Chou and Yao Wen-yuan I found the opportunity to speak about party problems, proceeding from our experience, but they continued with their stale formulas. Only once, Chou, this liberal and opportunist element, when he came to our country made a criticism of us, allegedly that our Party was not waging the class struggle. When we faced him with the facts, telling him that during its whole existence our Party had waged a stern class struggle inside and outside our country, as well as within the ranks of the Party itself, he was obliged to beg our pardon, saying, «I do not know the history of your Party as well as I should».

Likewise, we did not consider the line of the isolation of China in the international arena correct. We had presented our views officially to Li Hsien-nien, reasoning that the struggle must be continued sternly against the two superpowers, while China ought to open up to peoples and other states, because in

this way we would split our main enemies and defeat their slanderous propaganda against our countries. However, the Chinese stuck to their positions and did not follow this reasonable road which was in China's interests, our interests, and those of the other peoples of the world. The Chinese amazed us with their stands. In this case they proved to be sectarian instead of liberal. Liberalism and sectarianism are brother and sister. China completely ignored Europe, maintained hostile stands towards the countries of Asia, and had laid down recognition of Taiwan as a part of the Chinese territory, as a precondition for the establishment of normal relations with the various states. Meanwhile, it published a propaganda article in «Renmin Ribao» about Africa and the Latin-American countries once in a blue moon. **In the international arena the policy of China was a rigid, sectarian, megalomaniacal and xenophobic policy of isolation to the point of,** so to say, **undeclared «yellow racism».**

When we were worrying about all these things the bombshell of Kissinger's secret visit to China and his secret talks with Mao and Chou was dropped. China began a new period, a new policy, still wrong, the rightist policy of rapprochement with the Americans, but which was to go much beyond that, to rapprochement with the fascists, Franco in Spain and Pinochet in Chile.

It became clear that the reasons which had «hindered» China in opening up relations with other states of the world had not been the recognition of the island of Taiwan as part of the Chinese territory. This problem melted away as if by magic and the United States of America began its links and agreements with China without, in fact, making any concession on Taiwan up till now. We, as the comrades we were, opposed the secret contacts and agreements with the United States of America and Nixon's going to China, telling them that this friendship which the Chinese were establishing with American imperialism would bring nothing but harm to China, to socialism and to the whole world. As I have written earlier, to our letter on this question,

as well as to letters on other questions, Mao Tsetung did not even deign to reply.

Why did this switch of China towards American imperialism occur? For the reason that Mao and Chou were revisionists, liberals and opportunists, and their policy was a pragmatic policy with the aim of building China up to a superpower. In order to achieve this, according to Mao and Chou, China had to rely on the revisionist Soviet Union or on American imperialism. The fight on two flanks meant nothing to Mao. According to him, «China had to rely on one superpower to fight the other, and have others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it». The Soviet Union did the same thing. And it did not agree to link itself up with China, because, obviously, the Soviet Union did not agree to be dominated by China. Mao, for his part, was unable to achieve the aim that the Soviet Union should serve China. The Soviet Union turned towards the United States of America, a wealthy superpower, from which it could get credits and thus establish its hegemony. The United States of America, for its part, accepted this in order to redivide the spheres of influence with the Soviet Union.

China did nothing original. And seeing that the aim which it had towards the Soviet Union had failed, it turned to the United States of America, to Mao's old friendship. Chou wanted fame, wanted domination. Both of them, Mao and Chou were revisionists. They prepared their new policy. However, there were internal opponents to their course and among the main ones was Lin Piao. Then he had to be eliminated and he was eliminated, under the accusation that he was «a plotter who wanted to assassinate Mao, but who was discovered, took the aircraft and set out for the Soviet Union via Mongolia. However, his aircraft crashed and burned on the Mongolian steppes». Hence, Lin Piao was killed as a «Soviet agent».

At the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China which was held when Lin Piao was alive, there was talk of the struggle on two flanks, while later, at the 10th Congress, after

the killing of Lin Piao, nothing was said about what foreign policy Lin Piao defended.

The United States of America became the arbiter of the world, it would manoeuvre both towards the Soviet Union and towards China, of course, in its own interests. **The United States of America measured its stands towards both of them carefully, and is still doing so, in order to weaken the Soviet Union, and to manoeuvre to use China, too, against the Soviet Union.** And this is what is occurring. China effectively ceased the struggle against the United States of America and intensified its propaganda against the Soviet Union to absurdity. I say propaganda, because there are no ideological articles from China for the exposure of the Soviet Union. **At these moments the line of China is: «Our main enemy is the Soviet Union». Whoever comes out against the Soviet Union is the friend of China, even if he is a fascist.** Thus, while China is maintaining an unfriendly stand towards our country, which is fighting on the two flanks, against the United States of America and Soviet social-imperialism, the pro-American revisionist states which have made some anti-Soviet manoeuvres, have become the friends of China. The Chinese say, «We maintain this stand in order to deepen the contradictions». But the reality shows that Mao's China is in agreement with these states because it has a similar revisionist line in ideology and politics. China has developed its links with all the capitalist countries of the world and officially declared itself to be a member of the «third world». The doors of China have been thrown open to the presidents of the United States of America, to the monarchs, princes, princesses, prime ministers, senators, parliamentary groups, businessmen, to every Tom, Dick and Harry. The doors of China have been closed only to official Albanian delegations.

The Chinese people have a sincere friendship for the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. The Chinese revisionists have still not dared to attack this friendship. The main rightist cadres who, in our opinion, are in power and

have strong positions in China, are attacking the economic relations which exist between us. They are not fulfilling the credits which they have accorded us, are postponing delivery dates for the projects which we are building, reducing the level of trade, and restricting their contacts with our country to the minimum. In a word, the Chinese leaders have set out on the road of Khrushchev against us. They learned from the Soviet blockade, which came brutally, while their blockade is being built up gradually and covered with hypocritical statements and stands, such as «We are friends, we are poor, please understand us,» etc. This entire change is rightist, revisionist, social-imperialist.

This is the line of Mao and Chou En-lai, who rehabilitated Teng and made preparations for Teng to replace Chou, and Chou to replace Mao after his death. But the «middle» person of the «Middle Empire» died first. With his death the «radicals» did not accept Teng and began to expose him. This brought about that two lines, two rival groups came out in the open in China, in the party and the state, and Mao is now at the crossroads. But he is in his dotage and can no longer act. The thing of which he gave Chiang Ching a forewarning in the past, in the letter he wrote her, that both the reactionaries and the revolutionaries would use «Mao Tsetung thought», has come about.

Hence, struggle is going on in China, but who will win?! No one knows. **The «radicals» have control of the propaganda, only, the others have control of foreign policy, the economy and the army,** because in fact, nothing has altered from the old course of Mao-Chou-Teng.

Teng is in the party and is being exposed, but his comrades are in power, and the policy of relations with the United States of America continues to flourish. China also supports all the reactionary governments and states. The Communist Party of China advises the Marxist-Leninists, wherever they are, to unite with their local bourgeoisie, even if it is a fascist bourgeoisie,

and defend its reactionary alliances, provided only that they fight against the revisionist Soviet Union.

Where is China heading with this line? Towards a new social-imperialism, towards the seizure of power by the capitalists, both new and old, whom the opportunist line of Mao has kept in power, protected and strengthened.

There must be sound Marxist-Leninist forces in China but I think that these cannot be identified with the so-called radicals. The «radicals» are against the rightists, but are Maoists, liberals, for the coexistence of two lines in the party. **Only a powerful Marxist-Leninist revolutionary overthrow will save China from the restoration of capitalism.**

MONDAY
MAY 24, 1976

BAD BEHAVIOUR BY THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR IN TIRANA

They informed me that the Chinese ambassador, Liu Chen-hua, who is to leave on the 29th of this month, is making visits here and there to the projects under construction and putting on dinners for our people, etc. He is behaving badly and not in a friendly way. The strange thing is that this unpleasant behaviour is occurring at the moment of his departure. It seems as if he wants to worsen our relations, or to foreshadow a further worsening of them. He does not speak at all about the struggle which is going on in China against Teng Hsiao-ping. This is no skis off our nose, but it shows that he is one of Teng's men. He wants to show that he knows everything, that he knows about work in mines, because he has «once gone down a mine in China». Whomever he meets, wherever he goes, he criticizes our work, from the military fortifications to a «bit of iron» thrown in the corner. About all these things he concocts slanders, and wants to show that our people do not work well. The Chinese ambassador speaks openly, indeed in front of Adil Çarçani, Spiro Koleka and Nesti Nase, he says that he knows everything that is going on. In other words, he admits with his own mouth that he is the resident agent of Chinese intelligence in Albania and has created an agency with the Chinese specialists.

Our comrades are replying to this revisionist, who hides under the cloak of the ambassador of China, in the way he deserves.

«MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT»

Socialist states exist, but the communist and workers' parties which lead them do not all stand in genuine Marxist-Leninist positions. There are very markedly anti-Marxist elements among them. China is in this situation. That country **is guided by «Mao Tsetung thought» which is not a consistent application of Marxism-Leninism. Fundamental ideas in it are wrong, opportunist, and indeed disguised revisionist. «Mao Tsetung thought», which guides China, does not fight for the revolution, for the unity of the proletariat and, without calling China a «great state» and itself a «universal idea» which replaces Marxism-Leninism, in fact it does such a thing.** To the Chinese, he who does not follow «Mao Tsetung thought» and does not identify it with Marxism-Leninism is not a Marxist-Leninist, or is not considered as such. «Mao Tsetung thought» has created great confusion in the ranks of the Chinese and world proletariat.

Within China there is anarchy, there are two or a score of lines in the party and among the people. No one knows who has power and who is going to seize it. The Communist Party of China is not constructed according to and based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not operate there.

This unclarity in China has spread and is spreading to part of the world proletariat and Marxist-Leninist communist parties. Many of these parties are not in agreement either with «Mao Tsetung thought» or with the actions of China, but are

not saying so openly. The cult of the great state, which is reputed to be «proletarian» but is not so, is operating, as is the cult of Mao, who is Mao Tsetung and nothing else and, in particular, is neither Marx, Engels, Lenin, nor Stalin.

The pseudo-Marxist lackeys who have infiltrated into the ranks of some Marxist-Leninist communist parties are exalting the cult of Mao and giving him pride of place. The bourgeoisie also recognizes the value of China, of Mao and «Mao Tsetung thought», and propagates them. Every revolutionary group, every Marxist-Leninist communist party, indeed, every anarchist group like that of Sartre, etc., is labelled «Maoist» by the bourgeoisie. This is to the liking of China and Mao. China maintains links and assists them all simply because they praise Mao and follow his confused and unclear policy. Anti-Sovietism has become the sole leitmotif of the Chinese leadership, and this not on correct ideological basis, but under the banner of «Mao Tsetung thought» for the domination of the proletariat and the «communist» world.

In these conditions and with these ideas the Communist Party of China has stopped inviting Marxist-Leninist communist parties to its congresses, has adopted only bilateral meetings with any Marxist-Leninist communist party to which it propagates «Mao Tsetung thought» and which it advises to attack the Soviet Union, but not the United States of America; it preaches to these parties collaboration with the local reactionary bourgeoisie, even with Franco and Pinochet.

Mao and «Maoism» have become one of the most serious obstacles to the unity of the world proletariat and the new Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties. Therefore, in everything we must counter this new disguised evil with our unerring Marxist-Leninist theory.

Marxism-Leninism does not recognize big parties and small parties and thus, irrespective of the fact that the Communist Party of China is a big party, our Party is considered equal to it, and when the Communist Party of China makes mistakes, as it

is doing, our Party does not only not follow it in its mistaken ideas and on its wrong roads, but fights it, not directly at present, but indirectly, through its open and public stands by means of which all can distinguish clearly where the differences lie between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China.

If the Communist Party of China does not rectify its line, and goes further on its wrong course, the Party of Labour of Albania will have to engage in open polemics with it in the interest of the proletarian revolution.

SATURDAY
JUNE 12, 1976

THE CHINESE LINE IS RIGHTIST

Even if one were a Chinese, it would be hard to understand the internal and foreign policy of China. It has not a stable line and swings as much to one side as to the other. There are moments when it finds a certain centrist stability, and then its external stands change in accord with internal circumstances and relations. There are moments when one considers these stands to be correct, looking at them from the angle of the Marxist-Leninist theory, then immediately the balance shifts towards liberalism or sectarianism.

All these unstable stands are accompanied by speeches, articles and quotations from Mao. Quotations from Mao are used to garnish every «dish» and every stand, whether rightist or leftist. Mao and his ideas adapt themselves to everything and everybody uses Mao's «authority», and each goes on with his own work. Hence the «class struggle» is waged, but on the basis of what ideology? On the basis of «Marxism-Leninism», they say, but the reality in China does not indicate such a thing, because Mao himself has advocated «let a hundred flowers blossom». But the «hundred flowers», naturally, are not all of the same «colour».

Mao took the side of Khrushchev, defended and praised him until he established himself and strengthened his position. Hence, in that situation, with those ideas, Mao and Liu Shao-chi were in agreement with each other and both of them were rightists. This stand of theirs was apparent at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956. It was a rightist con-

gress, indeed one which indicated to Khrushchev the way in which he should act. However, Khrushchev strengthened his positions and immediately attacked the so-called cult of Stalin. He intended to kill two birds with one stone: internally, to replace the «cult of Stalin» with his own cult, and likewise in the international communist movement, to ensure that he himself and no one else, was top dog, hence not Mao either. Meanwhile, Mao had hopes that after this their roles would change: Khrushchev «would be the pupil of Mao». However, Khrushchev understood the situation and took another course, shifted his rifle from one shoulder to the other.

Thus Mao began to adopt an almost «Marxist-Leninist» stand. At the Meeting of 81 parties in Moscow the Chinese were obliged to make alterations to their speech and bring it into line with ours. We say they began to adopt an almost «Marxist-Leninist» stand because later, at the 21st, 22nd and 23rd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Maoists attempted to achieve reconciliation. But meanwhile the Khrushchevites had taken the bit between their teeth and it was at this time that Mao and the Maoists began the polemic. We, of course, were pleased, because we saw that Mao «had begun to take a correct view of the situation». This was the time of China's great friendship with us.

However, during this period new vacillations were making themselves felt in China. As has been said, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and their followers wanted to take power and enter into «alliance with the Soviet Union». They began this alliance together, but apparently Liu was more acceptable to the Khrushchevite revisionists than Mao. Then, seeing that everything was in the hands of Liu and company, Mao leaned to the left and issued the call: «Attack the headquarters!» The Cultural Revolution began and Liu fell from the throne. However, his supporters remained where they were. Having Mao at the head, they all became Maoists. Chou was the head of the state and the economy, Lin Piao the chief of the army. At this period the party was in ruins and everything was in con-

fusion. Only the name of Mao was heard. Each and everyone worked for power under his name. Mao allegedly maintained the «balance between leftists and rightists». Neither side was Marxist-Leninist. Lin Piao was liquidated, Chou En-lai remained the «viceroy of China», and Mao, as always, the «arbiter».

From repeated states of confusion an alleged stability was achieved, but an anti-Marxist one. China linked itself with American imperialism against the Soviets, and this position led it further down the anti-Marxist, rightist road.

It is understandable that the Chinese and Mao could not be in agreement with us. And this they have demonstrated and are demonstrating in deeds. We are keeping cool. In the line of China, the helm is turned to the right, Mao and Chou En-lai rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping and, instead of being «the number two enemy», he became the vice-chairman of the Communist Party of China and meanwhile was being trained to take the place of Chou En-lai. Chou died, and Teng did not become premier, but was described as a revisionist and a traitor. What has not been and is not being said against him! Astonishing accusations. They appear to be correct, but the question arises: What was Mao doing that he rehabilitated this person? But even after the accusations which are being levelled at Teng, no positive Marxist-Leninist stand is apparent in the foreign and internal policy of China. Great confusion once again. Hua Kuo-feng says there will be no change in the foreign policy of China and, moreover, that the former direction will be further strengthened.

In the press, Teng is being accused of both centralism and decentralism, that he wants to modernize industry with foreign technology, while the line of Mao is to build socialism with their own forces, at a time when big modern combines are being built in China by the Americans, the Japanese and the West-Germans. Who has permitted all these things? Teng Hsiao-ping alone?! But what has Chou En-lai done?! And Mao, hasn't he approved these things? They say no, Mao has approved nothing, while in fact it is he who has directed everything in China.

THURSDAY
JUNE 24, 1976

NEITHER THE PARTY NOR THE STATE OF THE PROLETARIAT ARE OPERATING IN CHINA

In China, the old refrain of the lengthy repetitious criticisms of Teng Hsiao-ping continues, as if he were the only internal enemy of the party. Despite this, however, this enemy, who is «so evil, so villanous, so cunning», is kept in the party and is not being expelled. Why? Because he is not alone, but has great influence inside and outside the party. Teng Hsiao-ping was the right hand-man of Chou En-lai, who trained him to take his place and, under the banner of Mao Tsetung, to lead China on the liberal opportunist road and transform it into a bureaucratic capitalist great power. Mao and Chou were in agreement in their ideas, which they disguised with Marxist-Leninist slogans. Mao proclaimed his ideas, Chou implemented them in the interests of both of them. The factional struggle in the Communist Party of China had its source precisely in these liberal ideas which were developed with varying intensities.

Liu Shao-chi was in agreement with Mao on the main problems, but he overstepped the bounds, managed to gain considerable power for himself and his associates, became dominant in the party, the army and the economy. They kept talking about Mao, «he was praised to the skies», but his power had been weakened and it was the others — Liu Shao-chi, Chou, Teng and others, who held power.

Mao was left with only one course: he had to seize power again. In order to do this, he had to rely on the «romantic» youth, who «worshipped» Mao, and on Lin Piao, whom he made

his deputy, that is, he had to rely on the army. This was the source of the Cultural Revolution which did nothing apart from liquidating the group of Liu Shao-chi. Mao saved Chou En-lai, because he would need him later and because he nurtured the same views as Mao. Chou was like a «weathercock» who turned whichever way the wind blew. However, his pirouettes strengthened Chou's position, helped him gather around himself all the rightists, the moderates and the leftists. In fact the Great Cultural Revolution created a great sensation. They made a great deal of propaganda about it, but it was «a parade of the red guards» to show the «strength» of Mao and to consecrate the replacement of Marxism-Leninism with «Mao Tsetung thought». In fact, these ideas had long been dominant in China, but on this occasion it was given a boost so that it would «dominate the world».

Under cover of «Mao Tsetung thought», the anarchy, confusion, the two lines, «the hundred flowers» and individuals of every sort and every idea remained undisturbed, developed and strengthened their positions. The struggle was for positions, for power, and not for socialism. At this phase Chou En-lai assumed supremacy and together with Mao, «always with Mao», «following Mao», liquidated Lin Piao.

The epoch of Chou En-lai began, the epoch of friendship with the United States of America. Why not? Chou thought highly of Khrushchev's «skill», therefore he followed his teachings on alliances, and thought: «We must develop friendship with the United States of America, and weaken the Soviets, must follow Khrushchev's road to modernize and arm China, and we, too, must become a great power». And this policy is continuing.

Chou thought that he was at the culmination of his victory: he had the aging Mao in his pocket, because he was going to die tomorrow or the day after tomorrow; he had some opponents in the leadership, but he had great strength and would bring his opponents to their knees. To this end he summoned Teng Hsiao-ping to his aid and trained him how to act, how to mano-

euvre, and how to seize power. Chou knew that he was going to die of cancer, however, he had three and a half years to «groom» Teng.

However, Teng was not so subtle as Chou, power went to his head, and he brandished the sword of the «dictator». «Either you or I,» Teng said. Naturally, Mao did not like this hasty action of Teng's which was ruining his opportunist policy of the coexistence of two lines. And Teng fell. However, his power remains, and Teng likewise remains in the party.

Every day the newspapers of China grind out scores of articles «exposing» Teng and the rightist deviation. But **it is not made clear who is rightist and who is leftist. Both sides are in power, in the same posts which they have held, each is working independently for its own ends**, and both sides have read the psalms of the newspapers until they are sick of them. Mao has «advised the leftists» that «they should not attack the rightists» but should educate them (as they educated Teng!), that they must not attack them because «disturbances would occur in China and the enemy would benefit». We are sure that these directives have been given. The situation which is developing confirms this.

Likewise, the Chinese newspapers have published that Mao has said: «The enemy is right here, within the party». Then we ask: Who is this enemy? How should it be combated? What should be done against this enemy? Asked about this by our ambassador in Peking, the Chinese Deputy-Foreign Minister, Yu Chang, replied: «This is a profound thought of Chairman Mao, and some time will be necessary to understand it thoroughly». This does not surprise us at all! Mao Tsetung has caused the muddle and confusion in the party and nothing concrete is being done to clear away the mud which has clogged the «machinery» of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

Neither the party nor the state of the proletariat are operating in that country, a struggle is being waged there «with cotton-wool», and formulas in the newspapers. The party and

the people see that the situation there is such that the rightists, the moderates, the opportunists, the friends of the United States of America are the strongest and if not today, tomorrow they will take power. They are awaiting the death of Mao who, as they have declared, now no longer receives anybody. What does this mean? The two sides are hiding behind his existence, and are not coming out in the open. The aim of this is to avoid irritating the masses. When Mao dies, then the two, or the six sides will fight to seize power under the banner of Mao. This period of stagnation favours reaction.

In the past we had the idea that Mao thought and acted as a Marxist, although we saw that some things were not done on the right road. We thought that these things were not Mao's doing, or that they were tactics, but for some time now matters have been clearer to us: Mao has not stood loyal to Marxism-Leninism. If he were not the leader of great China, his true colours would have become obvious earlier. The interests of China and the world communist movement require that we proceed on this question with caution. But matters have gone beyond the bounds of reasonable caution, and if that revolutionary section of the party which stands loyal to the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and not to «Mao Tsetung thought», does not triumph in China, China is bound to plunge openly in the revisionist mire. It will take the road of a big capitalist state. This theoretical-political tendency, this style and method of work underlie the ideas of Mao Tsetung. In Mao's China, which poses as socialist, there are major mystical remnants in modernized form. A spirit and a discipline in philosophy, in work and in life has been created there which will make it hard to shift from the old Confucian concepts and from «Mao Tsetung thought» — the amalgam of Marxism-Leninism, capitalism, anarchism, and all the influences of imperialism and modern revisionism.

The national liberation war liberated China, but the whole period after this war has not been clear, with revolutionary Marxism-Leninism apparent as a red thread running

through it and applied consistently. Opportunist ideas, close collaboration with the parties of the bourgeoisie, etc., predominated in policy, ideology, in the organization of the economy, the state and the army; favours for the capitalists continued, and they were left in peace to carry on their former activity, to make profits, to alter their way of life and work in order to show themselves «submissive»; but they turned into capable administrators and financiers, and became the support of opportunists. They were headed by Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, and others, and to some degree, by Mao Tsetung.

China has many surprises for us, which if one reflects deeply, are not «surprises». Our eyes will see and our ears will hear many things.

DURRËS, SATURDAY
JULY 17, 1976

UNPRINCIPLED GREAT-STATE CHINESE POLICY

I met Behar, who came from Peking to take part in the proceedings of the Plenum of the Central Committee which will be held the day after tomorrow on July 19. He depicts the real situation in China as very troubled, while the Chinese press presents it as «excellent». In appearance the euphoria continues, but this is a false picture. Only one thing is going well — the supplies of foodstuffs and industrial goods for the population. This may be a result of the work which has been done and the discipline on the job which characterizes the Chinese people, but possibly the small buying power of the people may help in this matter. The peasant market, one, two or three times a week, is greatly developed all over China. Are such products as wheat, fowls, pigs, vegetables and everything traded by the state, or have they left the cooperatives free to «self-administer» their products? I think the latter will be the case.

The political, ideological and organizational struggle turns out to be just as we judged it. The clashes and preparations for bigger clashes continue feverishly. Teng Hsiao-ping and the rightist trend are being exposed; but on the other hand, the friends of Teng, while not changing anything from their ideas, have adopted the general slogan but are not making self-criticism and remain with their rightist views, especially on the state, on the army, and on the economy, but also on the party. They are all trying to strengthen their positions in order to seize power when Mao dies and, according to Behar, he hasn't long

to live. Behar said, «There is talk of arrests being made, but those who are imprisoned are unknown middle and low level cadres. The big rightists remain in their former positions, sometimes they are rejected, sometimes they are brought to the fore, occasionally they are mentioned in the papers in order to give the impression that harmony exists».

The rightists seem to be the stronger — they have many keys in their hands and use them, while the «leftists» have control only of the press and hide behind the reputation of Mao.

The xenophobia is running high even towards us Albanians. All foreigners are under surveillance, followed, do not go even to the cinema or the restaurant unless they are accompanied and only to certain reserved places. According to what the Chinese themselves say, they are arrested if they associate with any foreigner.

There is a great deal of building work going on, skyscrapers and big modern combines are going up everywhere. They are getting credits from the United States of America, Japan, from the Federal German Republic, from France, etc. They get credits in two ways: either five-year credits from these states, or from the private capitalist banks which finance the investments, and the debt is repaid after a longer period with a percentage of profit. Hong Kong has become the centre of capitalist financing for China.

Among the Chinese people, opinion about us, about Albania, is good, but along with us the star of Rumania, in particular, as well as that of Yugoslavia, is rising high in the sky. The leaderships of those two countries, as two agencies of the imperialists and revisionists, are playing a major role in eroding even that little socialism which may have remained in China. The Rumanian and Yugoslav revisionists are working under the disguise of anti-Sovietism for the destruction of China.

As to good political relations with us, there can be no talk of this. It is all a disguise, a facade. «Fine» words and slogans, but no content to them. It is somewhat different

among the masses of the people, but the echo of our friendship is immediately drowned out like a flash in the pan, smothered from all sides by the firemen of all shades. But we have friends in China, too. Behar has been told that the question of Albania is being discussed by the top Chinese leaders. There are leaders who have raised the question: «Why are supplies being held up, and why are the commitments which have been made towards Albania not being observed? Why are we behaving in this way with our friend Albania, while we are showing ourselves ready to help countries which we have only just come to know?!» A functionary of the Directory of Investments with the Foreign World also told one of our comrades: «We have received orders that we can discuss anything in regard to the others, but not the problems of Albania, because the leadership is studying them».

Briefly, this is how certain aspects of China present themselves. We have followed the whole course of this evolution. The foreign policy of China has not altered in the least from what it was before: friendship with the United States of America against which almost nothing at all is being said; with the Soviets only a political struggle is being waged, and there is no ideological exposure; friendship even with the fascists provided they say just one word against the Soviet Union. An unprincipled, anti-proletarian, anti-Marxist, revisionist policy of a «great state» which is being built up.

POGRADEC, THURSDAY
JULY 29, 1976

WITH US THE CHINESE FOLLOW THE TACTIC «REEL IN BUT DON'T BREAK THE LINE»

China is greatly stepping up its propaganda in favour of Yugoslavia, not to mention Rumania, with which it displays unity of political, ideological, party and state opinion in all directions. Delegations of every nature from these two countries go back and forth to China in large numbers. Yugoslavia and China have also established party relations, but for reasons of expediency they are disguising this, because it is not good for the Chinese; for the Yugoslavs, too, open party contact with the Chinese is not advantageous for the moment.

Tito is working in a disguised way to undermine Marxism-Leninism in China, as he is doing wherever he finds an opening. The Chinese even tolerate slights from the Yugoslavs, I am referring to the formalities used at diplomatic receptions. On this the two sides have reached agreement: the Titoites are anxious to avoid angering the Soviets, and the Chinese have complete faith in the «anti-Soviet» tactics and strategy of the Titoites. Therefore, the Prime Minister Biyedich, Mahmut Bakalli and Kosta Nagy go to China where they are warmly welcomed and the Chinese even take them to the border with the Soviet Union to see the Chinese strategic key points. The Chinese have never taken our comrades to these places. They gave Mahmut Bakalli a very warm reception as the «son» of Albanian Kosova.

The Chinese, who are opposed to the line of our Party and state, have openly recommended that we should form an

alliance with Yugoslavia (Chou En-lai told Beqir Balluku this), that is to say, they revived the old history, the Titoites' dream that Albania should become the seventh republic of Yugoslavia. Every day the Chinese newspapers carry news about Yugoslavia, defend its policy, and speak openly in terms of praise about Tito. Mao Tsetung has not altered his opinion about Tito since the time when he told Mehmet and me that «Tito is not to blame, but the blame falls on Stalin and the Comintern». But Stalin was and remains a great Marxist, while Tito and Mao are of the one colour, but not red.

At some stage, when the truth about what Mao really was comes out clearly, the question will be raised as to why we have described him as «a great Marxist-Leninist»? It is true that we have said this, but not with complete conviction. Then have we not been opportunists? No, we have always sought to do our best for the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, which openly defended Stalin, and have had the best of intentions towards Mao personally.

The Chinese and Mao fought, but their line after liberation had pronounced opportunist, liberal features. We thought that these stands would be temporary. After the death of Stalin, Mao appeared «moderate» in his criticisms of Stalin but enthusiastic towards the deeds of Khrushchev. Later, he sounded the bugle against Khrushchev and we thought that he had come round to a stand of principle, but these actions were carried out for other, pragmatic, ideological motives which impelled him to this *volte-face**. When the Cultural Revolution began, our Party considered that we had to defend China and Mao with all our strength because they were threatened by reaction and the revisionists. We continued to call him «a great Marxist-Leninist» but we were against the exaltation of his cult which was trumpeted by the Chinese in a sickening way. We refused to say and publish those great stupidities of the Chinese. I have expressed

* Face-about (French in the original).

in detail my thoughts on these non-Marxist stands of the Chinese and Mao, in special notes about China.

Especially after the Cultural Revolution, the foreign policy of China and other actions of the Communist Party of China came into opposition to our line. We had adopted a correct tactic, and proclaimed our line publicly on every problem. This came into opposition to the line of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese state, and Mao. Everybody saw this divergence, but with this we thought we would influence China for the better, that it would change its stand. We also wrote official letters to Mao Tsetung, but he did not reply to us at all. On the contrary, the Chinese reduced their aid to the minimum, while with catchwords and slogans they want to give the impression that nothing has occurred in the relations between our two parties and countries, whereas in fact something major has occurred, but the Chinese are proceeding with us according to the tactic of «reel in but don't break the line».

POGRADEC, TUESDAY
AUGUST 17, 1976

IN CHINA THERE HAVE BEEN «A HUNDRED CURRENTS» AND «A HUNDRED SCHOOLS»

The comrades often ask me: How many ideological currents were there in China during the Cultural Revolution and what current did Mao belong to? Naturally, it is necessary that I give the comrades my opinion, to the extent it is correct, although this opinion must not be given haphazardly, but basing myself on what has occurred in China and trying to analyse the facts from the standpoint of dialectical and historical materialism.

I have followed the events in China continuously and attentively and for every event I have drawn my own conclusions which I have set down on paper at the proper time. This I have done because China and its Communist Party had a great mission in the world and in the international communist movement.

In China there have been «a hundred currents» and «a hundred schools». Mao Tsetung himself has said this, and he launched the motto: «Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools contend». This is as clear as one and one is two. Hence, Mao Tsetung not only accepted «a hundred currents and a hundred schools» in socialism, but permitted them to develop in «peaceful coexistence». It is self-evident that the theory of «a hundred flowers and a hundred schools» is revisionist. The modern revisionists, today, say: «We must go to socialism with all parties, even those of the extreme right», that is, with the fascists.

Mao Tsetung puts this idea into practice at the time when

the Communist Party of China is in power and «leads the construction of socialism».

As is his custom, «the great helmsman» speaks from the «peak of Olympus» whatever comes into his head. At one moment, another thought struck his mind, that of eliminating «a hundred flowers and a hundred schools» as noxious weeds are rooted out. But, of course, this «elimination» no longer depended on «the head of Zeus». The «hundred flowers and the hundred schools» continued to develop but in two «gardens»: in the «garden» of Liu Shao-chi and in the «garden» of those who made the Cultural Revolution.

Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and the others were of the right wing of the Communist Party of China. This group had gathered together the «hundred flowers and the hundred schools» under its umbrella and ruled China. The main participants in this group had taken control of the party, the army, the state, the economy, and the mass organizations, while «Zeus» on Olympus was bereft of power. One day he woke up and said: «They are going to overthrow me», therefore he based himself on the group comprised of Kang Sheng, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and others and launched the Cultural Revolution by giving the order: «Attack the headquarters!», that is, the rightist group. But this revolution brought out new leaders: Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, etc.

And the Cultural Revolution, with the «red guards» and millions of soldiers dressed as civilians by Lin Piao, attacked the headquarters and triumphed. Chou En-lai changed his shirt, wriggled like an eel, and submitted to Mao. Therefore he remained in his place unharmed and escaped the purge. As soon as the «situation had been saved» Mao ascended to «Olympus» and Chou began to organize the work on «earth». It was necessary to Chou to liquidate Lin Piao. Therefore, however it was done, however it took place, whether intrigues were hatched up or plots were made, Lin Piao was liquidated. Meanwhile Kang Sheng became ill and died. Now, it remained for

Chou to liquidate the new leaders. He worked systematically for this and was assisted by Mao, gathered together all the rightists, allegedly under the banner of Mao, rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping and raised him on a pedestal. Mao watched it all as from a box in the theatre, saw how «the people in the stalls were fighting with one another, and waited to see who would prove superior».

Mao has always been a centrist, an onlooker, a Marxist-Leninist *à l'eau de rose**, as the French say.

«The great helmsman» will be «impartial» in his judgements, will act like the bourgeoisie in the dispensation of «justice», which is symbolized by a «beautiful» woman whose eyes have been blindfolded and holds in her hand an «extremely accurate» balance, in order to appear «impartial».

We shall see how this situation will develop now. It is our Party's duty to follow this and be vigilant.

* Rose-watered

TUESDAY
AUGUST 24, 1976

THE CHINESE ARE CREATING DIFFICULTIES FOR US

Maqo Bleta, Deputy-Minister of Industry and Mining, who is in China, informs us about the difficulties which the Chinese have created for us and about the extension of the time limit for the construction or completion of some plants of the metallurgical combine. As an excuse for this, they produce the big earthquake which struck Tangshan (Fenang) in July this year, which, although it seems to have been very severe, as they say, has no connection at all with these projects.

I think that we must accept those proposals which are reasonable, while for the other projects which they are postponing indefinitely, he must say that we are not in agreement, but there is nothing we can do about it; we do not accept the «excuse» of the earthquake which allegedly forces them to postpone these projects. As for the other things, we should sign the protocols, without mention of the earthquake. But if they insist on this, he should tell them that we will not sign the protocol and return to Albania after leaving them a letter.

Today Comrade Behar Shtylla came to visit me at home, because tomorrow he is to return to his duties in Peking. Naturally we talked about the situation in China and what level our relations with the Chinese have reached.

I gave Behar a summary of what we think about the political and ideological line of the Communist Party of China. Behar is clear about this. We are pursuing our line independently and openly, and although we never speak publicly about the Chinese line, the whole world sees the contradictions of the

line of our Party with that of the Communist Party of China. There is no doubt that the Chinese see this, too, and they are not in agreement with the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. They have become cold, and even angry with us. They are saying nothing openly, but in fact they are acting against us, exerting pressure on us. They are slowing down and, especially, postponing the completion of our projects and, likewise, not giving us the credits and not carrying out the economic agreements concretized in the contracts which we have signed. The Chinese have had the idea that we would be at their mercy. They have always wanted us to be dependent on them and to follow their anti-Marxist course. However, this has not happened, and will not happen. Nevertheless, with their great-state views the Chinese thought that we would follow them in their pro-American, pro-reactionary line. They thought, also, that we would defend the European Common Market, «United Europe», Tito, Ceausescu, Pinochet and Franco. But they reckoned without their host!

Just like the Soviets, the Chinese leaders, too, have started to put pressure on us. First, they started with economic pressure, but they did not act with the Soviet methods. The Chinese did not cut off their credits to us, but postponed and reduced them. «We are poor, we haven't got the means,» they tell us, and they cover these statements with hypocritical platitudes like «we are friends», «our friendship is unbreakable», and other such palaver. **All these things are occurring because their line in foreign and internal policy is not based on Marxism-Leninism, but on «Mao Tsetung thought», which does not accord with the line of our Party, either in ideology, in policy or organization. «Mao Tsetung thought» is an opportunist liberal trend.** And this is quite obvious in all the stands and actions of the Chinese leaders.

The Chinese (I am speaking of the leadership and not of the people, or the mass of the communists) are cunning and hypocritical. When they need you, they butter you up, when they do not need you, and you disagree with them, they leave you

stranded. When we were fighting against Khrushchev, the Chinese did not defend us, but «ran with the hare and hunted with the hounds», because they leaned to the idea that Khrushchev would accept Mao as supreme chief. When they saw that Khrushchev was sticking to his guns, Mao and his comrades became ardent towards us, therefore our country and Party were widely publicized among their people. This was a victory and even now it remains a great victory for us. To this day the Chinese leadership does not dare attack this victory, but is gnawing away at it, from underneath, like a rat.

After the liquidation of Lin Piao, China, as a great power thirsting for hegemony, took the pro-American, pro-Western course in order to combat the Soviet Union. China is relying on the United States of America, and the latter is relying on China which aims to see the Soviet Union locked in a war.

Unless a radical change in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist direction takes place in China, the Albanian-Chinese relations will be weakened through the fault of the Chinese leaders.

They may not come out against us openly, but will certainly continue their economic pressure. Of course, we shall take measures and with our own forces (and we have forces) we shall cope with the sabotage which the Chinese might commit against us.

I told Behar that, as he himself is well aware, chaos, the struggle between two lines, reigns in China. It is difficult for us to say who is the stronger and who will win. Possibly, an opportunist understanding will be reached, and after Mao a new «Mao» will be prepared who will carefully arrange the balance of the line, the reconciliation of the irreconcilables, the «advance» to socialism with «a hundred flowers», with many lines and in harmony, in order to present hegemonic China in rosy colours.

MONDAY
AUGUST 30, 1976

THIS SITUATION IS NEITHER NORMAL NOR REVOLUTIONARY

The news reaching us from China is like the rumble which comes from the bottom of the sea which, although not visible, exists in fact. On the surface it seems as if daily propaganda, unrestrained propaganda, is being made against Teng Hsiao-ping, but as to why they are speaking against him and what is said, they keep that sealed within the party. Such a situation is not at all normal, is not revolutionary.

The propaganda is in full-cry against the rightists, according to Mao's slogan that «the bourgeoisie is right here within the party». However, these rightists, this bourgeoisie, are doing just what they please in the important posts which they have occupied. Such a situation is not at all normal, not in the least revolutionary.

There is a great deal of talk about the class struggle. There is talk and articles are written about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it cannot be seen that the class struggle is being waged, and neither does the dictatorship of the proletariat seem to operate, because it is not hitting the enemies. Such a situation is not at all normal, not in the least revolutionary.

It seems that the opposing currents have captured the leading posts and one side has control of the microphones and the press, while the other side has the economy and the rifle. The former seems nervous, the latter calm, of course, because it has the rifle. Mao does not seem to come out anywhere to speak, to set the tone, or give directives. The microphones and the news-

papers alone issue some of his slogans, all of them like two-edged swords, all of them easily used by the leftists and by the rightists. It is not even pointed out when Mao has issued these slogans and catch-cries, what has impelled him to issue them, and against whom they are being directed. Nothing. They are like the parables of Evangelists.

As can be seen, the outlook for China is not bright. I think that they will have «typhoons» there, as the Chinese say. But whom will the storm wipe out: the leftists or the rightists, the reactionaries of Chou, Teng, Li Hsien-nien, or the new leaders, Wang Hung-wen and company?

On the surface, the new leaders look strong today, but there are under-currents swirling in the great Chinese ocean, and as far as I can make out, the men of Chou and Teng do have the support of Mao, though not openly, because his opportunist and liberal ideas are a colossal aid to them. They are content that no one molests them, no matter what the «megaphone» may say against them. The rightists are waiting for Mao's death, and then they will certainly act.

SATURDAY
SEPTEMBER 4, 1976

THE CHINESE ARE NOT HONOURING THEIR COMMITMENTS IN REGARD TO THE SECTIONS OF THE METALLURGICAL COMBINE

In the radiogram which Comrade Maqo Bleta sends us, he tells us that the Chinese refuse to retract on any point of the unjust problems which they are raising in regard to the signing of protocols and deliveries on time for the sections of the metallurgical combine, to which they have already committed themselves. Apparently they are trying to intimidate us with the threat that they will not carry out their obligations towards the metallurgical combine. On the pretext of the earthquake which struck China, they want to make a 180 degree turn in the relations of friendship with our country. Apparently, their friendship has had other objectives, to get them over the obstacles when they were in difficulties, while from our side it has been a sincere friendship.

However, Maqo Bleta will give them a firm Marxist answer.

SUNDAY
SEPTEMBER 5, 1976

CHINA'S BLACKMAIL AND ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AGAINST ALBANIA

The unfriendly, not to say hostile actions of China towards our country, are constantly increasing. The Chinese are openly slowing down their import and export of materials in a scandalous way, in order to damage our economy and put us in difficulties.

Up until August the Chinese have fulfilled only 22 per cent of their deliveries to us, while we have fulfilled more than 80 per cent of our exports to them.

The imports due from China are primary materials for our industry, all officially contracted, with clearing. All our goods have been delivered, thus, if I am not mistaken, we have an active balance in our favour with China. This is disgraceful on the part of the Chinese and it is clear that they are sabotaging us. We were obliged to tell our ambassador in Peking, Behar, to make contact with the Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade, Li Chiang, and lodge a protest with him. Behar made contact with him, presented the situation to him in detail, and «begged» him to take urgent measures and send us the goods. Our ships, like the «Vlora», stay 120 days in the Chinese ports to be loaded, a thing which could be done within 5 days.

Mr. Li Chiang heard Behar out, but pretended that he knew nothing about the situation (and this is a dirty lie), promised that he would interest himself in the matter, and give him an answer in the coming week.

The Chinese are using vicious trading methods towards us,

which no capitalist country or revisionist country practises. China signs its trade agreements with its «friend» Albania in two stages: part of them in the first six months and the remainder in the second six months of the year. This means that the goods for which contracts are signed in the first six months come at the end of the year, and those of the second six months come in the first half of the next year. According to this practice, we deliver our goods to the Chinese within the year, while they deliver theirs to us within a year and a half or even later. Therefore, the goods from the second six months of this year have not even started to come from China. To Behar's request that Albanian working groups should go to China for talks, Li Chiang replied: «We shall see whether we can receive them before December». In other words, with this he means that our trade with China, which they have reduced to 30 per cent a year in comparison with the past, should be reduced even further, to 15 per cent a year. This is openly hostile.

On the other hand, for almost three months the Chinese have been exerting blackmail and arrogant pressure on the industrial delegation which has gone to Peking on the problems of the metallurgical combine. In other words, they do not want to deliver important sections of the combine to us, therefore they are not setting any date and want to leave us with the sword of Damocles hanging over our heads. And they try to cover up all these aims with phrases such as, «We have not mastered the technology of this and that». All these are lies, because in the working program which they sent to us previously it is noted that their delegation «will be present at the first production of steel sheet», etc.

Apart from this, the Chinese try to impose on us the protocols that we are to sign in the way they want, and insist that the question that «the earthquake which occurred in China might make deliveries difficult and the Albanian friends must understand this», etc., should be inserted. In the talks which were held by the two sides, faced with their arrogant claims that, «we have the right to speak because we are the suppliers»,

our side gave them the proper reply that «we are not signing the protocols except about those things on which we have reached agreement. If you want to record your views in the supplementary note, we likewise, will record our views». The Chinese, says Maqo Bleta, were shaken when we told them this, and asked that «we should talk the matter over again in order to avoid having differences». Thus things have reached a deadlock.

On the other hand, the Chinese Deputy-Foreign Minister, Yu Chang, asked Behar that we should agree that their delegations of friendship, culture, etc., should come during these months, but the Chinese are doing all these things to conceal their hostile actions and to present themselves with pseudo-friendly actions, hence they are trying to keep up appearances while, on the other hand, they are undermining our friendship.

About the new Chinese ambassador, whose arrival has been delayed for months, allegedly because he has been ill, Yu Chang told Behar that he would be coming on September 15. «He is still not well,» said Yu Chang, «but will come nevertheless, and later we shall see, because he may return to China for a rest,» he said in conclusion.

What emerges from these evil things which the Chinese revisionists are doing to us? They are the same as the villanies the Soviet revisionists committed against us, with one difference: that the Soviets broke off relations with us in a brutal way, while the Chinese are going about it with cunning and with «reel in but don't break the line». Their tactic is: «You may break it, but not us». What are the Chinese revisionists getting at with this tactic? They see that our Party is openly following a correct Marxist-Leninist course, but the Chinese do not like this course, they want us to follow their treacherous revisionist course. We will never do this, but continue and will continue to follow our own correct course which is in contradiction to theirs. They are powerless to impose their desires and line on us, therefore they are exposing themselves with their efforts.

Hence, the Chinese have begun their blackmail and economic pressure with the aim of intimidating us and making us

yield. But they are thinking and acting like a big revisionist state and have remained incorrigible despite our stands. As I have written earlier, Chou talked Beqir Balluku into doing what he did. Chou did the same thing with Abdyl Këllezi. Without doubt the Chinese are furiously angry that we got rid of their friends, and precisely when we settled accounts with the traitors, they began to increase their economic pressure.

Now we are going to hold the 7th Congress of our Party. They assume that we shall unfurl our line there, a line which will be openly in opposition to that of the Chinese, without directly referring to them in any way; but the whole world will see clearly that there are contradictions over matters of principle on a series of key problems between our two parties.

The Chinese are doing all these things I mentioned above as pressure, to prevent us from speaking about our crystal-clear line at the Congress. But they are hitting out blindly and will suffer for it. We are afraid of no one. We are on the right road, let them tremble!

It is also clear why they want to send «friendly» delegations before the Congress. This is a Chinese trick with which they want to say: «You hurl stones, we toss flowers».

The same explanation holds good for what Yu Chang tells us about the Chinese ambassador, that «he may return to China». He makes this allusion: «If you continue on your course, we shall recall the ambassador» under the pretext that «he is ill», and then the relations between the two countries hit rock-bottom, just as with the other revisionists. This is how the Chinese revisionists reason, but it does not occur to them that this does not upset us. Our mountains will soar just as high. **We want, we have tried, and we shall go on trying to have friendship with China, but friendship on the Marxist-Leninist road and no other. We reject friendship under slavery, under pressure, under blackmail, whether with China or any one else.** The Chinese leaders are acting like the leaders of a «great state». They think, «The Albanians fell out with the Soviet Union because they had us, and if they fall out with us, too, they will

go back to the Soviets», therefore they say: «Either with us or the Soviets, it is all the same, the Albanians are done for». But to hell with them! We shall fight against all this trash, because we are Albanian Marxist-Leninists and on our correct course we shall always triumph!

THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 9, 1976

MAO TSETUNG HAS DIED

Today the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung was reported. His death saddens and worries us, especially in this disturbed situation. It is a great loss for China.

In my opinion, Mao Tsetung was a revolutionary, a personality of importance, not only for China but on an international level.

Mao Tsetung led the Communist Party and the great Chinese people to the major victory of the liberation of China from enslavement by occupiers and from the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang. This was an achievement of great historic importance, both for the Chinese people and for the socialist camp and the peoples who fought and are fighting for liberation.

Under the leadership of Mao, the construction of socialism began in China. (At least, this was our belief up till recently, when we are seeing that this «construction» has gone with zigzags.) In our opinion, matters have already reached the point when the question must be asked: Which will triumph in China, socialism or capitalism? Therefore the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung gives rise to great concern amongst us about the future of the Chinese people and the course China will follow after his death. Of course, we can make no pronouncements on this at present, time will make this clear to us. May we be proven wrong, but the result of this line, which the Chinese revisionists call «Mao Tsetung thought» and which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, will spell nothing good for China.

Mao Tsetung, as a thinker and philosopher, as a revolutionary democrat leader of the Chinese people, is an historical personality, but history and Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in China will explain that while he was a philosopher with a broad culture, he was not a Marxist-Leninist. He was profoundly influenced by the old Chinese philosophy of Confucius, etc., and as the eclectic he was, he brought Marxism-Leninism into his work only in the form of mutilated principles and ideas.

It was precisely his philosophical eclecticism which made Mao what one may call a moderator for the different currents which have existed continuously in China, which he permitted, encouraged and put in allegedly dialectical «collision». However, the activity of a moderator might influence for good or for evil, but in any case such a thing could operate only so long as Mao himself was alive. Now he is dead. Will China remain red, and this red be turned into a true, fiery, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist red?

This is what we desire and hope for with all our heart and soul, with all our communist sincerity, because this is for the good of China, the revolution, socialism and communism.

We Albanian communists will remember Mao Tsetung with respect for his good aspects, for those positive ideas and his long revolutionary activity, but in regard to those political, ideological and organizational views and stands which we consider to have been mistaken and non-Marxist, we have not sat and will not sit idle without pointing them out and criticizing them. Leninism teaches us that we must always be correct and objective and not subjective or sentimental.

Regardless of our disagreement with many of his judgements, the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung saddens us also, because he always showed himself to be a friend and admirer of our socialist country and the Party of Labour of Albania and, as the communists and internationalists we are, we must not ignore this. We can say that Mao Tsetung was the main and decisive person in the Chinese leadership who assisted the People's Re-

public of Albania with economic and military credits and he accorded this aid in an internationalist spirit. In the same spirit, our Party assisted China, stood beside it and defended Mao in both good and difficult times, especially against the attacks of the Khrushchevite revisionists, as well as during the Great Cultural Revolution.

Immediately we heard about his death, we decided to send a Party and Government delegation with Comrade Mehmet at the head, but in the statement which the Chinese leadership released we read that foreign delegations would not be welcome to take part in the ceremonies organized on this occasion.

Naturally, we took measures to send messages of condolence and see that wreaths were laid in Peking, to organize visits and send messages of condolence to the Chinese embassy in Tirana from the leadership of the Party, the state, the mass organizations, the educational, cultural and scientific institutions, as well as delegations from the working collectives of Tirana and a number of industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives of other districts.

TUESDAY
OCTOBER 12, 1976

THE TRAGEDY OF CHINA

A great tragedy in China. The things that we foresaw would occur in China after the death of Mao Tsetung have happened and, indeed, the events took place with lightning speed. We thought that the two currents, the rightists and the leftists, would continue to «coexist in divergency» as Mao had allowed them during the whole of his life and as he advised his collaborators to act upon his death and for ever after. However, the «great helmsman» of two or more lines had created such an authority that he could hold the balance. But what sort of balance? Never a truly and consistently Marxist-Leninist balance.

Mao Tsetung spoke with revolutionary catchwords about the «revolution», the «class struggle» and other questions of principle, but in practice he was a liberal, a dreamer, a centrist in the direction of the manipulation and balancing of the various currents which existed and intrigued within the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state. With such characteristics, Mao Tsetung was easily influenced by one or the other current; sometimes supported the one, sometimes the other.

What is obvious and true is that Chou En-lai was the greatest «Iago» in the Chinese Shakespearean drama. He was a rightist, he was a mandarin, a bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist. In the manipulations which Mao made, Chou En-lai manoeuvred with mastery. When the ship of one reactionary current with Chou En-lai on board was foundering, he rapidly abandoned that ship and ducked under the banner of Mao.

It must be re-emphasized that Mao stressed the pri-

mary role of the peasantry in the revolution, and in this direction it turns out that he was not in agreement with the leading, hegemonic role of the working class. His vacillating ideas, such as those about the peasantry, are reflected throughout the entire liberal line of Mao Tsetung.

In theory Mao accepted some of the basic principles of Marxism. **In his official writings** these principles and some other matters are formulated correctly **in general**. In practice, however, Mao formulated and defended non-Marxist theses such as that which is stressed in his obituary: «The countryside must encircle the city». His obituary stresses that, -«without acting in this way the revolution cannot be carried out»! This means that the peasantry has to lead the proletarian revolution. This thesis is anti-Leninist.

But Mao also put forward other theses and views with which we have never been in agreement. He **wrote** a good deal about the class struggle, about contradictions, etc., but the class struggle in China, **in practice especially**, has not been waged sternly and consistently. In this direction, too, Mao proved to be a liberal and a moderate. He permitted rightist revisionist elements to take power and to establish deep roots in the party, the state and everywhere. Mao coexisted with them, simply looked on, and frequently approved them. In the end, he overthrew some leaders of these currents but left their base untouched. His authority, created during the war and after the victory, brought about that the factions «were defeated», but the problem was only partly solved and the liberal, moderating situation always continued. Mao Tsetung was a centrist, he kept people of various currents close to him, people who called themselves Marxists but who were not Marxists and who fought on their own line under the umbrella of Mao Tsetung. When they upset the balance, Mao Tsetung intervened and «put things in order».

There was instability in the thoughts and actions of Mao and I think that his interpretation and application of Marxism was done rather in the way the fancy took him. This, of course,

was «explained» and «justified» with «the conditions of China».

Even many years after liberation, Mao did not liquidate the bases of the wealthy exploiting capitalist classes, either in the cities or in the countryside, and did not liquidate their privileges, while claiming that «this was a tactic until the situation was stabilized». However, this «tactic» should not have been turned into a theory and a strategy, according to which the capitalists should be «integrated into socialism», should receive dividents and this should go on for scores of years, as is still happening in China. These capitalists have turned into «communists» and have become part of «the bourgeoisie within the party» of which Mao speaks.

The Communist Party of China is not clear on the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory. On the contrary, it has replaced them with the eclectic ideas of Mao. «The bourgeoisie is right here in the party and you do not see it,» says Mao. And this is true. However, **who permitted this bourgeoisie to exist comfortably in the party? Mao himself, with his ideas, permitted this, the lack of a correct Marxist-Leninist organizational, political, and ideological structure of the party has permitted it. Mao permitted the flourishing of many lines, of opportunism, practicism, and liberalism.**

At the «crucial moments» for the Communist Party of China, Mao Tsetung did not rely on the party, but on the army, the intelligentsia and the students. At these «crucial moments» the workers and the peasants have either been under the control of counterrevolutionaries or have stood aside.

The question must be asked: Why did Mao not call on the party, the working class and the peasantry at difficult moments? Either because these forces would not obey him, or because he did not want to address himself to them for fear that blood would be shed. At the time when Mao was shouting, «Power grows out of the barrel of a gun», reaction was seizing this power.

They say that the Cultural Revolution was initiated and guided by Mao who raised millions of red guards with the

slogan, «Attack the headquarters!» Meanwhile they say that the party and Lin Piao folded their arms. However, the facts show quite the opposite. Lin Piao was at the head of the revolution, together with Mao, Kang Sheng, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao and others. According to facts in our possession, Lin Piao dressed two million soldiers as civilians. With these «red guards» he attacked the headquarters and smashed them, while Mao took all the credit. He saved Chou En-lai and many others and kept Teng Hsiao-ping safe in a villa.

However, Chou manoeuvred very skilfully and one morning Lin Piao turned out to be «a traitor, an agent of the Soviets and a plotter against the life of Mao». And allegedly in proof of this, it was said that Lin Piao seized an aircraft in which he fled to Mongolia where the aircraft «crashed and burned». All those aboard were killed. It is said that Chou and Mao had been informed of his flight, but Mao allegedly said: «Let him go»! Astonishing things!

Hence, Li Piao, as an element dangerous to Chou, was liquidated. Together with him, Chen Po-ta also suffered the same fate. But how could the Cultural Revolution be liquidated? This was difficult for Chou because of the fact that Mao would be involved, therefore they continued to talk about the revolution as before. Kang Sheng was old and seriously ill, but there were the others, the new ones like Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen and company. They began and continued the revolution, but, of course, to the extent that the «Chairman» permitted. Mao shared out the roles. He left the press and the radio in the hands of the leftists, while he left the state, the economy, the army and the security service in the hands of the rightists with Chou En-lai at the head. From this, one can understand clearly how the «great helmsman» saw the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Mao and Chou also constructed the foreign policy. The Chinese foreign policy of Mao and Chou En-lai has been and is a non-Marxist, non-revolutionary policy. It is a fluid policy

which takes its shape from the international political circumstances and takes positions dangerous to socialism and the revolution.

During this period Chou worked to leave his successor and, together with Mao, brought back on the scene «the number two Khrushchev» of China, whom they made first deputy-premier, vice-chairman of the party, etc. For three years on end, during Chou En-lai's illness and up to the time of his death, Teng gathered strength. Apparently, however, the leftists put the «helmsman» and Teng in a tight spot. They toppled the latter and began to expose him. Then the «helmsman» manoeuvred with «genius» and according to his custom of carefully balancing the currents, while he was alive, brought to power Hua Kuo-feng, a person unknown up till now, leader of the State Security, a moderate in words but a rightist in deeds.

Mao died and the great tragedy took place in China. As soon as the «helmsman» closed his eyes, the rightists headed by Hua Kuo-feng carried out the putsch and settled accounts with Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. These four were arrested. Today the rightists are killing and imprisoning the leftists and revolutionaries, and rehabilitating the condemned rightists and counterrevolutionaries, while using the words of Mao.

It is absolutely unimaginable that the words of a «Marxist-Leninist revolutionary» could ever be used advantageously by the counterrevolutionaries, as is occurring in China with the sayings of Mao!

What is the bourgeois-capitalist press not saying about China! It is saying that the radicals headed by Chiang Ching had «plotted», and allegedly Mao's nephew had turned the sick Mao on his left side, against the advice of doctors, etc., etc., and with this they want to prove allegedly that «these plotters even killed Mao». «Lin Piao tried to murder Mao three times», was trumpeted some years ago, while now it is being trumpeted that «the plotters killed Mao and wanted to kill Hua Kuo-feng, too». But the real plotters are the men of Chou En-lai, of Li

Hsien-nien, of Teng Hsiao-ping, of Hua Kuo-feng, and so on.

These plotters are not publishing anything officially, but are gradually preparing the masses so that they swallow this tragic story. **Chinese reaction, dressed up in disguise, is posing as «revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist», and under this disguise is mowing down the revolutionaries and communists. The Khrushchevites of China are tearing ahead to strengthen their positions.** They are trying to strengthen their positions with terror and will certainly reach the point where not only will they no longer quote Mao, but they will also trample on those things of some value which he left. With the transformation of China into a capitalist country, the figures of Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Peng Chen, Teng Hsiao-ping, etc., will be built up.

WEDNESDAY
OCTOBER 13, 1976

GREAT CHAOS IN CHINA

Great chaos in China. For two or three days the western and revisionist news agencies **have been saying that a coup d'etat has been staged in China and those that have come to power are the «moderates», as they call Hua Kuo-feng and company, with whom Li Hsien-nien has appeared also. For us, the «moderates» are the partisans of Chou En-lai, the revisionists, who have rejected the Marxist-Leninist ideology on almost all questions, while disguising themselves with deafening demagogy. They have applied and are applying a great-state chauvinist policy, follow a pro-American foreign policy. This policy which Chou En-lai followed, was at the same time the policy of Mao, too.**

Mao cannot be separated from Chou En-lai. They acted hand in glove. They were both liberals and, under the mask of Marxism-Leninism, tried to create a great power and to carry out a «big policy» in the international arena, appropriate to the size of China. In other words they intended that **China should become an intermediary force which would balance the weight of the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.**

As I have written in other notes in this diary, Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and all the leadership of the Chinese party and state, which had always fought under the banner of Mao Tsetung, were against Stalin, against the Leninist Soviet Union, against the Bolshevik Party and against the Comintern, but they kept all these stands of theirs disguised. Later, after the death

of Stalin, these stands and views which they nurtured came to light. The aim of the Chinese leadership was to assist Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites to establish themselves after the coup d'etat which they carried out in the Soviet Union in order to overthrow the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The aim of Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and others, was, at the same time, that, with the aid of the Soviet Union, China would become a great power and Mao Tsetung would take the place after Lenin, i.e., enter the rank of the great classics, who according to them, were: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Tsetung. To this end, of course, he had to butter up Khrushchev and assist him. He did this not just secretly but even openly; not only in the lobbies but even at international meetings of communist and workers' parties at which we too, were present. We heard with our own ears what Mao Tsetung said about the activities of Khrushchev. Nothing but praise.

However, with the passage of time and the development of events, things did not happen as Mao Tsetung had thought. Khrushchev was truly a clown, an anti-Marxist and a great intriguer, but he was not so stupid as to put the Soviet Union under the wing of China and Mao Tsetung. On the contrary, he wanted and worked for the Soviet Union to become an imperialist power with great military potential, and thus turn into a strong partner of the United States of America, so that the two of them could divide up the world and exploit it in their own interests.

Hence, despite ail their efforts, the dream of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai did not become reality. In a word, they were both day-dreaming. Then, as I have explained at other times, they took a 180 degree turn, trained their «batteries» on the revisionist Soviet Union, a thing in which we were interested, but at the same time turned their faces to American imperialism and shook the hand of the fascist president, Nixon. Hence the other dream of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai was that, in close collaboration with American imperialism and relying on it, China should become a great social-imperialist power.

I am not going to dwell at length on the question of the Cultural Revolution, etc., etc., because I have dwelt on it in my earlier notes, but I want to say that one thing is certain: it was Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai who hatched up the plan for the liquidation of Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, etc. We had grave doubts from the start about this unexpected action by Lin Piao, whom Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and the whole of the Chinese propaganda presented as a traitor, as if Lin Piao wanted to plot to eliminate Mao Tsetung and take his place. But with the passage of time and the development of current events, we see that in the China of Mao Tsetung, plots are a normal practice, which means that the work of the Communist Party of China turns out to be very weak and not on the road of Marxism-Leninism. **In the propaganda of this party there are plenty of words such as «revolutionary», «Marxist-Leninist», «proletariat», etc., but in fact we see that Mao Tsetung, who posed as a «great Marxist-Leninist», does not emerge as such, but is the cause of all these negative phenomena which have occurred and are occurring in China.**

The events in connection with Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping, and now the recent coup which has occurred in China, are the result of a liberal non-Marxist, opportunist line of Mao Tsetung. He permitted pronounced weaknesses in the organizational and political line of the party; he allowed two or more lines to flourish within the party and among the people; recently he waged the alleged struggle against Confucius. But since the line on the basic question of the dictatorship of the proletariat was distorted in its principles, the class struggle against external and internal enemies, against petty-bourgeois remnants, religion, etc., etc., **has been non-existent in China, or has been waged in campaigns in order to overthrow one and to elevate the other, to overthrow and re-overthrow one, to elevate and re-elevate the other.**

Mao kept Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, who had made many mistakes in their lives, respectively as vice-chairman and general secretary of the party up till the time when in the great-

est heat of the Cultural Revolution he described them as «the Khrushchev number one» and «the Khrushchev number two» of China. «The Khrushchev number two» (Teng Hsiao-ping) was brought back and again raised by Mao Tsetung to all the other functions which he had held and appointed vice-chairman of the party (naturally with the blessing, if not on the suggestion, of Chou En-lai). Perhaps Liu Shao-chi would have had the same «good luck» if he had not died. (But even after his death, perhaps his friends will not forget him.) These promotions of enemies to and their demotions from high state and party posts, as well as many other hideous acts, are not Marxist-Leninist actions.

In short, foreign news agencies have been saying for two or three days that Hua Kuo-feng has seized power in China. Hua Kuo-feng, who was the chief of the State Security Service and Minister of the Interior, replaced Teng Hsiao-ping. The latter had been condemned by the Cultural Revolution. According to the Chinese leaders everything which the Cultural Revolution did is «right» and was passionately defended by Mao Tsetung and all his disciples. **It is true that this Cultural Revolution also had people who, with complete conviction and upholding the banner of Mao, wanted to strengthen the communist positions of China.** But in this revolution there were also many powerful enemies who, as I have written many times in this diary, gathered around Chou En-lai. Chou linked himself strongly with Mao and went about his intrigues with him. Chou En-lai was necessary to Mao. This means that Mao Tsetung always intended and continued to carry out a policy of balance, and one of those who were able to operate this policy of balance, as long as Mao Tsetung was alive, was Chou En-lai. He adapted himself to Mao because he understood his non-Marxist psychology and views very clearly. Chou knew how to gather anti-Marxist elements around himself and put them in the key positions in the state, the army, and the party, right up to the Central Committee, people who, at the appropriate moment, would seize power and liquidate the sound

Marxist-Leninist elements. To this end Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai rehabilitated almost all the elements who had allegedly been persecuted. In fact here we are not talking about people who had been persecuted, but those who had been condemned.

Chou En-lai, who was certainly fully aware that he had cancer, trained Teng Hsiao-ping, who was to replace him, for three years on end, and when Chou's ashes were scattered over China, Teng Hsiao-ping delivered Chou En-lai's funeral oration. However, this funeral oration was also for himself. **Teng did not become premier because he was dismissed and unmasked as a revisionist and an enemy, as a leader of the rightists, an enemy of Mao Tsetung, an enemy to socialism, etc., etc. In this way a stern campaign, a correct one, against him began, but only through the press, the propaganda and the radio. Apparently, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao had control only of the press.** When this campaign began Mao Tsetung was still alive and it was thought that these four had his support.

But did these four elements have that power among the people, in the party and the army to continue the Cultural Revolution in practice, in other words, to purge the ranks of the party, the state and the army of the reactionary elements who operated disguised under the cloak of communists, the men of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai and Peng Chen? Our belief was that the four did not have this power. **They were new cadres with will, but extremely immature, while the old wolves in the Communist Party of China had implanted their roots deeply and these roots had been nurtured by the non-Marxist-Leninist ideology of Mao Tsetung, who thought that if he himself could not do so, his ideas would live through the centuries.**

Hence these four leaders only turned out propaganda. Teng Hsiao-ping was eliminated from the leadership, but Mao Tsetung who was still alive, advised the parties in conflict to proceed «quietly and gently and to everybody's satisfaction», «not to fight with one another», «to reach agreement with one

another» and «put aside the quarrels». All these slogans were astonishing, non-revolutionary, and issued by a person who posed as a «great Marxist-Leninist». Mao Tsetung called himself a Marxist but he was a «Marxist» with petty-bourgeois views. Since he thought, wrote and acted, putting the peasantry as «the key factor of the revolution», which he did not fail to call «proletarian», his ideological and political views could only reflect the petty-bourgeois features of the peasantry, such as its vacillation from right to left. Thus, Mao united sometimes with one group or state and sometimes with another. The next day he would abandon these and unite with others. Everybody, the bourgeoisie, capitalists, and proletarians lived and acted under the umbrella of Mao, and Mao was pleased with his popularity. In his sayings and writings, he used ideas and quotations from Marx and Lenin, but they were a facade. If the ideas of Marx and Lenin expressed in Mao's writings are studied carefully, it will be seen that they have been garbled as if his head had spawned them.

Mao advocated conciliation, but on the other hand shouted: «What are you looking for? Don't you see that the enemy is right here, within the party?» But this enemy within the party must be struck mortal blows. Did Mao do this? No, he did not act in this way. This was only a spoken phrase, because in practice he applied the slogans: «Don't split!», «unite!», «don't intrigue and conspire!», and, on the other side, said: «Oppose revisionism!», «practise Marxism!». Hence everyone in China, Marxists and anti-Marxists, use these phrases of Mao Tsetung. **Certainly he did not permit the sound elements to take power and set China on the right course.**

In this great chaos it is difficult for us to be sure, but from what we have seen of what took place and how it took place in China, we can say that the new elements seemed more revolutionary and more progressive than the group of Chou En-lai. Thus, Mao Tsetung, in order to «reconcile» the individuals, and recognizing that he himself was very sick and close to his death, before he went «to god», as he had said to Edgar Snow,

found the «appropriate solution» — he put Hua Kuo-feng in charge of affairs. Who was this Hua Kuo-feng? An unknown person without great authority. **However, Mao Tsetung knew him, and the right wing who had hopes in this person, accepted him, because at least he would be moderate. Thus he came to the top leadership unelected. Following the death of Chou En-lai he became premier and first vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This meant that after the death of Mao, he would certainly become chairman of the party.**

Not long after the completion of these devious operations, Mao Tsetung died. A period of mourning was proclaimed, black arm-bands were worn, and only two or three weeks or, at most, one month later (reckon these things if you like), the great chaos, what we had foreseen, burst out in China.

What did we foresee? We foresaw that the two obvious currents would clash with each other over who was to take power (and we thought this because the rightists, the partisans of Chou En-lai, had power in their hands for the reasons I explained above, while their opponents had control only of the press and propaganda, therefore if the question arose as to who was to take power, it would be the non-revolutionary elements who would take it), but we thought also that the «reign» of Mao Tsetung might be prolonged a little. But this Hua Kuo-feng, who had the balance in his hands, was not Mao Tsetung. Hua was far from having the authority which Mao had created in China and the world. Hua Kuo-feng revealed his true features. **Three days ago, the foreign news agencies announced that one morning he arrested Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Hung-wen, and Chang Chun-chiao in their homes, that is, all the main elements of the left wing whom they call «radicals». Hua Kuo-feng with Li Hsien-nien, the former right-hand man of Chou En-lai, seized power.** There are also rumours that Teng Hsiao-ping has been brought back to Peking and if he is not becoming deputy premier for the moment, still the road which China is taking must bring Teng Hsiao-ping to an im-

portant post, possibly that of general secretary of the party, a task which he carried out in the time of Liu Shao-chi and Mao Tsetung and in which he has experience.

Thus, at present China is going through difficult moments, and not only China, but the whole world revolution. **If all that the foreign agencies are saying about China is true, this will inflict colossal damage on the world revolution and socialism, and set it back by many years. China itself will proceed on the road of the social-imperialist great power. It will rely for the present on the United States of America, but it will not be surprising if, later, it carries out the same policy as Tito, that is, to achieve its objective, it will stretch out its hand towards the Soviet Union.** Regardless of the fact that at present China is conducting «deafening» propaganda against Khrushchevite modern revisionism, this is a victory for the Soviet Union, too. Tomorrow it may gradually tone down this propaganda. With China's becoming an independent power, with a big industry, which is being built up with American technology, with a stock of atomic bombs inferior to that of the Soviet Union, but with a great army, overwhelmingly bigger than that of the Soviet Union, **it is possible, and I think it might happen, that three superpowers may be created in the world, and the three of them will want to have their spheres of influence.** Naturally, the contradictions between them will increase, a time will come when they become acute, and we shall be witnesses to this exacerbation which may even lead to another world war.

What will the Chinese people do now? Will they rise, or will they apathetically accept the tales of Hua Kuo-feng and Mao Tsetung? Will they be in agreement with the purges which are being carried out in the Communist Party of China? Will Shanghai, from which all these elements have emerged, accept a situation in which Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and company dominate in Peking, make the law in China and lead it towards the United States of America or the Soviet Union? This is a problem which we must watch.

Is it possible that disturbances will occur in China? It is

possible. In the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev acted more prudently, did not precipitate events in this way. Several years went by after the death of Stalin, and he undertook his counter-revolutionary activity with a «soft hand», surreptitiously outflanked his enemies, prepared internal and external opinion, and finally purged those allegedly progressive elements who proved to be neither progressive nor anything at all. Be that as it may, Khrushchev did not clear the way within a month as Hua Kuo-feng is doing. The Soviet people were prepared through a great deal of demagogy for that retrogressive turn which was to occur and they considered the events which took place normal things which were done «within the Leninist norms of the party». They did not see the truth, because they were not allowed to see it. Whereas the rightist revisionist clique in China is acting quickly, hastily, and such activity will possibly create a reaction among the people. The Chinese people rose in the Cultural Revolution, of course, because Mao called on them, but in fact they did rise and went on the attack. **If Mao had not held them back, this revolution would have cleaned out all this filth which has now come to power.** The Chinese people could do such a thing again. To what extent they will do it, is not known, and we cannot even say for certain whether they will do it at all, because the Chinese people have been stupefied with the name of Mao Tsetung.

All the foreign news agencies say that the right-wing elements headed by Hua Kuo-feng **claim that they have suppressed a «coup d'etat» headed by Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, etc. This is a bluff.** According to the foreign news agencies, Hua Kuo-feng has stated that «The Four» prepared this «coup d'etat» by «distorting the ideas of Mao Tsetung». This means that «all the propaganda against Teng Hsiao-ping, pro the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., etc., has been distorted by this group of conspirators». According to Hua Kuo-feng it is they who «have distorted the ideas of Mao Tsetung». Hua Kuo-feng will publicize amongst the people the quotation of Mao Tsetung: «Don't in-

trigue and conspire!». But who conspired? «Chiang Ching and company,» Hua Kuo-feng, Li Hsien-nien, Teng Hsiao-ping and others will say, who want to present themselves as if they are saving China from such «reactionary elements» who violate the ideas of Mao Tsetung, whose banner they are waving vigorously for the sake of expediency.

If this manoeuvre can be put across the Chinese people, there will be no uprising in China. But if they do not fall for it, the people will rise, and then there will be civil war. The people and the workers, also, clashed in the Cultural Revolution, regardless of what group they were with. Even in the army, they fired artillery and machine-guns at one another and people were killed. More than this we do not know. We shall see later.

But one thing we can say for sure: What has occurred in China is a catastrophe for that country and does incalculable harm to the world revolution and communism. American imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie are rubbing their hands. This catastrophe is a foul deed of theirs. Those who have brought about such a situation in China are their collaborators, just as Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Suslov, as well as the whole of Tito's revisionist gang and a series of counterrevolutionary lackeys of theirs throughout the world were and are their collaborators.

In regard to us Albanians, of course, we are clear that the situation created in China does not augur well for us, but brings difficulties. **We foresaw this situation long ago, as early as 1960, when the Chinese leaders allegedly defended us against the Khrushchevites. We saw that they were vacillating, and never really defended us.** Headed by Chou En-lai, they tried to get the Soviets to stop the polemic against us and close this question. However, Khrushchev, like a *potentate*, did not agree to yield to the Albanians. He did not accept this thesis of Chou En-lai and Mao Tsetung. Chou En-lai and Mao Tsetung had great hopes that Khrushchev would give them the atomic bomb and assist them economically so that China would become a great power. Therefore, even when the conflict was opened, they tried to tone

it down. I have written about these matters in my diary day by day, during the development of events, and these are not conclusions which I draw only now.

Therefore, this situation did not find us unprepared. For several years, and especially during the past five-year plan, Chou En-lai was acting against us. He sabotaged us in economic matters. We saw the sabotage concretely, and struggled against it. Chou found himself in a situation in which there was nothing he could do other than adopt the method of postponing the completion of projects, since he could not implement the method of cutting off credits. **Chou En-lai did not pursue the tactic of Khrushchev who broke all links with us at once, but he pursued the tactic of not sending the machinery on time for projects of great importance to the development of our economy which should have been completed two years, or two years and a half earlier. For this reason they are still not completed.** And this is not because China is «poor» and other tales which the Chinese revisionists tell us. No, **these stands were and are for political reasons, because Chou En-lai and Mao Tsetung saw that Albania was standing firm on its own Marxist-Leninist positions and had and has its independent policy which it expresses openly, unafraid of anyone, a thing which did not and does not please the Chinese.**

It was not pleasing to the Chinese, also, that small Albania was defending great China in the international arena. Perhaps Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai personally considered the defence of China on our part a disgrace, because in their judgement, how could a small country defend a big country? Nevertheless, what was done by us was a defence which they were unable to deny, but such a situation was not to their liking.

Recently it became clear that the Chinese leaders were putting open and direct pressure on us to save Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi, who collaborated with them in the plot hatched up against Albania to overthrow our leadership. But they were unable to achieve their aim, therefore they drastically

reduced their economic aid and their military aid, because there was nothing else they could do against us.

Hence, in this direction we are prepared. We are prepared because our Party has gone through so many storms and has been tempered. It has no fear of remaining alone. And in fact, in this case we remain alone and apply a unique Marxist-Leninist policy, as a party in power which is in opposition to the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, the Chinese social-imperialists, the reactionary bourgeoisie, to the neighbours and the devil and his son. **But Albania and the Party of Labour remain unshaken, and this is how they will always stand.**

Will the team which has now come to power in China still carry on the hostility towards us openly? We shall see. We shall be vigilant, and our vigilance must be great. **Our interests require that even while they pursue their method of postponing the full completion of these industrial projects, from our side we must avoid any flare-up with them, but must stick to our Marxist-Leninist line and not violate our principles, regardless of the fact that China may cut off its credits to us. Let them do this. We shall live on our own resources, we shall work tooth and nail, we shall live, and live better.** At the same time we shall have the support of the whole progressive world, of all the genuine Marxist-Leninists, all the proletariat and revolutionaries of the world, who will see how a small country stands loyal to Marxism-Leninism, is not intimidated, but marches forward, lives and advances. This is how it will be.

Naturally, the hostile stand of China towards us will please our enemies. They will increase their activity, both abroad and within the country, against our Party and state, **but we have such great strength that we shall cope successfully with the external enemies, and crush the internal enemies.** Therefore we must keep cool and wait, must follow the situations in the world attentively as always, and must follow the situations in China in particular.

First, we must wait to see whether or not what the world

press is saying is confirmed, because nothing is being said by the official press in China. And this is precisely the method the Chinese follow. Both when they liquidated Liu Shao-chi and when they liquidated Lin Piao and, later, Teng Hsiao-ping, etc., etc., it took a long time before they said openly what they were driving at. It is highly probable that the same thing will occur in this case, too, because, regardless of the fact that they are relatively young, from Chiang Ching to Chang Chun-chiao, they are personalities. However, I think that we have to be very prudent, must defend our line and must not open polemics with the Chinese if what the world press is saying is confirmed. **We must not open polemics so long as we can reasonably consider that our Marxist-Leninist line is not being publicly attacked, otherwise from that moment we must have our batteries aimed all the time.** However, we must also consider our economic interests, irrespective of the fact that the Chinese will possibly delay the deliveries they should send us under the signed contracts which exist. Hence we must be prudent and at the same time vigilant, must carefully watch what course events will take in China.

In China everything comes as a surprise. All these things occur in an extremely short time and all of them are labelled «coup d'etat», «putsch», «conspiracy against the life of Mao Tsetung», etc., etc. Tomorrow other events might occur, therefore here, within our own country, we must be vigilant towards the Chinese specialists. To the employees of the Chinese embassy here in Tirana we shall continue to speak with sincerity about the friendship of our people and Party with the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China on the Marxist-Leninist basis, although we do not know what sort of people the functionaries of the embassy or the Chinese specialists who work in our country are.

From the information we have, it turns out that their present ambassador, who has also been in Moscow, is one of the elements criticized by the Cultural Revolution. Hence, he must be a rightist, a man of Teng Hsiao-ping, Liu Shao-chi and

Chou En-lai. **He has not come here to help our country, but to carry out sabotage, to intrigue, to gain information, not as a friend, but in the service of the rightists who have come to power in China. He has come with evil aims, therefore it is possible that he and the other Chinese may begin to poke their noses into our internal affairs.**

We cannot stop the employees of the Chinese embassy going to the various enterprises where Chinese specialists are working to make contact with them. However, the first secretaries of the party committees of districts, the chief-engineers, directors of institutes, factories and combines where Chinese specialists are working, must be vigilant, must watch out, because we have suffered many times: from the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists, and now we could suffer from the Chinese, too.

The major interest of the Homeland and of the Party requires that at these unstable and chaotic moments for China, which are dangerous for the world revolution, especially for socialist Albania, we must strengthen the situation in the Party, strengthen the unity of its ranks, strengthen the unity of the Party with the people, make the training for the defence of the country more active and be vigilant, and must carry out successfully, indeed overfulfil, our economic plans. This is a capital task to protect the independence, freedom and sovereignty of our Homeland. All must think, and this we must make clear in one way or another to the Party, the communists and the whole people, that socialist Albania is strong, both internally and outside its borders. Our country has many loyal friends abroad. These friends are not only the revolutionaries and progressives, but also people who, despite being opposed to our socio-economic order, have respect for the policy of socialist Albania and the courage of our state.

THURSDAY
OCTOBER 14, 1976

RESPECT SHOULD BE MUTUAL

Yesterday Comrade Nesti [Nase] told me that the new Chinese ambassador had asked to visit me at home on October 16 to congratulate me on my birthday and, on this occasion, to bring me a basket of flowers.

I think that at these turbulent moments and after such discourtesy towards our Central Committee on the part of the Chinese leadership and Mao Tsetung personally, who did not reply to any message which we sent them, when even to the invitation of our Central Committee for the Communist Party of China to participate in the Congress of our Party they merely sent their ambassador to communicate to us, in the name of the Foreign Directory, the greetings of the Central Committee of their party, it seems to me that we ought to protect the authority of our Party. We must make it plain to the Chinese that our relations with them must be correct and on the basis of complete equality.

MONDAY
OCTOBER 18, 1976

THE CHINESE ARE HAMPERING OUR IMPORTS

It is almost two weeks since Comrade Behar met the Minister of Foreign Trade of China, Li Chiang, from whom he sought the reasons **why our imports from China for 1975 show a shortfall to the tune of 40 million yuan, while our exports for the same period were completely fulfilled.** Behar pointed out to him that China was creating many obstacles and difficulties for us in the fulfilment of our five-year plan, and that the trade talks for 1976 had not even begun — and in fact, during this year, no trade was going on between Albania and China. Behar stressed that this action was not fair and with this method we were in no situation to reserve our export goods (for them).

Li Chiang listened to him and said, «I am not informed about this (in fact he was lying), but I will find out and summon you».

Two weeks went by, and Behar was summoned by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade who told him on behalf of Li Chiang:

«We have made a mistake. We are in debt to you; therefore we shall activize our trade organs and the enterprises and will try to send you the goods by the end of the year, with the exception of some machinery such as tractors, etc. This has come about,» he said, «because of our wrong line. In regard to the contracts for 1976, we shall fulfil these by November or December if we have put our own plan in order.» And to sweeten this a bit, he said: «We shall conduct the negotiations with you first». This is what the Chinese Deputy-Minister of Foreign Trade told Behar. All this is rubbish and lies.

Li Chiang is one of the main enemies of the People's Republic of Albania. What the Chinese are doing against us is sabotage, an economic blockade. This sabotage activity openly supports the plot of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela. They have done this to exert pressure on us, to impoverish our market and to slow down production in order to arouse dissatisfaction among the people against our Party and state. But these saboteurs and conspirators have not achieved and will not achieve their purpose. Our export goods are such that anybody will take them, therefore **China cannot blockade us, just as the Soviet Union, the other revisionists and the capitalist states could not blockade us.** We want to carry on trade with China and will try to do so, but on equal terms, and not in the way the Chinese revisionists are acting.

FRIDAY
OCTOBER 22, 1976

THE THIEF SHOUTS: «CATCH THE THIEF!»

Hua Kuo-feng has taken the reins of the party in hand by becoming Chairman of the Party and Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. They have informed Behar of this appointment. Without doubt, in the coming days these actions will be confirmed by decision of the Central Committee.

Hua Kuo-feng came to power by a military putsch prepared in advance. Chou En-lai was the architect of the plot. After he eliminated Lin Piao, together with Mao and with his assistance, he not only worked «to calm» the situation, but also changed the policy of China. Mao was the banner, while Chou, leading the reactionaries, organized everything so that this policy would be defended even by the leftists. Chou was preparing all this while Mao was alive, so that after his death he would have all the key positions in his grasp, especially the army and the security force. He achieved this while Mao was alive. The leftists made noises through the radio and the press, while Chou left them free to prattle. With the approval of Mao, he rehabilitated his old friend, Teng Hsiao-ping. Chou knew that he was soon to die and undoubtedly advised his collaborators to be prudent as long as Mao was alive and, as soon as he died, to take power.

When Chou died Mao was still alive. According to the rules, Teng should have become premier, but the leftists did not accept him. Then the «great helmsman» found himself in a dilemma. What should he do? He summoned Hua Kuo-feng,

the chief of security, and other participants in the plot prepared by the rightists with Chou at the head. But when Mao died, Hua Kuo-feng pressed the button for the plot and carried out the putsch. He eliminated the main leaders of the left wing in a fascist manner. Hua Kuo-feng and the conspirators shouted: «We've put down the conspirators, the mafia of Shanghai»; they took control of the microphone, the radio and the press, and began the great campaign. This is all there is to it. The thief shouts: «Catch the thief!».

The plot of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi was synchronized with the Chinese plot. Chou made preparations for the situation to be changed in Albania simultaneously with the changes in China, in order to facilitate the implementation of their plans in connection with the communist and workers' movement, with our relations and the international relations. But our Party discovered and liquidated the putsch of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi.

SATURDAY
OCTOBER 23, 1976

THIS IS WHAT MUST HAVE HAPPENED WITH «THE FOUR»

Reading a report about a circular of the CC of the CP of China with a critical eye, in my opinion, it turns out that **all the things the Chinese are saying are make-believe and lies.**

This circular says that in October 1974, Wang Hung-wen allegedly went to Mao Tsetung and made «accusations» against Chou En-lai. In my opinion, Wang Hung-wen acted very well and such a thing is permissible from the aspect of the norms of the party.

Every member of the Central Committee, indeed every party member, has the full right to go to the Chairman or the First Secretary of the CC of the Party and express his opinion of a member of the leadership or any communist at all, whatever function he may have. This action is considered within the rules of the party. In daily practice many people, party members or non-party persons, send letters to the Central Committee, the Chairman or the First Secretary of the Central Committee, either signed or anonymous, with information about the activity of those people who make mistakes.

Thus, it cannot be considered that, in going to the Chairman of the Central Committee to criticize the activities of a member of the Political Bureau, a member of the leadership of the party, such as Wang Hung-wen was, has committed any misdemeanour and, even less, engaged in a plot, on the contrary, such a thing is quite in order. Only those who de-

sire that their irregular activity or their mistakes should not be known by the leadership could think and describe this thing differently. In particular, in the case of Mao Tsetung, who stayed shut up in his office and waited for the others to come and express their opinions about the work and the people, whether collective or personal opinions, an action like this, which Wang Hung-wen carried out, was quite normal. **Therefore the accusation which is made against Wang Hung-wen is unfounded and to be condemned. It is clear to us that this is being made with evil intent by those who have concocted the story.**

As I said, Wang Hung-wen, as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, had the full right to go to Mao Tsetung, as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, and express to him his opinion about a member of the Central Committee. However, the present Chinese leaders are making grave accusations against Wang as a «conspirator». Knowing who Chou En-lai was, what activity he carried on, I think that Wang Hung-wen did very well to go and speak to Mao Tsetung about Chou. **With this it is made clear to us that those who are now accused by Hua Kuo-feng and company have had the same correct view about Chou En-lai, about his actions, his crimes and intrigues.**

The information from Peking does not mention this, but it is possible that Wang Hung-wen went to Mao to criticize Chou En-lai after he had consulted with the other comrades, in order to express their common view about him.

It is clear to us that Wang Hung-wen should not have been content with this alone. He took this step officially, too, in connection with the activities on the part of Chou En-lai, which were not on a correct Marxist-Leninist road. **The fact that he put this problem forward openly at the 10th Plenum of the Legislative Assembly, too, as the circular which has been reported to us says, proves that neither Wang Hung-wen nor his comrades who are now being persecuted there, acted in the least like «conspirators» but, on the contrary, those who have come to power acted in this way.**

In our opinion, the leftist elements acted correctly, but the intervention of Wang Hung-wen was not to the liking of the counterrevolutionaries, therefore they launched a counteraction. As it turns out, Mao did not accept the proposals and accusations made by the leftist elements, moreover, according to what is said in the circular, Mao allegedly rebuked Wang Hung-wen for his suggestions, and rejected them.

This shows that Mao Tsetung, together with Chou En-lai and his group, supported the rightist, revisionist and reactionary elements who remained hidden in the party and state apparatuses, or whom they rehabilitated, like Teng Hsiao-ping. As it turns out from the analysis of the circular, the criticisms made by Wang Hung-wen, Yao Wen-yuan, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, were completely justifiable.

Information which comes from a Chinese source says that Chiang Ching had long been opposing Chou En-lai in his revisionist and capitulationist activity. Moreover, she also informed Mao of her views about Chou En-lai, and such a thing was correct. Now, however, according to the circular reported to us, it turns out that Mao Tsetung allegedly criticized Chiang Ching as «ambitious», for worrying him by bringing up «petty issues» and not major problems. **From this we can reach the conclusion that any criticism which was made by the others against Chou En-lai was not acceptable to Mao Tsetung. Mao defended the revisionist Chou En-lai.**

The question arises: What sort of plot is there in this? Have some members of the Political Bureau no right to raise an opinion openly in the Central Committee, to make a proposal, even to criticize a person like Chou En-lai, or any other member of the leadership? Basing ourselves on the norms of the Party, we do not see any violation, on the contrary, we see non-Marxist dogmatism and authoritarianism on the part of Mao himself who criticizes these bold elements for «dogmatism». The conspirators take what Mao says about their opponents being «dogmatists» as a weapon in their own favour, **but Mao**

Tsetung, who compelled the comrades to do only what he said and as he decided, was himself a dogmatist.

Later, on February 3, Chang Chun-chiao allegedly wrote an article, so the circular says, in which he furiously opposed Mao's personal proposal. As to what proposal it is, what question is referred to, this is not clear to us, **but, according to the putschists, again on this occasion, anyone who dared to criticize should be reduced to silence, because there should be no criticism about the things which Mao decided. Perhaps this is an allusion to the bringing into the leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping or someone else whom the circular does not define. It may have been precisely to criticize this proposal that Chang Chun-chiao published his article, which, of course, was not based on the teachings of Mao, etc. In the latest circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China the publication of this article is described as a crime, because it opposed Mao.**

It is possible, also, that this opposition may have had to do with the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng to the function which Mao had thought of as vice-chairman of the party and premier of the State Council. This means that the four comrades of the leadership, who have been condemned, did not accept Mao Tsetung's proposal for the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng to the posts with which he was entrusted and perhaps they expressed their view on such a thing publicly in this article. This, too, is described by the putschists as a «plot», a thing which of course cannot be accepted, because plots are not carried out in this way.

An ambassador of China to a Western state, after talking to our ambassador about the «plot of The Four», allegedly giving him confidential information, said: **«I am telling you in confidence that Chang Chun-chiao is an agent of the Kuomintang and that Mao Tsetung long ago knew what evil people the four conspirators were, but he himself allowed them to come to Peking and to be appointed to the Central Committee and even to the Political Bureau».** What iniquitous things they are con-

cocting about these four! But how stupid they are!! Don't they understand that in this way they are exposing Mao himself? Or are they doing this deliberately, as the revisionists and reactionaries they are, precisely to «dethrone» Mao in retribution for what they have suffered from his vacillations and to further their ultra-revisionist and reactionary plans for the future. Understand these Chinese tricks if you can!

The revisionist putchists have gone so far as to describe Chiang Ching, in particular, as a «street-walker» and to distribute pamphlets against her in which they write in such filthy terms as to call her a «prostitute». The question arises: How could this «prostitute» have remained the wife of Mao Tsetung for 33 years, have borne him children, been elected a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China? Where were these «valiant spirits» who are now spreading such monstrous slanders, which even the filthiest pornographic literature of the West is unable to match? It is self-evident that these people are agents of imperialism who are trying to discredit Mao, personally, by means of Chiang Ching, while allegedly upholding his banner, of course, just until they get over their difficulties. Even those few good things which Mao did for China, the revisionist putschists are sullying with such activities.

Further on in the circular the putschists continue to make general accusations against revolutionary elements, **because they were working to foil the conspiratorial plans of the revisionist wing with Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and others.** This series of accusations has been concocted over most ordinary meaningless things. In my opinion these have been included in the circular by the putschists headed by Hua Kuo-feng, because they have no other accusations to make which would make the comrades of the left wing appear as «conspirators». **All the activities and struggle which the leftists were waging against reaction ruined the tranquility of the revisionists, whom Mao supported.** The revisionists had created a strong basis in the party and the state. They had the keys

in their hands and placed their people everywhere. In this favourable situation which they created for themselves, they did not want any trouble to be made for them by others. However, «leftists» were ruining their tranquility with articles and in other ways, including a series of criticisms. The revisionists gave all these things the colour of a «conspiracy». They are trying to load the responsibility for the revisionist plot, which they themselves had long ago prepared, on to those comrades whom they are calling radicals, but who, as far as we can tell, seem to have been in sounder positions, despite the mistakes and weaknesses which they may have had.

I express my conviction that Chou En-lai, supported by Mao, had managed to gather around himself all the revisionists and all the reactionaries, in one word, all the partisans of the traitor Liu Shao-chi. Gradually he infiltrated all of them in turn into the apparatuses of the party, the state, the army, and everywhere. After he achieved this aim, Chou En-lai set to work to purge his opponents one after the other, therefore first of all he concocted the question of Lin Piao who was his main opponent. He liquidated Lin Piao with the trap he set. After this he set to work to liquidate his other opponents, whom the Cultural Revolution had brought to the fore, headed by Kang Sheng and others. However, Kang Sheng took ill and died, while Chen Po-ta was liquidated before Lin Piao.

Now there remained these four, Wang Hung-wen, Yao Wen-yuan, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, whom it was difficult for Chou En-lai to eliminate. **But as the great organizer and revisionist conspirator he was, and having the support of Mao, Chou En-lai managed to rehabilitate and bring back into the leadership Teng Hsiao-ping, whom he worked hard to prepare as his successor.** «The Four» would have immediately opposed the rehabilitation of the revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping, but his elevation must have been imposed by Mao. **I am convinced that these four could not have accepted the return of Teng Hsiao-ping to the leadership of the party and state. Mao**

must have told them to do what Chou En-lai and his associates proposed.

I think that Chou must have advised his collaborators not to act as long as Mao was alive. However, after the death of Chou, these four acted and thus, thanks to their resistance, Teng was not appointed in place of Chou, as premier of the State Council. Hence the need arose for the Cultural Revolution to be carried further. However, Mao, being in opposition to these four, summoned Hua Kuo-feng, whom he made vice-chairman of the party and placed him at the head of the government. Mao was well aware that Hua Kuo-feng was a partisan of Chou En-lai. Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan were also well aware of this, therefore they must have opposed Hua Kuo-feng's coming into the leadership, but Mao imposed on them his coming in as vice-chairman of the party and premier of the State Council.

After Mao's death «The Four» must have again opposed Hua Kuo-feng's coming to the head of the party and the state, but this opposition was considered a «conspiracy» by the revisionists. They arrested these four, describing them as people «who had fought against the party, who had opposed Mao Tsetung and the decision he took personally about bringing Hua Kuo-feng to the leadership» without either the Central Committee or the Political Bureau being called together etc., etc. I think that this is what the reality must have been, because there is no other way to understand the events which occurred.

Reading the information which came to us, it is quite clear what slanders and false accusations have been concocted against these four comrades. The revisionist traitors accuse them of «having talked scores of times with foreigners and having maintained contact with them», without mentioning by name who these foreigners are. They forget that, from Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai down through the other members of the revisionist group, all have met and talked, who knows how many times, with foreigners of such calibre as the Kissingers,

the Nixons, with every man and his wife, for days and nights on end. And in order to avoid accusations over these meetings which the whole world knew about, the revisionists accused «The Four» of having allegedly talked with foreigners! With this they want to imply that these four «were agents of foreigners». This is how they describe Chiang Ching's meeting with an American woman journalist or authoress who writes about her.

The revisionists are acting with these four just as they acted with Lin Piao, accusing them as «agents» but they do not say of whom. No doubt tomorrow they will be saying that they were «agents of the Soviets», just as they said about Lin Piao, and there are already indications in this direction. The same Chinese ambassador that I mentioned a little earlier told our ambassador, apart from what I said, that **«for the moment we cannot say that these four are agents of the Soviets, but there is nothing certain about this, however, tomorrow we may discover that they are their men».** After they have concocted false documents, no doubt, the Chinese revisionists will say this, too.

On the other hand, this same Chinese ambassador informed our ambassador that «the West describes the four conspirators as leftist radicals, but this is not so», because, according to him, **«they are right extremists but hidden under the cloak of left radicals».** Naturally they are not saying that these four are agents of the Americans, because they themselves are on the best of terms with the Yankee imperialists.

It can be inferred, although not directly, that the putschists with Chou En-lai at the head were against the Cultural Revolution. Indeed, they are attacking this revolution which exposed the headquarters of reaction within the party, when they claim that Mao criticized Chiang Ching and the other three because «during the Cultural Revolution they put the dunce's cap on the head of some leaders» etc., etc. With this they want to say that with the Cultural Revolution etc., etc., the revolutionaries attacked the party, they accuse them of «having

committed crimes» by «putting the dunce's cap» on the counterrevolutionaries, and of «having overthrown whomever they could» etc., etc.

It seems that immediately after Mao's death, the four accused must have raised the question of who would be elected to the new leadership. However, for Hua Kuo-feng's putschists this is considered an «intrigue», a «conspiracy». But why call it an intrigue or a conspiracy since they opposed the election of Hua Kuo-feng as the main leader when Mao was alive?

The accusations of the putschists are so banal that, in order to convince others, they are striving to find fault where there is none. Here is what they say in the circular: **In April 1976 Mao stressed, «we must proceed according to the course of the past», while these four had «distorted» this by using the formula, «we must act according to the course laid down».** What is the difference? It is difficult to distinguish it, but if you reflect deeply, indeed Mao's saying, «we must follow the course of the past», is brought up by the revisionists for a purpose. This must be inferred, because the old line means the line followed by Mao, Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping and company in all directions. In their eyes, «the best elements are the people re-established in the state and the party, and not those who emerged from the Cultural Revolution». **For the putschists this revolution is now over, that is why they are making appeals: «We must turn to the old course, must not rise against those who have been rehabilitated, because they are the best».**

Hence, the renegades describe the «leftists'» raising of the problem of the election of the new leadership as a «crime». This explains the exploitation of Mao's saying, «Don't split!», «unite!»..., «don't intrigue and conspire!». The putschists are using all these things Mao says to defend this course and accuse «The Four» of having distorted what Mao said. In fact, Mao issued this slogan at the time of the Cultural Revolution, while the present-day putschists are trying to prove that he said it recently and especially against these four. The putschists' trick to deceive the broad masses of the party and the people

is quite clear, since they are trying to convince people that Mao allegedly said this recently. In any case, whether Mao issued this slogan now or during the Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary class spirit does not emerge from it as it should.

«Don't conspire!», says Mao, but in reality who are the ones who are conspiring? If you analyse the activity of these four, it turns out that they have not conspired. Those who wanted to completely change the regime in China, and have tried to carry out this change, are Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, and others. Some of them stepped aside during the Cultural Revolution, but were restored to power, therefore they had to be unmasked and combated over the counterrevolutionary activity they carried on. But who had to fight them? Naturally, the revolutionary elements and a Marxist-Leninist party. **However, the people who had power in their hands in China, such as Chou En-lai and company, whom the storm of the Cultural Revolution had not swept away and who wanted to hold on to and strengthen this power, are accusing the left elements of being «conspirators». The putschists are employing this expression to defend themselves. Now they are back in power and are accusing the four comrades of having violated Mao's directives.**

They also accuse these four of having written an article against revisionism in which an appeal is made to act «according to the course laid down by Chairman Mao». This article is considered an anti-party attack on the Central Committee. These four acted very well in attacking the Central Committee if it has been on the revisionist road. While raising the question of the struggle against pragmatism, the article also speaks against revisionism. It is known that pragmatism is represented by Chou En-lai and the method of his activity. The implementation of pragmatism on his part means activity against Marxism-Leninism.

In a talk which he had with our comrades when they were in Peking, Mao Tsetung said to them: **«If at some time the revisionists usurp the leadership in China, the Marxist-Lenin-**

ists of other countries must likewise resolutely unmask these revisionists and wage a struggle against them, must assist the working class and the masses of the people of China to fight revisionism».

They accuse Chang Chun-chiao of having held a meeting with the commissars of the army etc., in which he brought out the struggle against pragmatism as a question of first-rate importance, and of defending this idea at this meeting. How he did this we do not know, but it seems that he stressed that we Marxists must defend the Marxist-Leninist theory, but at the same time must apply it in practice, and we cannot do this by rejecting its principles. According to the putschists «Chang Chun-chiao and company had rejected Marxism-Leninism». This, too, is another false accusation made against them.

Mao said that, «in order to defend Marxism you must even swim against the current». In fact, regardless of the strong opposition of the revisionists, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan have fought against revisionism. They are precisely the ones who attacked the revisionists within the ranks of the party, while the putschists accuse them of «treachery towards Mao, the Central Committee, the revolution», etc.

According to the revisionists, the elements of «The Four» «distorted Mao's strategy in the struggle against Lin Piao and Confucius». But what is this strategy of Mao's? The revisionists do not tell us this. If these four «had distorted this strategy», what were the others, with Mao at the head, doing? Why did they not raise this problem in time? Since this is how things stood, why did they not call a meeting of the leadership to overthrow those who were committing «distortions»? Since Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta were overthrown, could they not overthrow these, too? And why did they not act at that time against Chiang Ching, also? They were quite unable to do this because at the time of the Cultural Revolution they were in the sh... (excuse the expression).

The putschists are saying a thousand things against Chiang

Ching. The revisionists are alleging that Mao said, at this or that time, **«You are ambitious, you want to seize power, you are this and you are that, you defend the minority, you are a group of four», etc., etc.** However, according to them, these questions had come to light years ago and as the circular claims, Mao allegedly said these things at meetings. If this were the case, is it not surprising that no stand had been taken against Chiang Ching and against the other three? «Look, you have made mistakes,» Mao allegedly told Chiang Ching, «but the comrades do not point them out to you. You get involved with petty things, with which you come and worry me, and do not talk to me about the major things». Mao had a guilty conscience over these things.

According to the putschists, «The Four» «committed crimes at the time of the exposure of Lin Piao by launching three arrows. The first arrow was against Lin Piao, the second against Confucius, and the third against favouritism», or the use of «backstairs influence». But what does this mean? **Why are they raising the question of the struggle against favouritism now? Why do they smart at this? Who were those involved in this favouritism? Undoubtedly, those who held power, from Chou En-lai, first of all, down to Teng Hsiao-ping, who had gathered their supporters around themselves in the key positions and granted political, economic and other favours to them.** See what kind of accusations the revisionists make! They accuse others but they themselves are rotten. The arrow which they say «The Four» aimed at Mao, Chou and his associates, has been introduced precisely to weaken the impact of the two first arrows against Lin Piao and Confucius. This is the sort of sophistry the putschists resort to.

In this case they are repeating the same tactics. The revisionists said about Lin Piao that «he wanted to replace Mao». And about Chiang Ching they say that «like Lin, she tried to take over the leadership of the Party». The putschists have carefully arranged these accusations so that if one reads these tales without going deeply into them, one might say: «These

four really have been great criminals!» But if you probe just a little below the surface, the question arises automatically: When Chiang Ching was so bad, and Mao had criticized her so severely on several occasions, why did they not expel her, at least from the leadership? There is no doubt that Chiang Ching pointed out to Mao the great frauds which the revisionists were concocting behind the scenes, made criticisms of them, **but Mao, from the peak of Olympus, did not permit his «infallible» ideas to be affected.**

The same accusation is made against Wang Hung-wen, as against Lin Piao, as if he «wanted to replace Mao, like Chiang. Ching who aimed to lead the Party».

All these things show that the rightists, supported by Mao personally, fought for a long time to keep power in their hands at all costs.

The four «leftists» are accused of «having hurled themselves into struggle against empiricism» (that means, against Chou En-lai) and of allegedly «not fighting against revisionism». This, too, is a slander. The empiricists in China are, at the same time, revisionists, and these are Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng, etc. It is understandable that with the struggle which the leftists waged against empiricism, they trod on the corns of the above-mentioned revisionists.

In the circular, the revisionists also bring out the saying in which «Mao demands discipline and obedience», and in the present conditions, as far as the rightists are concerned, this saying cannot be questioned and must be implemented.

Their conclusion is that «The Four» and their followers are «the bourgeoisie within the party», as Mao Tsetung said, according to the putschists, while they themselves, headed by Hua Kuo-feng, are «Marxist-Leninists».

Apart from this, there is no mention, not the slightest accusation, in the circular, about Teng Hsiao-ping. This time he is not mentioned at all.

SUNDAY
NOVEMBER 28, 1976

STRUGGLE FOR POWER

There is no doubt that after the death of Mao the situation in China remained chaotic and the party, equipped with an eclectic theory, is split.

It is known that, as long as Mao was alive, the rightist group of Chou En-lai was dominant. Mao as the «helmsman» ran things «with the centrists» and restrained both the rightists and the leftists who stood at «daggers drawn» with each other.

After Chou, in his group came Teng Hsiao-ping, who was to replace him. Mao accepted this situation but the leftists opposed it. Immediately Chou died, Mao found himself at the cross-roads. He was unable to impose his will on the leftists, and they began the exposure of Teng while Mao was alive. Mao managed to keep Teng in the party, but the right was endangered. Then Mao, who held the balance, brought out the centrist Hua Kuo-feng whom he appointed deputy-premier and first vice-chairman of the party. The left was not in agreement with this decision of Mao's either. During this period, which lasted nearly a year, the centrists formed an alliance with the rightists and decided that, after the death of Mao, Hua Kuo-feng would become chairman of the Communist Party of China, and even before Mao died, would become premier and commander-in-chief of the army. And this was done. As soon as Mao died, Hua Kuo-feng and the army arrested the leaders of the leftists and, without calling together either the Political Bureau or the Central Committee, he assumed his titles.

But for the right and the men of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng was temporary, just until a putsch could be carried out and «The Four» exposed, then he would have to yield his place to someone stronger, a personality of the rightists who had had the approval of both Mao and Chou. This was Teng Hsiao-ping.

Hua Kuo-feng took his first steps, claiming that «Mao had appointed him». His place and titles became sweet to him. Hua thought that he had strengthened his positions with his banal «exposure» of «The Four» and his slandering of them, but certainly this is not so. The right wants Teng. Hua also wants Teng, but is certainly demanding that he makes some sort of self-criticism before he is rehabilitated and then he will give him a post, but not that of chairman of the party. However, Teng and his supporters, do not accept any such thing, therefore they have blocked the moves of Hua Kuo-feng. He remains at the head illegally, and cannot even call together the Central Committee because in it there are leftists, centrists, rightists, and people of other colours. Then Teng exerts pressure on Hua, and Hua on Teng. Hua continues «to criticize» (ah! very gently) some rightist errors of Teng's, until he can make him do what he wants. But Teng is «stubborn», he wants the whole of the power, and will accept nothing less. This is the basis of the conflict.

Hua Kuo-feng with some of the armymen who support him is fighting to stay in power and is manoeuvring with them. He held the meeting of the Presidium of the People's National Assembly where the only issue for Hua was the appointment of Chou En-lai's wife as vice-chairman of the People's Assembly. Hua presented this candidature «as if Mao had said, one year earlier, that Chou's wife should be appointed to this position». It is said that Chou's wife is the sister of Teng Hsiao-ping. With this manoeuvre Hua wants to show the people and the rightists that he «has had Mao's trust», that Mao had told him «to liquidate the leftists», that Mao had told him, «With you in charge, I shall be at ease», that Mao had

told him, «Appoint Chou's wife to this high post». With this recent action Hua Kuo-feng is trying to win over part of the rightist group, Chou En-lai's men.

In other words, the struggle for power in China is far from being over, but has only just begun. The army will play the decisive role in this, and it depends on this role whether Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping, or some other strong rightist like Teng, will have power in his hands.

In all this the Communist Party of China is not playing any role, or plays only a formal role to the extent of approving at its formal meetings what the putschists decide from above. It seems that the Communist Party of China is only a name and a facade. It has come out in the world and in the communist movement as a party «with a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, with a structure of a party of the Leninist type». But the facts have shown that this is not so. The Chinese people fought, the revolutionary communists with Mao and the others fought, but this was a national liberation war, which did not consolidate either the party on the Marxist-Leninist norms, or the state in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Algerians also fought as nationalists, but they carried out a purge of their enemies, while the Chinese comrades did not, and that's why they are suffering.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 2, 1976

A PARTY IN DISARRAY

We can describe the question of the Communist Party of China as something mysterious. In appearance it seems like a legal party, and so it is. It is a party in power, has its policy, press and organization. It was said that everything was guided by Marxism-Leninism, and now «Mao Tsetung thought» has been added to this slogan. Despite all this, however, the Communist Party of China is a party which lives and acts as in illegality. Its congresses have been held rarely, the meetings of the Central Committee and those of the Political Bureau have also been held rarely and in the greatest secrecy, as if it were war time. Only the 8th Congress was held openly, with delegations invited from the sister parties, and the reports allowed to be distributed to them. The recent congress, too, at which Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen spoke, was held in semi-open conditions, but no delegation from any sister party was invited to take part. Everything else remains obscure. «Renmin Ribao» merely writes long propaganda articles which hardly anyone can read, because they are filled with shibboleths, with quotations, with the same slogans that Mao Tsetung issued before liberation. It is hard, very hard, to learn whether some plenum has been held, who spoke, what problems were raised, and what decisions were taken. There is never a whisper about anything, apart from some general instructions, and no one knows who has formulated even these. There is talk about agriculture, about Tachai, these are linked with some quotations of Mao's, and propaganda is carried out!

Our impression is that the Communist Party of China lives by slogans and acts on orders. Outside, even the people of the Chinese leadership with the exception of Chou En-lai, speak to us and the others in quotations and slogans even about the most varied and complicated situations. It seems as if «silence» has been made the watchword, «give nothing away but try to get what you can». This may be true, and there is something behind all this, that is, either an unhealthy secrecy is being maintained even towards comrades and friends, or the education by the party is so stereotyped that nobody knows anything apart from the formulas which are served up through the press and the radio. Both these things are true.

An incontestable fact is that the Communist Party of China, with this «great» chairman and with these «outstanding» leaders, still to this day has not a written, officially approved history of the party. No, this does not exist! Where do the generations in China learn the history of their communist party, with its good points and its mistakes? Nowhere. The world, at least, has no such source available. Could they have some history of the Communist Party of China which they are keeping secret? Such a thing is impossible. Then why is it not written? Do they lack the people or the means? It cannot be this. What then? **It is difficult to write the history of their party because it is hard for them to analyse its line and struggle. It is hard for them to define and analyse from the Marxist-Leninist angle the stages which it has gone through, the events, the changes and the motives for them, the role of this or that leader or group, etc.** If they write such a document, those who have to do this must assume the responsibility for its content, because the world will judge them and see them as in a mirror. Those who could write it, cannot write it from the Marxist-Leninist angle, because they are not Marxist-Leninists, but are opportunists, pragmatists, involved for scores of years on end in factions and plots, because they have been in astonishing political and ideological instability. The fact that the history of such a communist party, which is rich in events,

both good and bad, with so many factional struggles, has still not come out to serve as a great experience for the Chinese communists, for the Chinese people and others, can not be explained differently.

What is more, the history of the great liberation war of China has not been written either, and is still not being written. I am speaking of a scientific history, and not of isolated articles in which the facts are written like the legends of mediaeval «knights» and the leading knight is Chairman Mao. We know that the war was waged, then why is this rich history not written for people to study it? In my opinion the reasons are the same as those I gave for the history of the party.

The Communist Party of China has never had a Marxist-Leninist axis. Various people, who were not educated either with the Marxist-Leninist theory or by the events, came to the top and carried out an «independent» policy adapted to the circumstances as «communists» in a «communist party» which did not have a Marxist-Leninist axis.

Such people came into the leadership, became careerists, struggled to monopolize power, and came into conflict with other groups which were not principled, either. The rivalries and clashes between factions were called struggles and, according to the Chinese slogans, Mao Tsetung has waged ten or eleven such struggles. These ten struggles are listed with the names of the factions, and that is all. It is said simply, that they «were opposed to the line of Mao Tsetung», that «Mao Tsetung liquidated them», etc. But Mao Tsetung did not liquidate the factionists, either physically or ideologically, because until the end he advocated «a hundred schools». In regard to some group which he liquidated, we can come to the conclusion that Mao did this because his personal power was in danger.

Hence, the party in China was an organ of certain individuals who fought to protect their own power and not a party of the proletariat, while the power which they protected was their personal power and not that of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How was this party organized, how did it work, and how was it educated? This, too, was and still is a mystery to us. Never at any time were we told anything, no experience of theirs was given us, no true party delegation was accepted to go to China. With us the opposite occurred. Without reservation, we explained to the Chinese how our Party, as an organization, carried out its political and ideological tasks. They never did such a thing. The work in the Communist Party of China must have been very weak. In appearance, in numbers, it is a big party, but within it is in disarray, because its leadership and line have been in disarray.

The countless factionists who lingered in the party carried on factional work even down below. At one moment one faction would rise in the party and the other decline, then the opposite would occur. This game was becoming dangerous. New people from the ranks of the workers and other classes were elevated, came into the party, had enthusiasm and revolutionary drive, but the work for their education was lame. They channelled all their efforts to idealization of the main leader who «never made mistakes». All of them, including the factionists, struggled behind the scenes under the banner of Mao. What can we say about all those leaders, old and new, who have been condemned in recent years, about Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao, and Wang Hung-wen? They have spoken to us about them as good people, and this is what they seemed to be as far as we could tell. Among the Chinese leaders, Kang Sheng seemed to us like a resolute revolutionary, a serious comrade, with Marxist-Leninist formation and more of an internationalist than the other Chinese leaders we have known. Now grave accusations are being made about all of them as «rightists and extremely immoral», apart from Kang Sheng who died, but who, as is known, was a supporter of the leftists.

What do we know about these comrades who may have made some mistake in this chaos and this confusion of ideas and disorderly actions which have occurred in China? We know

little about them. They fought in the Cultural Revolution, «attacked the headquarters» of the revisionists and reaction and attacked Liu Shao-chi. They were against the Soviet revisionists and American imperialism. (To what extent Lin Piao was with the Soviets we do not know, couldn't swear to it.) They wanted to carry this revolution through to the end. Mao and Chou En-lai with the rightists stopped them. What Marxist-Leninist education did these people have? That of all the rest of the party, but it seems they had arrived at the opinion that this chain which was strangling China had to be smashed. Were they fighting for power, too? We could not swear to this, one way or the other.

With the others, who were headed by Chou, we have fought over questions of principle and have opposed them, because we were aware of what they were.

What has occurred in China now is only a repetition of the factional struggle which I mentioned above, but this struggle broke out after the death of Mao, who had allowed the right to strengthen itself and to take over the reins in order to weaken the revolutionary side. Mao was no longer able to implement his policy of holding the balance, therefore, reaction attacked the left revolutionary elements and this time reaction will carry things through to the end.

We have been and are with the revolution and the revolutionaries, and we hope that the revolution in China will no longer be led by «the banner of Mao Tsetung thought» but by the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and want it to be so. Only in this way will the revolution triumph in China.

MONDAY
DECEMBER 6, 1976

UNSTABILIZED LEADERSHIP

The new Chinese leadership is floundering in indescribable political, ideological and organizational chaos. There is no sign of any stability, even on the wrong course on which Hua Kuo-feng has set out. All of them pose as and assert that they are followers of the line of Mao, but this is not true. **The non-Marxist-Leninist line of Mao seemed as if it was stable, but it was not and could not have been so.** Why could it not be stable? Because Mao did not apply the Marxist-Leninist theory in policy, in ideology, or in the organization of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this resulted from the fact that Mao had not built and educated the Communist Party of China as a Marxist-Leninist party.

As a theoretician Mao was not a Marxist. According to him the leading force of the revolution is the peasantry, not the proletariat. He totally disregarded the proletariat and the trade unions, until Chiang Kai-shek attacked them severely in the counter-revolution of Shanghai. Later, until he died, Mao considered the so-called third world «the greatest motive force against imperialism and social-imperialism». This is the black thread of the non-Marxist, opportunist line of Mao which was expressed in the words «the countryside must encircle the city», and «China is part of the third world». The anti-Marxist conclusion emerges from Mao's anti-Marxist theories that wherever capitalism has eliminated the peasantry and turned the peasants into unemployed or workers enslaved to capitalist

concerns, the prospect for the proletariat to rise in revolution is closed.

Mao, who is advertized as a «great Marxist-Leninist» is nothing but an eclectic, a pragmatist, and as such, an opportunist. **To move towards the theory of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend», is precisely the essence of the most opportunist pragmatism which leads to pluralism of parties, to undermining the leading role of the Communist Party of China in the revolution and the construction of socialism, hence to the restoration of capitalism.** This cannot be a tactic or a feint as some, who ardently try to preserve Mao's red colour, claim, saying that allegedly Mao launched the slogan in order to see «where the quarry lies concealed» and to «bag the lot» with one shot. No, with his theories Mao never attacked the class enemies and never will attack them. In China the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party of the proletariat have never existed and have never operated properly on the Marxist-Leninist road. In fact these were never more than slogans, because «a hundred schools» existed and still exist there.

Mao Tsetung said: «It is enough that ten people in the Central Committee understand what Marxism is». This saying alone is sufficient to reveal the disastrous consequences and meaning of «the blossoming of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools». In the party, said Mao, «there are three currents, hence three groups: the leftists, the centrists and the rightists». With this Mao confirms with his own mouth the existence of «a hundred schools» which have been gathered in the three groups and the three lines of the party, which the Chinese practice reduces to two lines.

During the years of the «Great Leap Forward» he preached that communism would be built within thirty years. Then, when this policy failed he retracted and «postponed» the triumph of socialism tens of thousands of years.

He also wrote that «every seven years a revolution will be carried out, the rightists will come in and then the leftists,

and so on in turn for ten thousand years». This whole theory, which Mao Tsetung practised, is a typical petty-bourgeois peasant theory. It has caused all this great chaos or, to put it better, has brought about that the right, with the support of Mao Tsetung, has now taken power and is acting, deceiving, suppressing and discrediting people under the banner of Mao.

Mao has spoken against the «cult of Stalin» but he allowed the creation of the cult about himself which assumed a scandalous form and cultivated an almost religious worship of himself as a god, among the broad masses in China. His acceptance of the unrestrained inflation of his cult, which reached its culmination during the Cultural Revolution in the speeches and strategems of Lin Piao and company, to the extent that they identified «Mao Tsetung thought» with Marxism-Leninism and declared that «Mao Tsetung thought is the Marxism-Leninism of our day», does not testify to his modesty... (to say the least of it). For the rightists, who have seized power, the cult of Mao was a great obstacle when he was alive, but even now that he is dead «his fame» remains and hinders them. Therefore, the rightists will fight this obstacle until they turn it into a ghost, that is, until they completely wipe out the myth of Mao. While Mao was alive, neither the leftists on their revolutionary road, nor the rightists on their open counterrevolutionary road, dared to act. Now the latter, through Hua Kuo-feng, have seized power in the party and the state by force, through a putsch. The rightists have put the «centrists» in their service and are attacking the leftists and will attack them even more strongly. They arrested «The Four» and have arrested many other main cadres, whom we don't know. They will intimidate, attack and compromise the remainder of the leftists, and **Hua Kuo-feng or some other reactionary, more ferocious than he, will come to power to establish the fascist dictatorship and carry out the restoration of capitalism in China.**

In its activity within the country, the right will allegedly fight under the banner of Mao until it brings forth a Mao of its own. The quotations of Mao will be on the order of the

day, because they are thoughts of an opportunist, pseudo-communist, pragmatic leader, a dreamer and an idealist. The views of Mao were given the name of «Mao Tsetung thought», and it was not to no purpose that the Chinese propaganda created the formula «Marxism-Leninism equates Mao Tsetung thought». This is an anti-Marxist formula both in theory and in practice because «Mao Tsetung thought» is not Marxism-Leninism, but on the contrary, is its opposite on many fundamental theoretical questions and in its practical application.

Why was this done? This was done to fight Marxism-Leninism as a revolutionary theory and practice, to keep it as a lifeless formula, as the modern revisionists do. In its place **the Chinese brought out «Mao Tsetung thought», which is a non-revolutionary theory and practice.** This action is anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary, and revisionist. **This clearly shows the hegemonic nature, in policy and ideology, of a big state and of a party big in numbers but not Marxist-Leninist.**

The right will retain «Mao Tsetung thought» in order to propagate anti-communism in the world and will keep Mao embalmed in a mauzoleum. Thus the Chinese right put Mao in a mauzoleum to elevate him to the same rank as the great Lenin. Hence, according to the Chinese, there are now «two Lenins», «two communisms», and «two socialist states». Duality of two lines both in the party and in the world. Thus the communists of the world must choose either Marxism-Leninism or «Mao Tsetung thought». The Soviet revisionists say, «We are Leninists». The Chinese revisionists say, «We are Maoists». But none of them can come within miles of Marx and Lenin, they are their enemies, are renegades from communism. Marx and Lenin belong to the genuine communists, belong to the revolutionaries of the world.

But as I said above the quotations of Mao cut both ways. Apart from those which are known, the rightists are using other spoken or unspoken quotations of Mao, which they arrange just as they please, as serves them best. Where are these spoken and unspoken ideas of Mao found? In the air, in the memory

of this or that person, or in records, formal or informal? Now Hua Kuo-feng has taken a decision and created a commission for the publication of Mao's works. The world at large knows only the four volumes of Mao's works written before liberation. After liberation there was almost nothing published, no report, no speech of Mao's. Astonishing!! Why did Chairman Mao, whose cult was built sky-high, not allow any of his jewels to be brought to light?! Or, were they jewels or charcoal and ashes?! Now Hua Kuo-feng is to bring out these jewels, but when and how is not known. He will feed the world with «dock leaves» and the partisans of the theory of the «third world» «will be educated» and get their «heads stuffed» with them, because, as for the genuine communists, they are not going to swallow them!

The right is blaming the leftists, whom it describes as «rightists, fascists, revisionists» etc., for the putsch which it carried out itself. For the sake of expediency, Hua Kuo-feng continues to call Teng Hsiao-ping a rightist, and he is of the right, and the leftists fought him furiously as such, while Hua Kuo-feng, himself, poses as a centrist, like Mao. Understand this «brilliant» logic of the new chairman if you can. He describes «The Four» as having distorted the ideas of Mao, which is just what he is doing himself.

Lacking political accusations against «The Four», the new chairman and his rightist cronies are using the dirtiest, most immoral personal slanders. Hua Kuo-feng, when you have no arguments, you are forced to use filth! Even the bourgeoisie and reaction, when they condemn the communists use only political accusations against them, while the right in China is showing itself to be more reactionary than black reaction.

But why has the right brought up all this filth? It is doing this because it is in an utterly reactionary position, doing it to totally discredit Mao and to arrive at the view, «how was it possible that Mao had a whore for a wife, had agents of the Kuomintang and the Soviets, conspirators, assassins in the Political Bureau?» etc. At the same time, with this

dirt the right aims to impress the simple and honest Chinese people. It is trying to kill two birds with one stone.

With utter shamelessness the right is putting the blame on **«The Four» for all the evil things which it has done itself in the state, the economy, the army, and everywhere.** But the whole world knows that the state, the economy, the army and the party were in the hands of the rightists, of Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-yi, Li Hsien-nien and their gang.

This chaos in China will continue. But will the revolutionaries remain silent, will they bend the knee to this gang of criminals? Time will tell. At the moment, in this state of chaos, in the minds of the Chinese, in the ranks of the ordinary communists, there is fear, insecurity, political, ideological, economic, and organizational confusion.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 9, 1976

A CHINESE NOTE WITH NO ADDRESS AND NO SIGNATURE

Comrade Behar Shtylla was received yesterday by Li Hsien-nien who handed him a «verbal note», just as a protest of a foreign ministry might be made to another government. But ministerial verbal notes at least have an address, while **the «note» of the Chinese had neither address nor signature. It said in essence: «Comrade Hua Kuo-feng says that at the 7th Congress of the PLA, the line of the Communist Party of China and the strategic ideas of Mao Tsetung on some important problems, especially the international situation, were publicly attacked by allusion.** He does not consider these things correct or based on Marxism-Leninism, because they damage our friendship, the unity of the movement and disclose the differences between two sister parties before enemies», etc. There is a reference to our letter of 1964 (about the Sino-Soviet borders), about which Mao Tsetung said that he would not reply to us because he did not want to engage in polemics, therefore they «are not going to reply to these accusations, either», etc. This is a summary which Behar provides, about the two pages of the verbal note which he will send us tomorrow by airmail.

This is the first time that the Chinese revisionists have openly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania with a «document», which they can deny tomorrow. The Chinese never leave any official document. The present Chinese revisionist leadership is in difficulties inside and outside the country. I have

explained the internal situation many times, and pointed out that the foreign policy of China is suffering defeat.

Within the country, the Chinese leadership is accusing «The Four», which it links with Lin Piao, and calls them all the culprits to blame for all the evils, describes them as agents of the Soviets, etc. Outside the country, with this «note» it is accusing the Party of Labour of Albania of allegedly attacking the strategy of Mao, i.e., we are causing China the «defeat outside the country», hence we are «against the strategy of Mao», we «are assisting the Soviets». According to them, we are «in a block with The Four and Lin Piao». All these are allusions which are intended to frighten us into following their line, because «otherwise we shall take further measures, will cut off the credits» and other camouflaged threats. Their revisionist logic leads the present Chinese leaders to think that «they are keeping us alive», that «socialist Albania lives thanks to them», that «if they abandon us we shall link up with the superpowers and then their propaganda will be confirmed», etc. **All these things are identical with the actions of the revisionist Khrushchev and his followers against us!**

We must reply to them and expose the provocateurs with their great-state chauvinist views, the Chinese putschists, revisionists and anti-Marxists.

Unlike their verbal note, the letter which we shall send them from the Central Committee must be made official and must say to them:

First, the PLA is an independent Marxist-Leninist party which formulates its own line itself, from the viewpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of realistic analyses of the internal and external situation. The PLA does not bargain over the Marxist-Leninist principles and is guided by a strategy which it decides for itself and formulates the tactics appropriate to this strategy. The PLA does not permit anyone else to impose upon it a strategy which it considers inappropriate. On the basis of its Marxist-Leninist norms, it accepts criticism by sister Marxist-Leninist parties, and it will discuss many prob-

lems with them, and vice-versa, the PLA also has the same right towards other sister parties.

Second, the PLA has always proclaimed its line and strategy openly and has made and makes its criticism against enemies by name and never through allusions and behind their backs. Therefore the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee firmly reject the accusations which Hua Kuo-feng and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China make against the Party of Labour of Albania and its 7th Congress, allegedly that they attacked the line of the CP of China, etc. On the contrary, the Party of Labour of Albania spoke warmly of its friendship with China, etc. Hence it is you who are attacking the Party of Labour of Albania and its 7th Congress.

Third, since you are accusing us, it is the duty of the CP of China to tell us on what «important problems» we have attacked the Communist Party of China and the strategy of Mao Tsetung and to make clear to us this strategy of yours so that we shall be able to judge whether we or you are right, and who is attacking whom, if there is talk of attacks. We expect such a thing and do not accept your statement that you will not reply to attacks which our Party has allegedly made on you, because «you do not want to open up polemics». **In fact, with what you are doing it is you who are opening up the polemic. Such a stand of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China is unacceptable to us and we shall consider this a fact showing that you do not agree to the confrontation of opinions and the elimination of disagreements or differences, if they exist as you are claiming.** We tell you in a comradely way that such a thing absolutely must be done. Neither of our parties, the Party of Labour of Albania or the Communist Party of China, can accept unilateral opinions and decisions.

There are two declarations in existence, signed by our two sides, the one of 1964, the other of 1966, in which it is stated that we must hold consultations over strategic questions.

You have violated these declarations even over cardinal problems about which you have not held consultations with our Party; you have not sought our opinion at all and we have not been informed by your side, or have been faced with an accomplished fact.

In your «note» you mention our letter of 1964. We thought then and still think that this letter has great political, ideological and strategic importance, because what we raised in it seemed to be your problem, and so it is in reality, but a problem which also belonged to us and the world revolution. You did not keep us informed, as a sister party, while we expressed our opinion to you in a very comradely way. And this question remained between our two parties. **No doubt, in mentioning this letter you have your own present or future aims, but we assure you that in no case and at no time will that letter serve anyone to attack the PLA. The opposite will occur.**

However, this is not the only letter which we have sent the Central Committee of the CP of China and Comrade Mao Tsetung. The others, too, have been on major issues of strategy and tactics. These have been comradely letters, frank and sincere.

Another letter was sent to you from our side on the 6th of August 1971, in which we condemned your decision to welcome the American President, Nixon, to China. This letter was sent because we were faced with an accomplished fact, which neither the great friendship between our two parties nor the joint statements permitted. Your action was over a problem of great international importance. However, this letter of ours, also, remained unanswered by your side. The Party of Labour of Albania carried on with its strategy and line and at the same time continued to strengthen the Albanian-Chinese friendship.

A letter was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, signed by its First Secretary, on the 12th of November 1975, but this, too,

remained unanswered, while the actions from your side were making matters worse. However, we kept these problems between ourselves and are still doing so.

However, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania replied negatively to and rejected the proposal on a matter of great strategic importance («the anti-imperialist front including even the revisionists») made by Liu Shao-chi on June 27, 1962.

On October 29, 1964, we replied negatively to and rejected the proposals of Comrade Chou En-lai on strategic matters (that we should go to Moscow following the overthrow of Khrushchev).

On June 15, 1975, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania refused and rejected the proposal of Chou En-lai repeated twice, on two different dates, for an alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania. However, these things have been kept between ourselves for the sake of the Marxist-Leninist friendship between our two parties and two peoples.

We have done all these and other things on the normal road on the basis of Marxist-Leninist norms. These things had to be done because it was necessary that we clear up the problems and temper our friendship.

In no instance have we talked behind your backs but have spoken to you openly, at no time have we attacked the Communist Party of China publicly or even by allusion, as you claim, at no time have we entered into polemics, but since you have given us no other possibility, we have told you everything through internal messages in a comradely spirit.

Our friendship on the Marxist-Leninist road with fraternal China and the Communist Party of China has been and is dear to us. At our 7th Congress this was fully confirmed and the line of the Congress is the line of the Party. The Central Committee and our Party do not budge in the slightest from this line. And this is what we reaffirm in answer to your verbal note.

First, we shall further temper the friendship of the Party

of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people with the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. For our part, we shall struggle on the Marxist-Leninist road to overcome every obstacle which the enemies will raise to the course of our friendship. The friendship between us is very necessary both for us and for you and for the international communist movement.

Second, we await your explanations as to where we have attacked you and what your strategy and tactics are on those questions on which you consider that «we attacked you indirectly at the 7th Congress of the PLA».

P.S. I gave Comrade Ramiz some of these theses for the draft of the reply in connection with the «note» which Li Hsien-nien delivered to us on behalf of Hua Kuo-feng and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China.

MONDAY
DECEMBER 13, 1976

THE LACKEYS OF THE CHINESE WILL FAIL

The Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), Edward Hill, who attended the 7th Congress of our Party and expressed his «satisfaction» and spoke «well» at the Congress, after he left our country, sent a letter for Comrade Ramiz to our ambassador in Paris, Comrade Dhimitër Lamani. The letter was handed to our ambassador by Hill's wife who said, «It contains some remarks of Hill about the 7th Congress of the PLA».

As it now turns out, this «communist», whom we have considered a good objective comrade, did not even have enough courage to talk to one of us, but made his «remarks» by letter. However, these «remarks» of his are attacks, slanders and provocations against our Party, which he has made from his own deductions or has taken from the Chinese, making himself their cat's paw.

We have not yet received the letter, but the ambassador radioed us the main ideas of the letter, in which Hill says:

a) «Why is the Party of Labour of Albania in favour of the organization of multi-party meetings while China is not for such a thing?» This is not worthy of comment on our part. We have said why.

b) Why was it not stated by us at the Congress that China is not in favour of multi-party meetings? This, too, is as provocative as it is absurd. But there must be deeper aims which make him raise these things.

c) Although we explained why multi-party meetings should

be held, this revisionist comes to the conclusion that we are doing this «to bring China to the right road». What comment can one make of this slander? He wants to accuse us of «carrying the banner».

d) «Mao Tsetung is a great Marxist-Leninist, history has shown and is showing this». According to Hill, everything which Mao has done and said is «wonderful», and he adds that «Mao should be placed after Marx and Lenin». Who opposed his putting Mao there? For our part, however, we put Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This, too, is a provocation and with this Hill wants to impose «Mao Tsetung thought» on us. However, his accusations that the «Party of Labour of Albania wants to impose its opinions on others», are baseless and without facts.

e) Hill slanders that at the Congress we allegedly adopted a discriminatory stand towards the parties of Vietnam, Korea and Laos, adding that he has many things to say in connection with these parties, because he is not in agreement with them.

f) The «communist» Hill does not agree with the assessment which our Party made of the Comintern and allegedly analyses (in one page) that Dimitrov «made mistakes» and «was criticized by Stalin».

What a scoundrel this fellow is when, in order to blacken the work of the Comintern, he says that Thorez, Togliatti, Duclos, Sharkey (who all betrayed) came into the Comintern by accident! In other words he denies the role the Comintern played in strengthening the communist parties of the world and wants to say indirectly: «See, those parties which the Comintern assisted, betrayed».

Comrade Lamani also says that Hill also gives his opinions about «the international situation», which are in opposition to the analysis of our Congress. But we shall clear up all these questions better when we receive his letter. All I can say is that Hill is acting as a revisionist and a provocateur. Nowhere have we made any criticism of China or of Mao, at no time have we spoken about them to Hill. The things we said at

the Congress we also said in the talk we had with him one or two years earlier, when we said not a single word against China or Mao, but only good things about them. On both the first and the second occasions Hill showed himself to be a hypocrite, did not dare to express his opinions and to engage in comradely discussion with us. As it turns out now, he had come «to get» what he could and take it to China. Apparently Hill has also received the directions for his actions from China. He was sent as a provocateur so that we would open a polemic with him about a third party — the Communist Party of China. We do not fall into that cesspool. This Trotskyite manoeuvre of theirs has been familiar to us since the time of Khrushchev, who sent Zhivkov and Kadar to provoke us.

The tactic of the Chinese is plain. They sent us a «verbal note» in which they accuse us of «having attacked the line of the Communist Party of China and the strategy of Mao Tse-tung», and that is all, while stressing: «We are not going to reply to your accusations because we do not want to enter into polemics». Meanwhile, on the other hand, they use Hill and perhaps others, by means of whom we are to engage in polemics on the question of China. The objective of this is to split the revolutionary movement and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. They have done such a thing long ago with a number of Marxist-Leninist communist parties with which they have broken off relations and now maintain relations with a hotchpotch of groups of provocateurs that call themselves «Maoists». On the other hand, while playing this game they are trying to isolate the Party of Labour of Albania and reduce its great authority.

We must be vigilant in this direction, must guard against provocateurs and defend the correct line of our Party and the purity of Marxism-Leninism with all our strength. The revisionist Chinese and their lackeys will be discredited and will fail.

We must reply to Hill's letter saying that he will never get an answer from us on this question which has to do with a

fraternal third party. We shall shoot down his anti-Marxist views one by one. This we shall do in a comradely tone, just as our Party has always acted, and with this we show him that he is wrong when he mentions at some stage the term «with passion», just as Khrushchev accused us. He is free to keep and defend his own opinion on those questions on which he has an opinion of his own.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 16, 1976

THE AGENTS OF CHINA ARE BEGINNING TO SHOW UP

Basing myself on a short summary which our ambassador in Paris made of the letter of the Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), E. Hill, I have made several notes in my diary. In general, these answer the questions which are reflected in the summary of the translation which the ambassador sent us.

Now all the material sent by Hill has come to hand. It is accompanied with a short letter addressed to Comrade Ramiz. **This material, fifteen pages long, has been written in a concise style with an allegedly theoretical colour, with quotations etc., and in a record time, one day after Hill's departure from Tirana for London. This makes us suspect very strongly that the material must have been prepared by him or somebody else earlier, indeed some of his main «theses» even before Hill came to our Congress. Hill must have found the material ready as soon as he arrived in London, and the following day he immediately sent it off with his wife to Paris to be handed to our ambassador.**

The aims of the author, which I have expressed in this diary before the full text of the material reached us, and irrespective of the fact that the translation was poor and our ambassador sent us only a summary of it, are clear enough to us. Now, reading the full text, it comes out even more clearly **that the main essence of Hill's views is that the Party of Labour of Albania allegedly did not have the right to put forward at**

the 7th Congress its own views in regard to the international communist movement. He implies in the material that it was not up to the Party of Labour of Albania to do such a thing.

Hill writes that in the report of the Central Committee of our Party we make an analysis of the activity of the Comintern which, in his opinion, is not correct. In connection with this matter, not without purpose, he leaves in silence what we stressed in the report, that it was in no way our intention to make an analysis of the Comintern there, but **only wished to say that, in the face of the great danger with which the Marxist-Leninist communist parties were threatened by modern revisionism and the two superpowers, they absolutely must hold meetings, not only bilateral but also multilateral meetings, in which the common problems could be discussed.** We also pointed out that, with the work it had done in its time, the Comintern contributed greatly to strengthening the new Marxist-Leninist parties. Finally, **we clearly stressed in the report that today is by no means the time for such an international organization as the Comintern to be created. We have not been, nor are for such a thing, but meetings of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties must become a normal practice.**

From this conclusion which we draw, Hill comes out with the idea that our view about holding multi-party meetings has the aim of «bringing the Communist Party of China to the right road». It seems that Hill is rebuking us because we think that the Communist Party of China has deviated. He has no facts about this, because we do not attack the Communist Party of China at our Congress, regardless of the opinions we have on many of its views and stands. **On the contrary, it is Hill who is attacking the Comintern in this case, accusing it of having made grave mistakes, which, according to him, even Lenin recognized.** He also accuses us when he says that the Comintern cannot be excused with those few words we said about it at the 7th Congress of our Party, in which we admit that it could not be excluded that it might have made mistakes. Mr. Hill would have liked us to have pointed out in the report where the mis-

takes of the Comintern have been, and how grave they were. But it was not at all the occasion for us to do such a thing. However, Hill's aims lie elsewhere.

Simultaneously with the Comintern, Hill also attacks Dimitrov. According to him, Dimitrov made mistakes and his famous speech was allegedly criticized by Stalin because he did not speak about the dictatorship of the proletariat there. As is known, in this speech, Dimitrov developed the thesis of the fight against fascism. He spoke of the need for the creation of popular fronts with progressive elements and parties with the aim of stemming the danger of the German and Italian fascism which was becoming a threat to the peoples at that time. To this day, we have no knowledge of Stalin having criticized Dimitrov's speech on this issue.

On the other hand, Hill comes to the conclusion that with this speech Dimitrov «caused consequences later in the deviation and degeneration of Marxist-Leninist parties», and mentions here former leaders of these parties such as Togliatti, Thorez, Harry Pollitt, Sharkey, etc. **He forgets that Dimitrov's speech had an extraordinarily great echo throughout the world, forgets that it gave a great impulse to the struggle against fascism and the creation of popular fronts in France, and especially in Spain, which resisted German and Italian fascism politically and with arms.** Hill forgets, also, that it was the communist parties of the West that organized these fronts and the struggle which the Comintern propagated against fascism. Later, with the occupation of their countries by nazi-fascism, the reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries capitulated, and only the French and Italian partisans went to the mountains and fought. He forgets to say that neither Togliatti. Duclos, Marty, nor Longo betrayed in the Spanish War, but fought against fascism on the Marxist-Leninist road, on the road of the Comintern.

Thus, Hill's criticism of the Comintern which is presented as real and well-founded, is only a soap bubble. He is fighting the Comintern because he thinks that we intend to take up its banner and to organize the Marxist-Leninist parties of the

world against the Communist Party of China. This is apparent from the opposition which he raises to the idea of multi-party meetings which we launched at the Congress. According to him, only bilateral meetings can and should be held.

Hill also comes out against our Party on another matter. According to him, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties should not be invited to one another's congresses. The «theoretical» argument against this practice is that at the congress of the party which invites them, these parties are placed in a difficult position, faced with the views of the host party, and are not in a position to express their opinions about them there and then. **Hence, according to him, multi-party meetings of the Marxist-Leninist parties are not in order, and likewise representatives of other parties should not take part in the congress of a fraternal party.** From this Hill comes to the conclusion that he, personally, and his party are against such practices and, had he known that those problems that were presented at our 7th Congress were to be raised, he would have considered whether he should come to take part in the Congress.

This is how the matter stands with Hill historically: **A year and a half or two years ago, I cannot say exactly, we had a bilateral talk with him, during which we expounded all those views which we raised at the 7th Congress of our Party. He spoke for no more than ten minutes, and did not touch at all on the cardinal questions we raised with him on this occasion, and which constituted the line of our Party, just as we put it forward at the Congress. Hence his bluff is clear. At that time, Hill was either afraid or did not want to openly express his views against our Party, and passed over the issues without adopting any stand.** Thus his thesis that he is for bilateral talks does not stand, because in the bilateral talk which we held with him he did not express any opinion critical of the views of our Party.

Hill is alarmed because we do not follow the political, ideological and organizational line of the Communist Party of China, because we are out of step with it. According to him, we

ought to be obedient to the line of that party. Personally, he poses as «very independent», with his hands «untied», while he considers all the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist communist parties, which sent their representatives to take part in the Congress of our Party and spoke about its line in the most admiring terms, as lackey parties. According to Hill, at the 7th Congress of our Party, these parties maintained their stands proceeding simply from the aim of ingratiating themselves with the Party of Labour of Albania. **In other words, Hill wants to show that even what he himself said personally at our Congress does not represent his opinions, because his true opinions have been expressed in the material he sent us from London, in which he says that he is not in agreement with many basic views of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.**

Hill has the view that every party must hold its congress, but, according to him, there it should speak only about the maize, marrows and cucumbers and should not adopt ideological and political stands, should not express critical opinions of one party or the other. This means that the party which holds the congress should not be sincere in the expression of its Marxist-Leninist views. **Hill wants all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world to follow the line of the Communist Party of China without any opposition. For him, only on this condition is everything in order with those parties.**

On the one hand, Hill poses as the defender of the view that every party has the right to express its own opinions, and, on the other hand, he contradicts himself when he says that the party has no right to proclaim its opinions publicly. The fact is that in the material he sent us he criticizes the 5th and 6th chapters of the report of our Central Committee which deal with the international situation and some problems of the world communist movement. **This touched him and his friends on the sore spot. It was embarrassing on the one hand, because as is known, in these two chapters our Marxist-Leninist line is presented at length and clearly and it is in opposition to many views of the Communist Party of China although we do not**

speak against this party by name anywhere. On the other hand, he does not agree that a party like ours should bother to express its opinion about the struggle which other Marxist-Leninist parties are waging and should wage, about their methods of work, about their alliances in the struggle which they are waging, and other problems which emerge from the experience gained.

Hill says that the participation of other parties in the congresses of fraternal parties compromises them. This is a bluff. Such a practice does not compromise them at all. Were the parties of Vietnam, Korea or Laos, for example, compromised at all at the Congress of our Party? No! Their delegations expressed the views they had quite freely at the Congress, and we think that if they had opposition to our Party they could quite easily have sought meetings even with our leaders, where the opposing opinions which they might have had with us, could be explained. This they did not do. If they had something to say and did not say it, the blame for this does not fall on us.

We agree, as Hill says, that these criticisms cannot be made during the proceedings of the Congress, but we have no objection, if someone who does not want to eulogize the activity and the stands of the host party, does not do so. **Indeed our Party does not want the excessive praise lavished on it, but wants other parties to speak realistically about its activity.** If somebody has criticism to make of us, as I said above, he could very easily seek a meeting with us, so that explanations can be made from the two sides on the question worrying him. **But Hill did not do this either.**

He claims that participation in the proceedings of the congress of a party puts the other invited communist parties in a difficult position, but we think that it does not put them in difficulties at all, and on the contrary, the gains from participation on these occasions outweigh the problems. **Hill defines these gains, but he underrates them, and greatly overrates the view he tries to defend, that other parties should not be invited to congresses. This means you should hold your congress in an**

air-tight jar so that no one can hear what you think. It is the ardent desire of the modern revisionists, the Soviets, and simultaneously of the imperialists, that they should all be left unmolested, that our side should not speak about the activity which they carry on against communism, against the peoples, and against the socialist countries. This is the whole conclusion which can be drawn from such an anti-Marxist treatment of this problem which Hill raises in the material he sent us, in which he takes a position openly against the 7th Congress of our Party.

In connection with this question, Hill tries to distort the reality in regard to the stand of Chou En-lai at the 22nd Congress of the Soviet revisionist party. **In fact, at the 22nd Congress, Chou En-lai demanded that the polemic against the Party of Labour of Albania should be stopped, a thing that was undesirable to us and many others. Time has now proved the correctness of the stand maintained by our Party. Chou En-lai also walked out of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in protest, not because the Party of Labour of Albania was attacked there, but because there were internal disagreements over major problems of strategy between the Communist Party of China and that of the Soviet Union, such as the failure to give China the atom bomb, the border problem with India, etc., etc. It was precisely these problems between their two sides which made Chou En-lai walk out of the 22nd Congress.** Later, after the fall of Khrushchev in 1964, it was these concerns and hopes which made him want to go back to the Soviet Union and try to establish friendship with the Soviet revisionists. **Therefore Hill's examples and theses have neither historical, theoretical, nor practical value.**

According to Hill, when a party intends to raise a problem of an international character, which interests the whole communist movement of the world, first of all, it should make an extensive tour, contact and hold bilateral talks with a large number of Marxist-Leninist parties, and only if they are in agreement on this or that matter, should it put forward this or

that problem at its own Congress, whereas if it meets with opposition it should not be put forward at all. **This is one of the main points of the absurd anti-Marxist criticisms by this Australian revisionist provocateur, sent especially by the Chinese revisionists to commit provocation against the Party of Labour of Albania.**

I said earlier that the Communist Party of China and the provocateur Hill did not and do not want the Party of Labour of Albania to express its views on how the international unity of communists and proletarians should be strengthened. They are opposed to this. **However, the internationalist unity of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties is a major question of Marxism-Leninism.** Even the Communist Party of China has launched this slogan, but in fact it is opposed to it and fights it in practice. It has restricted this great motto to the unity of the «third world», in which it has included itself. We cannot agree with any such view or with the stand which is being maintained.

We are opposed to the views of the Communist Party of China about the «third world», because they are anti-Marxist, revisionist views. At the 7th Congress we dealt with this problem from the class angle, on the basis of our ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Prior to 1960 both Khrushchev and Tito used the slogan of the «third world» attaching to it various names such as «non-aligned countries», etc., which our Party has combated as notions, as conglomerations envisaged and concocted outside the class criterion. At the 7th Congress, our Party explained that it is for the defence of all states which have been proclaimed free and independent but which in fact are economically and politically dependent. Few states in the «third world» can be called independent, because in fact, each of them is dependent on this or that imperialist power in one way or another. Even if it is called politically independent, it is economically dependent, and according to the teachings of the classics of our Marxist-Leninist science, if you are dependent economically you cannot be independent politically. We are for

the defence of these states with all our strength, and life has shown that we have waged the struggle in their defence with consistency and determination, but we cannot agree with «theoretical» conclusions such as those which the Communist Party of China has reached. Here lies one of our main points of opposition to it.

The main points of our opposition to the Chinese are over issues which are closely linked with one another: over the question of the «third world», over the stand which should be maintained towards the two superpowers, and over «proletarian internationalism», that is, over the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. In our opinion, the Communist Party of China looks at these matters in an opportunist, revisionist way, while we look at them in a Marxist-Leninist way. We are for proletarian internationalism, for strengthening our unity with the Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as for the greatest possible and continuous aid to all the countries of the so-called free and independent world, but which in fact is dependent on and under the influence of American, Soviet and other capital. For these countries to be able to achieve full liberation, as Lenin says, first they must fight the enemy in their own country and then the enemy outside it. We say that modern revisionism must be fought with all our might, and likewise the reactionary bourgeoisie, which places the freedom and independence of its country at the mercy of American imperialism, or Soviet social-imperialism. Therefore we believe that it is essential to fight both these superpowers, while the Chinese do not look at the problem from this standpoint.

Another question which Hill deals with, is the contest which allegedly is going on undeclared between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. Allegedly, all those Marxist-Leninist parties which have been created as a reaction against modern revisionism are the victims of this game. According to Hill, those Marxist-Leninist parties which speak well of the Party of Labour of Albania are lackey parties,

parties which want to ingratiate themselves with our Party. **He puts the matter in this way: all those Marxist-Leninist parties which admire and respect the Party of Labour of Albania and are in agreement with it on its theoretical and political views, are not genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. According to Hill, his party alone is the only «pure Marxist-Leninist party»!**

Hill says that the new Marxist-Leninist parties are striving for recognition. But by whom, by the Party of Labour of Albania? For Hill the relations of these parties with the Communist Party of China are the most correct and essential course, therefore this is the road they should follow. However, many of them also seek recognition by the Party of Labour of Albania and he postulates, allegedly from the theoretical angle, that this gives rise to the question of the «mother» party and the «daughter» party. According to Hill, this means that the Party of Labour of Albania gives itself the right to define which of the new parties is Marxist-Leninist and which is not.

What is Hill aiming at with this? With this he is trying to damage the internationalist unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world, trying to destroy this unity and to leave the strengthening and extension of the internal communist movement to spontaneity. In regard to the positions of our Party in the world communist movement, never at any time has it considered itself a «mother» party, and the other parties «daughter» parties. Never on any occasion has our Party imposed its opinions on any fraternal party, indeed, continually, as often as we have had a chance to talk and express our opinions to comrades representing other fraternal parties, we have made them acquainted with what our views are on this or that problem, what is the experience we have, and then each party has its own independent opinion, judges and decides for itself on everything.

Above all, we have continuously stressed that **every opinion and action of fraternal parties must be based on Marxism-Leninism, and on Marxism-Leninism alone.** This is correct, and this we stressed forcefully at the 7th Congress, too. **But this is**

of no benefit to Hill, precisely because the Party of Labour of Albania has no intention of making Marxism-Leninism equal to «Mao Tsetung thought», because we have not ranked Mao Tsetung with the four great classics — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Hill is opposed to these views and stands of our Party and speaks about Mao at every opportunity, sings his praises, without being properly acquainted with the views of Mao on all problems, in many of which he is wrong, as we know. **To us, Mao is not a genuine Marxist.** We have not proclaimed this view, but this is our conviction, while Hill's conviction is the opposite of ours.

In order to build up the worth of Mao Tsetung, on this occasion Hill attacks Engels, saying that he made mistakes and therefore has fallen from the rank of the four. Hill has the same view about Stalin. He raises Mao to the place of these two great Marxists, Engels and Stalin, and stresses that he is a Marxist-Leninist of the proportion of Marx and Lenin. According to Hill, just as Lenin enriched Marxism and the theory of Marx in his time, so has Mao enriched Marxism during his lifetime. **This is the whole essence of Hill's theory, which he puts before us in his material, in terms which are allegedly friendly, but which in fact are attacks, slanders and baseless criticisms, not only against our Party but also against the Comintern, Engels, Stalin and Dimitrov. And it is the same with the other issues, because there are many other anti-Marxist theses in the letter of this revisionist demagogue.**

Hill points out that we allegedly do not see the world crisis properly, because, according to him, this is not a general crisis of the world capitalist system, but a crisis of overproduction, and he allegedly bases this on the theory of Marx. In a word, apart from the other baseless accusations which he makes against the Party of Labour of Albania, he also tries to introduce some allegedly theoretical criticisms in regard to the definition of some major international problems, one of which is the current world crisis of capitalism.

As a conclusion, we can say that it is clear that the provo-

cateur Hill came to our 7th Congress with predetermined aims. However, he was unable to achieve in the Congress hall the aims which he had set himself. He had to take the aircraft, leave our country, and send us this material of revisionist content from London. From there he returned to Australia and immediately, without losing any time, took off to Peking where, as we are informed, he received a very warm welcome. All of them, from Li Hsien-nien to Hua Kuo-feng, received him. Indeed Hill paid a visit to Chou En-lai's wife. The Chinese news agency, Hsinhua, reported the reception of Hill by Hua Kuo-feng, the cordial talks which he held with him on many international problems, and stressed that the two sides held one common view on all of them.

Hsinhua also transmitted the short speech by Li Hsien-nien at this reception, through whom the Chinese hypocrites spoke in correct terms, trying to point out that the Communist Party of China is against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. He also spoke about proletarian internationalism, not forgetting to point out the friendship of the Communist Party of China with the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and the people of Australia.

After Li Hsien-nien, Hill made a speech on this occasion, in which he indirectly attacked the 7th Congress of our Party. He pointed out that Hua Kuo-feng had acted as a «great Marxist-Leninist», as a loyal pupil of Mao Tsetung, who as I have said, he builds up to the proportions of Marx and Lenin. **Hill says in his speech: Hua Kuo-feng routed all the traitor elements headed by «The Four». He stresses that the line which Mao Tsetung has dictated, is the genuine Marxist-Leninist line, the Marxist-Leninist theory is «Mao Tsetung thought», and underlines that those elements and those parties which oppose this line, which oppose «Mao Tsetung thought», will be smashed as «The Four», along with their associates, who were smashed by the great Communist Party of China, and ends up by saying**

that the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world will faithfully follow the correct Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

In brief, this is what the chairman of the pro-Chinese Australian revisionist party says in his speech. These ideas were expressed, also, in the material which he sent us. **Thus, with this document he showed his true features as a renegade. In this case, our deduction that the Communist Party of China will try to incite such individuals to attack the line of the Party of Labour of Albania indirectly in order to damage the unity of the international communist movement in this way, to distort genuine Marxism-Leninism, to confuse the proletariat and to smash the Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries of the world, has been confirmed.** In fact, the Chinese have begun this work long ago.

In regard to Hill's allegation that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world are competing for recognition by the Party of Labour of Albania, in reality it is the Communist Party of China which seeks and practises such a thing, it is the Communist Party of China which maintains contact with all those factions which have emerged from the ranks of those new Marxist-Leninist communist parties that maintain a correct stand, it is the Communist Party of China which encourages such factions to emerge in many of these new parties such as those of Portugal, Italy, Uruguay, France, etc., etc. In this direction, the Communist Party of China acts openly and secretly with the aim of splitting all these parties and creating from the factions which arise from their ranks a series of Maoist groups, which are allegedly Marxist-Leninist, with the intention of using them as its own agents.

In the letter which he sent us, Hill accuses the Comintern and Stalin of having put the communist and workers' parties of the world in the service of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before, during and after the Second World War. According to Hill, these parties «could not act and struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism», which as we know was applied correctly by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. For

Hill they were nothing but agencies of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin. This charge of Hill's coincides with the theses which the reactionary world bourgeoisie propagates in order to fight the communist and workers' parties of the world and to discredit communism.

However, the thesis which Hill defends is one-sided. For him, to be linked with «Mao Tsetung thought» and the Communist Party of China does not at all mean that you are a party dependent on the Communist Party of China, while the facts show the opposite.

Hence, Hill is a provocateur, an agent of the Chinese, therefore he and his so-called Marxist-Leninist party warrant no further mention. The question arises about this party, whether it exists or not. We have never learned how many members this party has, but our opinion is that this party does not exist even in numbers, let alone with a clear Marxist-Leninist ideology, to guide it correctly in its activity.

I made these explanations today to the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee. As a conclusion I told them that the Party of Labour of Albania must expect a bitter struggle on the part of the Chinese revisionists and their tools. Now the Chinese tactic is clear to us. Apart from the verbal note which they sent us, we think that they will not reply to the letter which we are going to send them. They pointed out in advance the stand they will maintain towards us in their verbal note of the 8th of December, in which they say that they will not reply to our «accusations», but will continue their friendship with us, etc., etc. In reality, they will set others like Hill and company to attack us, but they will always fail.

The Chinese revisionists will begin the struggle against our Party in two directions: in the ranks of the international communist movement, and within our country. Within the country, the struggle of the Chinese will take the character of economic sabotage. This sabotage will be concretized with the slowing down of the realization of credits, officially contracted by the two parties. As we know, in recent years the Chinese

have immensely slowed down the sending of equipment for the projects envisaged for the past five-year plan. Among these projects there are some which should have been completed two or three years ago, but are still waiting because they have not sent us the machinery and equipment. This is inflicting very great damage on our country from the economic angle.

Nevertheless, we have coped with the difficulties which the Chinese have created for us and have not spoken about them publicly. But we must be quite clear that they will do such things on a larger scale in the future. The Chinese revisionist leaders intend to make us write screeds of letters of protest to which, in their customary way, they will not reply. Naturally, however, we are not going to leave these major projects, for the construction of which we have invested the sweat and blood of our people, in ruins. To the extent that we are able, in the lack of response from the Chinese side, we shall take measures for the fulfilment of the plan by trying to complete the projects with our own possibilities and means. Thus, their conflict with us will emerge. They will find the occasion to make the accusation that «despite all this great aid which we have given you, you did not wait until we had completed our experiments, etc., etc. and continue to complete these projects yourselves, without agreement from our side; then we shall withdraw our specialists». This is how the withdrawal of their specialists and failure to send us other aid will occur. Naturally, from their side, this business will take the character of a political and ideological struggle. For our part, we shall strive to prevent this struggle with them from becoming publicly known.

But the activity of the Chinese revisionists against our Party will also be co-ordinated with the struggle they will wage against us from abroad. I explained to the comrades how this struggle of theirs from abroad will develop. The two directions of the struggle have the same aim:

First, to isolate the Party of Labour of Albania from the whole international communist movement so that the correct

Marxist-Leninist voice of our Party is not heard in this movement.

Second, to create various groupings, which style themselves «Marxist» and which consist of provocateurs, who have emerged as a result of their splitting activity in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. Like the Khrushchevites, the Chinese, too, will create such groupings in their favour, which will be financed by them as well as by the bourgeoisie of the countries in which they are created. Through these provocateurs they will try to develop an unrestrained propaganda against Marxism-Leninism; their propaganda will be directed especially against our Party and pro the Chinese revisionist line. What happened with the Khrushchevites will happen again. At first, the Party of Labour of Albania found itself alone in open struggle against them. Then the Communist Party of China also found itself in struggle against the Krushchevites, together with us, but not proceeding from clear Marxist-Leninist positions. At some moments of the development of events the Chinese attacked shoulder to shoulder with us, then they deviated, and this deviation of theirs from Marxism-Leninism is continuing. **In its current revisionist activity, the aim of the Communist Party of China is to create so-called Marxist-Leninist parties and to turn them into servants of Chinese revisionism, against Marxism-Leninism.**

It is our duty to foresee this struggle, whether on the internal or the external platform. Our struggle will be waged on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is our theory, on the basis of the orientations which the 7th Congress of the Party has given. Therefore, what I told the comrades two days ago in connection with the proper mastering of the ideas which were developed at the Congress and of the proper explanation of the problems which are linked with them, must always be kept in mind and never for a moment neglected.

Many cardinal political, ideological, economic and other problems, which the reports to the 7th Congress deal with, must be analysed and explained and all of them must be

handled, developed and made as understandable as possible for the communists and the broad masses of our people. They must serve in two directions simultaneously, both outside and inside the country, so that by so doing, we forestall the fiendish, hostile, anti-Marxist aims of the Chinese revisionists. To this end, I think we should form definite groups with qualified cadres, which must think deeply and bring out theses about different problems, which we must examine and those which are rational we shall approve. Being handled in a theoretical and political manner, those theses will become the basis for the ideo-political training of our communist cadres and the broad masses of the people. These materials must be printed by us, translated and sent abroad also, to be given to the Marxist-Leninist parties as further explanations of the documents of our Party on the cardinal problems which the 7th Congress raised. In this way, I think, we shall successfully cope with the problem of coming to the aid of the international communist movement before the agents of the Chinese revisionists can act, because it must be foreseen that in this struggle which they are waging against Marxism-Leninism and our Party, the Chinese will use many powerful means of propaganda.

I am certain that if we organize the struggle properly (and it is absolutely essential that we organize this struggle properly, because it is a vital question), we will unmask the Chinese revisionists, even without speaking about them openly. This does not mean that we must not reply to a certain Hill, and to this or that one who, without mentioning us by name, will attack the theses of the 7th Congress in a chorus. We shall find the favourable opportunity or moment to reply to all of them or to those whom the Chinese revisionists may have sooled on to attack the theses of the 7th Congress. The preparation which I mentioned before serves this cause. If they attack us by name then we must consider whether we should enter into polemics with one or the other, or whether we should not enter into polemics. The problem is that we must take well-thought out measures so that we explain as clearly as possible and defend

the theses of our Congress powerfully in the correct Marxist-Leninist way. Their defence is carried out by explaining each thesis clearly and by analysing it in the most understandable way, because there are and will be people in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties who do not understand our theses properly. Indeed, many of these people are already showing up, because in the parties in which they take part there is move towards the routine, that is, they are proceeding with the theses boosted by the Chinese.

As we see it, in their course, the Chinese and Hill are social-democrats. They do not understand that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are fighting in exceptionally difficult conditions against the bourgeoisie armed to the teeth, against American imperialism and modern revisionism, headed by Soviet social-chauvinism. They do not understand that it is absolutely essential to work, to prepare and practise the two forms of struggle, legal and illegal, and they must know how to combine the two of them, as Lenin teaches us. In words, the Chinese accept such a thing, but in reality they are only for open, social-democratic forms because, of course, they are social-democrats themselves but disguised with «Marxist-Leninist» slogans, which, in fact, are anti-Marxist.

The other problem which we must bear in mind is in connection with the work within the country. We must make it more and more clear everyday to everybody, that so long as elements of the class enemy exist, they will work. If the class enemy tries to exploit the contradictions which we have with the Communist Party of China and the struggle which is being waged against Albania indirectly through foreign radios, with good explanatory work by the Party, its activity will not bear fruit, but on the contrary will assist to increase the vigilance of the communists and the workers and prepare the terrain for coping with even more difficult days.

The economic questions are another problem for us. In no way must we think that such a struggle which China and Us satellites are waging against us will not have negative effects-

for us. We must anticipate the negative effects of this work, must foresee and forestall them. In regard to the plans, we must mobilize ourselves totally for the complete fulfilment of all the many targets without exception, in all sectors of the economy and the life of our country.

In this situation the fulfilment of the targets in the sectors of agriculture and the mines, in particular, first of all in the extraction of oil, assumes indisputable importance. In the oil sector we must take great care, must discover new fields, must not permit any break-down, because we must be quite clear that without oil every sector of our economy will lag behind. The other minerals secure us good income, whether by processing them internally or by exporting them in crude form. But in the direction of the export of the minerals, the enemies may sabotage us also by exploiting, for example, the indolence of some of our trade people, and we may be unable to find markets.

We must understand that we are not a state which can afford to build up big stocks of unsold minerals. Otherwise, difficult situations will be created. Therefore in this direction things must be thought out deeply; not only must we have special plans for each difficult situation which we foresee might be created for us, but it is also essential that we act with the greatest skill, both for the development of mines and for the export of minerals, whether processed, semi-processed, or as crude ores. We must make all-round efforts to ensure that no stock of minerals or of other goods are left lying in the depots and our ports.

Another sector of vital importance for us is agriculture. We must develop this intensively so that the people can be fed, clothed, and shod, hence that the economic level of our workers is not reduced.

In the realization of our plans we must advance on all fronts, but there are certain projects which, in fact, we may have envisaged in these plans but the construction of which could wait. Therefore, we must not hesitate to put them aside

temporarily in the face of these two key problems which demand solution in the existing situation.

Therefore, I recommended to the comrades that they should think about these problems seriously, as quickly as possible, must not leave them to spontaneity, or be content with taking a few half-pie measures. It is essential that the program of the work which must be done on all these major problems is well-thought out.

SATURDAY
DECEMBER 25, 1976

ESPIONAGE AGENCY METHODS TO SPLIT THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

They informed me about the talk which the leader of the delegation of the (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party of... had with our comrades. As he himself told us, our guest had gone to China, sent by the representatives of eight (Marxist-Leninist) communist parties of Latin American countries, to inform the Communist Party of China about the meeting they had held and the statement these eight parties had signed.

The comrade was revolted and indignant about the inquisitorial reception he was given by eight comrades of Keng Piao's, because Keng Piao himself did not deign to attend this «trial», He said, «it was the first time that I went out of my country and never imagined that such a stand, like that of an interrogator cross-examining a criminal, could be adopted between two sister parties. In this case,» he said, «the 'criminal' was I, the secretary of a (Marxist-Leninist) communist party, while they were the 'interrogators'.

«For hours and days on end,» he continued, «the Chinese ceaselessly assailed me with questions and insisted that I read their materials.

«They made the accusation against the Party of Labour of Albania and the eight parties of the Latin American countries that they have publicly and openly 'accused' the Communist Party of China and the line of Mao Tsetung. I firmly rejected

these accusations and asked: Why do you involve the Party of Labour of Albania in this question? It has no connection with our meeting and knew nothing about it, although we informed it as we are informing you. The Chinese called the meeting of representatives of our eight parties, a 'conspiracy against China, like that which was carried out at Bucharest'.»

What monstrosity! The comrade said that the Chinese consider that Latin America is not the prey of the United States of America and that the states of this zone are not heading towards fascization, but are «independent bourgeois democratic states». «Hence, according to the judgement of the Chinese,» he said, «we must cease the armed struggle and even make self-criticism that we began this struggle.»

Then the comrade added: «Violating every norm, the Chinese fiercely attacked the Party of Labour of Albania, listing a series of contradictions which you have with the line and strategy of Mao Tsetung.

«They wearied and exhausted me, see how thin I have become,» he said, «they wanted to break me, wanted me to capitulate to them. I was alone, they were eight, but I stood up to them. Now that I am staying in Albania and that I told you at last what I was anxious to tell you, I am happy and calm».

I recommended to Ramiz that the comrade should be allowed to settle down and then he should meet him, listen to him, and in general terms, refute the accusations and slanders of the Chinese against them and against the Party of Labour of Albania. Later, some other day, he should show him the documents with the facts to base all the counter-accusations from our side which prove that the line of the Party of Labour of Albania is Marxist-Leninist and the line of the Communist Party of China is revisionist.

We were right in our judgement of the tactic of the Communist Party of China. The Chinese do not want to reply to us directly, because they dare not enter into polemics with us. On the other hand, they use Trotskyite, inquisitorial methods,

espionage agency methods, to fight our Party behind its back, to isolate us from the international communist movement and split it. This is an action which is carried out by a bourgeois, capitalist and imperialist great state. We shall fight them fiercely and triumph.

TUESDAY
DECEMBER 28, 1976

SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE BALLIST «DECALOGUE» OF MAO TSETUNG

This week, the Chinese revisionists headed by the Hua Kuo-feng group, which seized power in China through a military putsch, published a document of Mao Tsetung's, a speech of ten points («On The Ten Major Relationships») which he delivered at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in April 1956.

This document was written before the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, at which Liu Shao-chi delivered the main report. The report had a revisionist content. We who were present at the congress, were astonished over how this report could be delivered and at least how it was not condemned even later, together with Liu Shao-chi, who was liquidated. In this report to the 8th Congres, the problems were dealt with according to the ideas of Mao Tsetung, and that is why even after the Cultural Revolution it was considered correct. **The ten points of Mao's Ballist «decalogue», which form his non-Marxist eclectic strategy and world outlook, confirm this.**

These ten points of Mao's were written and put forward after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where the revisionist renegade Khrushchev attacked Marxism-Leninism and slandered and threw mud at Stalin. **In this document Mao took the initiative, which might have been co-ordinated with the Khrushchevites, as it was in fact. Khrushchev had informed Mao of his revisionist ideas and about the**

actions he was to undertake. Mao was in agreement with Khrushchev, a thing which he stated publicly at the Moscow Meeting of 1957, where he praised Khrushchev, attacked Stalin, and approved Khrushchev's liquidation of the «anti-party group of Molotov and company». And in this way Mao assisted Khrushchev. Ho was in agreement with the line of the 20th Congress and against Stalin. The 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China was in tune with the Khrushchevites, because the two «chums» had the same ideas. Naturally, Khrushchev made promises to Mao, but did not keep them, and only deceived him until he could get over his difficulties.

Mao's aim was to help not Khrushchev but himself, so that China would become the main leader of the communist world and Mao would replace Stalin, whom they thought they had buried. Mao acted quickly to take hegemony.

Khrushchev for his part wanted to bring Mao Tsetung into line and under his direction, meanwhile, however, the Party of Labour of Albania intervened by defending Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of China. The fire of the polemic was kindled at Bucharest and the Party of Labour of Albania continued it «with a volley of machine-gun fire» at the Meeting of 81 Parties in Moscow. Mao was for putting out this great fire, was opposed to the polemic. He wanted meetings, wanted social-democratic agreements because he himself was a social-democrat, an opportunist, a revisionist. But Mao could not extinguish the fire or the polemic, and seeing that he was unable to establish his hegemony, he changed his stand. Mao took a somewhat «better» anti-Soviet stand, and here he appeared to be in accord with us who were fighting Khrushchevite revisionism consistently. But even at this time he had hopes of rapprochement with the Khrushchevite revisionists. Efforts were made to this end by the Chinese leaders, but we opposed them.

When Khrushchev fell, Mao's hopes revived. He sent Chou to Moscow, who proposed to us that we should go, too. But we resolutely refused this. This was a fiasco for Mao Tsetung. Then, from the strategy of the fight on the two flanks he turned

towards the United States of America. The frequent meetings between the Chinese and the American ambassadors in Warsaw prepared Kissinger's visit to China, and after that Nixon's visit, too.

The Cultural Revolution fizzled out. This revolution stopped half-way, or to put it better, strengthened the personal position of Mao Tsetung. The leftist elements «were liquidated with a single blow» by the rightists headed by Hua Kuo-feng. Thus, the revisionist line of Mao triumphed, and now this «decalogue», which is suitable for the rightists, has come to light. **In this «decalogue» there is no mention at all of the world revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, or aid for the peoples who want freedom and are fighting to liberate themselves.**

This document is a reflection of the revisionist ideas of Mao who is for peaceful coexistence even with the United States of America, although this is not mentioned at all. I have glanced over this document but it must be analysed thoroughly.

Nothing should surprise us in regard to the anti-Marxist, pragmatic, liberal, putschist stands full of zigzags of Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and other Chinese revisionists. These ideas of theirs are old, fifty years old, they are interwoven with idealism and mysticism, and given a coat of red paint which the sun of Marxism-Leninism peels off them.

One of the main aims of this «decalogue» of Mao's is to mark a dividing line between himself and Stalin, between the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the ideology which guides the construction of socialism in China. In other words, Mao Tsetung opposes the Marxist theory with his own ideas, «Mao Tsetung thought», as the Chinese now call them, claiming that they are «fundamentally the same as the theory of Marxism-Leninism», although in reality they are in opposition to it.

Lenin foresaw the activity of anti-Marxists, whether Mao,

Maoists, and others when in 1913, in his work «The Historical Fate of the Doctrine of Karl Marx», he says:

> *«The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise* **themselves** *as Marxists».**

As this «decalogue» shows, Mao Tsetung has long been in opposition to the revolutionary theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism on many issues of principle. As emerges from this «decalogue», since the time of the «Long March», since the time he was in Yenan, he had anti-Marxist views about the hegemony of the working class and preached the leading role of the peasantry in the revolution. And even today Mao makes the so-called third world «the centre and the leading force of the revolution», thus denying the leading role of the international proletariat. Mao's anti-Marxist views, which are reflected in this «decalogue» and were crystallized in the heat of the Chinese liberation war, not only do not advocate waging the class struggle, but openly advocate quelling it.

Hence, these anti-revolutionary, reactionary theses of Mao's are fixed in the «decalogue» of 1956. Such flagrant anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theses do not appear in the four volumes of his published works. As it turns out, Mao Tsetung was an eclectic, a disguised revisionist who tore off his disguise when he came to agreement with the Khrushchevite revisionists to attack Stalin and to dethrone Leninism. Under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung unfurled his pseudo-Marxist theory and «from now on this theory was to lead the world proletariat and the revolution». Herein lies the source of «Mao Tsetung thought», of its fraud, megalomania and of its denigration of Marxism-Leninism.

«Mao Tsetung thought» also led the «Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» in order to counter the Great October Socialist Revolution which, together with the theory of Marx and

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 653. (Alb, ed.).

Lenin, in other words, had been «superseded», «outdated» for Mao. The times have changed, thus, according to him, «a new theory was needed to replace Marxism», and this was «Mao Tsetung thought». This is the theory of modern revisionism which like the Khrushchevite theory, retains its Leninist disguise. These two variants of modern revisionism are a single, inseparable whole, but the problem is which will dominate, the revisionist variant of Khrushchev or that of Mao, irrespective that both of them end up in the same road, that of anti-Marxism. The question of which great state will manage to dominate the other, which will make the law, is based on this rivalry.

On this course, both of them have taken the denigration of Stalin's work of genius as their cue. The Khrushchevites slandered Stalin to the limit, while Mao profited from this denigration which was carried out against Stalin and used those facts which he needed to conceal his revisionist line, to extol this to the skies as Marxist-Leninist, and to disguise himself better and gain ground over the Khrushchevites. **Mao said that 30 per cent of Stalin's work was wrong and 70 per cent was good. The great master of the scales! He weighs the work of Stalin with the same precision as tomatoes in the field are weighed!!**

The first point of the «decalogue» of Mao Tsetung presents the anti-Marxist thesis of giving priority to light industry and agriculture, and not to heavy industry. Mao Tsetung backs up this Kosyginite-revisionist deviation with the argument that the investments in heavy industry are large and unprofitable, while the confectionary and rubber shoe industry brings in income and is more profitable. As for agriculture, it produces the people's food.

Mao's anti-Marxist thesis does not carry forward, but restricts the development of the productive forces. Agriculture and light industry cannot be developed at the necessary rates if the mining industry is not developed, if steel is not produced, if oil, tractors, trains, automobiles, ships, are not produced, if the chemical industry is not built up, etc., etc.

The development of industry, according to Mao, is an artisan process. Light industry, which Mao claims should develop, cannot be built up with bricks, bicycles, textiles, thermos flasks and fans alone. True, they can bring in income, but for the people to buy such things they must have buying power. In 1956 China, as a country with a big population, was backward economically, and many kinds of consumer goods had to be sold below cost price. At that time productivity was not great.

In his «decalogue» Mao criticizes Stalin and the economic situation in the Soviet Union. But «the light cannot be hidden under a bushel». Reality shows that in the Soviet Union, during the 24-25 years, from the revolution to the Second World War, under the leadership of Lenin and then of Stalin, thanks to a correct political line, heavy industry was built up to such a level that it not only gave an impulse to the internal economy of this first socialist country, but enabled it to resist the attack of the terrible juggernaut of Hitlerite Germany. Meanwhile, from 1949 down to the present day, nearly **30 years** have passed with Mao's economic policy, and where is China with its industrial potential? Very backward! And allegedly «The Four» are to blame for this! No, it is not «The Four» that are to blame, but Mao's line, as is proved in the presentation of his views in the «decalogue».

But how could great socialist China get along without heavy industry? Of course, Mao thought that he would be helped by the Soviet Union in the construction of heavy industry, or he would turn to American credits. When he saw that the Soviet Union was not «obeying» him and did not give him the aid he sought, Mao began to cast steel with furnaces which were build on the footpaths of boulevards, or with mini-furnaces for iron. China remained backward, China remained without modern technology. It is true that the Chinese people did not go hungry as before, but to go so far as to claim, as Mao did, that the Chinese peasant in 1956, at a time when he was truly backward, was better off than the Soviet collective farmer, means to denigrate the collectivization of agriculture and the construction

of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin.

Mao says scornfully: «What sense is there in talking about the development of heavy industry? The workers must be guaranteed the means of livelihood». In other words, this is the «goulash theory» of Khrushchev. And as a conclusion, Mao says in his «decalogue» that they have not made mistakes like the Soviet Union, or to put it more bluntly, (though he dared not say so openly) like Lenin and Stalin allegedly made. However, to cover up his deviation, he does not fail to say that «they must develop heavy industry, but must devote more attention to agriculture and light industry». This view of his, which was applied in a pragmatic way and which has left China backward, has brought about that it will take decades until the year 2000 for China to overcome its backwardness to some extent... with the aid of American credits and capital which the new strategy is securing. There is no doubt that China could rely on its own strength; it has colossal manpower and also considerable economic power, but has remained backward because of its mistaken line.

The question is raised in the second point of the «decalogue» of where industry should be built, on the coast or in the interior. Mao says that «about 70 per cent of all our industry, both light and heavy, is to be found in the coastal regions and only 30 per cent in the interior. This irrational situation is a product of history». It is self-evident that this industry was built by foreigners who had concessions there, drew the raw material from the interior of China and found slave workers on the coast. Mao gives importance to this method of development. He stresses that even in the future, industry should continue to be built in the coastal regions and to this end makes a fantastic reckoning that with the income from one light industry factory, «we (the Chinese) could earn enough in four years to build three new factories or two, or one, or at least half of one». This is like the theory of the revisionist Koço Tashko, who said at the 1st Conference of the Party at Labinot, that «we must carry

out the revolution with much bloodshed, with little bloodshed, or possibly without bloodshed at all».

Regarding this question Mao draws the conclusion: «We must build industry in the interior also, so that we have it in time of war».

But where will the war come from? From the United States of America, Japan, or the Soviet Union? Apparently, he is thinking, at the same time, that war will not come from any side, least of all from the sea, since Mao recommends that factories should be built on the coast.

It seems Mao is not thinking of the way they must depopulate the South and the South-east to some extent in order to populate the North and the North-west.

In point three of the «decalogue» Mao Tsetung defines the relationship between economic construction and construction for defence. When he says that they must reduce the expenditure for defence, it is quite apparent that he is basing himself on wrong definitions. According to Mao, the Chinese defence is allegedly more powerful than that of the Soviet Union before the Second World War.

Khrushchev publicized the allegation that Stalin had left the Soviet Union defenceless facing the Hitlerites. Mao, too, adopts this slander, while boasting that with those aircraft and those guns which he had (and with the atomic bomb which Khrushchev was to give him) the defence of China was secure.

The facts show that China remained backward. This was the result of the underrating of heavy industry and reliance on others to strengthen the defence capacity with a wrong military strategy. Now China has begun to change its mind about its defence, but together with this it has also changed its alliances. It has achieved rapprochement with the Americans and has bought modern military equipment from them.

In the same point of the «decalogue» Mao expresses clearly that he is for light armament, for paying the Chinese soldiers (as a mercenary army) and for reducing the administration, but in this direction nothing has been done. On the contrary the

administration has been transformed into a malignant growth for China. We noticed this when we were in China in 1956, and they themselves told us that all Chiang Kai-shek's former officers were being kept on as paid officials.

Point four of the «decalogue» speaks about relations between the state, the units of production, and producers. Naturally we have never learned what this organization and this organizational division of China is and neither do we know what the relations are between the state, the units of production and the producers. China could and must have its own special features because it has a large territory with many nationalities, and is not divided into republics, but provinces. We have been aware that there is democratic centralism there, but we could never have imagined that the provinces would not have authority in their own internal divisions and the factories would not be economically self-supporting. Mao tells us that in the Soviet Union (in the time of Stalin, is implied) there was great, bureaucratic centralism, and according to him, the hands of the Soviet republics were tied. How true this is we do not know, but there is at least as much, if not more, bureaucracy and centralism in China today as there was in the Soviet Union. But China is on the line of the denigration of the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin, and acting like Khrushchev. Mao desires to show himself as more of a «Marxist-Leninist» organizer, but with these things he is doing, is he not proceeding on the road of Titoite «self-administration»?

At this same point Mao compares the army with the state, i.e., he calls a weapon of the state the state and puts it above the party. In fact, in the old China and in this new one, the army has played a decisive role. It has supported one faction and liquidated the other.

Mao banalizes democratic centralism and economic independence from the centre with a ridiculous and simplistic example which makes one wonder how this «great theoretician» explains such an important political, ideological and economic organizational problem of socialism in such a casual way?!

When he speaks about the peasantry, and Mao is speaking in 1956, only a few years after liberation, **he stresses that the system of collective farms and state farms in the Soviet Union is a failure, that the peasants there are crushed by taxes, that their products are bought at low prices, and other evils, whereas he all but says that in China the peasantry is living in plenty and content**, that production is ample, that prices are low, that the state accumulation is small. An astonishing analysis! We have personal knowledge of the situations both in the Soviet Union and in China, because we were in both countries in those years, therefore we know that what Mao says is not real.

At this point of the «decalogue», Mao's analysis about the relations of the state with agriculture, the communes and their members, about the division of their incomes, about the problem of investments, about the question of accumulation, and the standards of living of the peasant communes and of the city is not at all Marxist-Leninist, is not a clear and objective reflection of the situation, but merely a demonstration of the false «superiority» of Chinese agriculture over Soviet agriculture. Khrushchev came out as a «theoretician of agriculture» who was going to pull it out of «the mess that Stalin had got it into». Mao, too, is imitating this kulak and double-dealer.

Mao closes this very important problem with words intended to show that everything is going well in China; he puts heavy industry in third place, integrates bourgeois factory-owners into socialism; he preaches the same thing about the kulaks in the countryside, and so everything is to be put in order according to his Maoist theory, which is allegedly completely correct and infallible! In reality, these ideas of Mao's are in opposition to those of Lenin and Stalin.

The megalomania of this revisionist «classic» and his denigration of the work of Lenin and Stalin could not be put more clearly.

In point five of the «decalogue», where he speaks about the relations between the centre and the base, Mao Tsetung defines what these relations should be. Naturally this depends on

what competences the centre has given to the base in China. All this is connected with the vast extent of the territory of this country. Here Mao Tsetung puts forward that the example of the Soviet Union should not be followed in the concentration of all matters in the hands of the central organs while repressing the initiative of local organs, but that efforts must be made so that the local organs run things independently. With this Mao implies that the federal republics in the Soviet Union had no authority. This is a bluff, a lie, because as we know, the Soviet republics had their own plans of economic development, industrial plans, agricultural plans, etc., closely linked, of course with the centre. Hence, to say that the republics of the Soviet Union, which are like the provinces in China, did not have their own authority, means to denigrate the socialism which was built there in the time of Stalin, means to try to show that the organization, management, ideology and policy of China are superior to those of the Soviet Union, that the Leninist practice of the economic construction of socialism in the Soviet Union is not correct, according to Mao, because Stalin allegedly distorted this Leninist practice! However, we know that Stalin faithfully implemented the economic, organizational and ideological policy of Lenin. This does not exclude the possibility that mistakes may have been made there during all that colossal work. Mao Tsetung himself says that mistakes have been made in China, too, but when he speaks about the Soviet Union he greatly inflates these mistakes, indeed he enlarges them to such an extent that it is quite obvious he aims to denigrate the correct system of socialist construction in the time of Stalin.

It is absurd to claim that there was no initiative from the local organs in the time of Stalin. **Can it be that with this claim Mao Tsetung wants to minimize and weaken the role of democratic centralism and justify the course of Titoite «self-administration»?** We do not forget Mao Tsetung's high esteem for Tito. When he claims that Stalin was wrong in the question of Tito, this means that Mao Tsetung must have approved the «self-administration» methods in the Yugoslav economy, that is, the

methods of the Titoite revisionist «self-administration». Mao wants to implement this «self-administration» gradually in China. He does not fail to speak about the specific, either. It is interesting that the Chinese say that they want to build a specific socialism. On this question, they are at one with Tito, who has long been prattling about the construction of «specific socialism». This is not just a matter of the term which the Chinese use, but a matter of the content and the introduction of the experience a la Tito into that country.

In point six Mao speaks about the relations between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities which live in China. Say what you like in theory about the equality between nations, but, in fact, the Han nationality rules in China. In relations between nationalities the Han people have held and maintain superiority, they dominate the other nationalities and order them about, regardless of the stale demagogic formulas which are used. In the time of Stalin, the state of relations between the Russian nationality and the national minorities was not as Mao claims. There were mistakes, but not in the way he says. In China, democracy and equality between nationalities do not exist. As in earlier times, a military dictatorship exists there. That faction of that nationality which had the army with it imposed its will on the masses of the people and the party. **Hence, the army is at the head of the party and also at the head of the state, there.**

In point seven, in connection with relations between party members and non-party people, Mao Tsetung is completely on the opportunist, revisionist line. He does not put the communist party at the head, in the leadership. He implies that it is in the leadership, but demands and affirms that power must be shared with the bourgeois parties. Hence, Mao is for pluralism of parties in the leadership of the proletarian state. He considers it essential that these various parties must exist, for many reasons: because of the criticisms which they can make of the Communist Party of China, because much can be learned from them, in order to uncover everything which is organized and done under

the lap, etc. **He considers the existence of these parties a determining factor, or to put in better, a factor essential for the construction of socialism in China.**

With this Mao is in contradiction with Lenin who, of course, did not allow other parties, apart from the Bolshevik Party, to run the Soviet state. Hence, to accept the system of many parties in the leadership means to be guided by anti-Marxist ideological views. In this chapter, Mao tries to reduce these parties to a few people, to a few leaders «who make some criticism or approve the decisions of the Communist Party of China». This is not a matter of certain progressive democratic individuals, whom the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our Party and all the other parties, admitted to the front, whom they have kept close and have consulted when necessary, **but Mao Tsetung legalizes the existence of bourgeois parties in the leadership of the proletarian state. With this thesis of his he explains, allegedly, that «the democratic parties are the product of history» and that «everything that emerges in history is eliminated in history».** It is clear to Marxist-Leninists that every party represents the interests of certain given classes or strata, therefore what does it mean if you preserve the parties which represent the interests of the bourgeoisie in socialism? It means to fail to wage the class struggle, to fail to fight for the hegemonic role of the proletariat and its party.

According to Mao, these so-called democratic parties, including the Kuomintang, will disappear just as the communist party will disappear. «We will be very happy with the elimination of the communist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat,» he says.

Mao does not fail to say that at present they cannot do without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the proletariat. He stresses this and says that the party must become powerful, indeed he cites Lenin on this, but only after he has spread his poison. Lenin said that we cannot do without the party of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat, and he explained the purpose of this dictatorship. In 1920 Lenin said:

> *«Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat».**

Likewise Stalin says:

> *«It would be enough to shake the Party, to weaken it for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be shaken and weakened in an instant».***

In point eight in which he speaks about the relationship between the revolution and the counter-revolution, Mao Tse-tung says that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to suppress the counter-revolution and the counterrevolutionaries, but unfortunately he pampers the counterrevolutionaries. **«At first we killed some counterrevolutionaries,» he admits, «but we should not kill any more, should not imprison them, should not put them on trial, but should convince them, send them to the countryside where they will be reformed through labour» etc., etc. «We can keep the law on capital punishment in force,» says Mao, «but should not apply it in practice!»** What is this? This is not class struggle. Such a stand does not wipe out the counter-revolution, does not eliminate the exploiting classes.

In this connection, amongst other things, Lenin teaches us that we must move

> *«...right down to the wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters and the institution of strict surveillance over them, so*

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 33 (Alb. ed.).

** J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 347 (Alb. ed.).

*as to foil their inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery — only such measures can ensure real submission of the whole class of exploiters.»**

Many things must have been cut out from the theses of Mao's «decalogue», because some months after the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, it was stated explicitly that the owners of factories should receive rent and be vice-directors of their factories, and this view is apparent throughout this thesis of Mao Tsetung. He keeps the capitalist reactionaries in the management of factories which have been their property, gives them income from these factories which have been nationalized, but which are considered partly theirs, and forgets that these factories have been built and extended by exploiting the blood and sweat of workers. Can this be called class struggle? No, this is not class struggle at all. **According to Mao Tsetung, these former owners must be integrated into society, become part of society, be educated in society.** (That means they must be integrated into socialism. Many bourgeois revisionist «theoreticians» as well as the Titoites and the «Eurocommunists», etc., are now talking a lot about the integration of capitalism into socialism, etc.) «This will be a very good thing,» claims Mao, «for many reasons, one of which is that we (the Chinese) will provide a good example for other countries in the world in this way.» (A «fine» example of how the enemies of the peoples are not combated!)

Lenin thought completely differently. He says:

*«And the fight against this element cannot be waged solely with the aid of propaganda and agitation, solely by organizing competition and by selecting the organizers. This struggle must also be waged by means of coercion».***

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 201 (Alb. ed.).

** V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 295 (Alb. ed.).

And again on this problem Lenin points out:

> *«...the very idea of the capitalists peacefully submitting to the will of the majority of the exploited, the very idea of a peaceful, reformist transition to socialism, is not merely sheer philistine stupidity but also downright deception of the workers».**

Another view of Mao's is that if we eliminate the capitalists, according to him, we shall also lose a source of information and thus will not know what is going on in their ranks. What «brilliant» conclusions in order to extinguish the class struggle! This was the sort of «class struggle» Chou En-lai tried to persuade us to carry out when he accused us of not waging the class struggle! His aim was to see how far we were going in this struggle, whether we were on the line of Mao Tsetung of extinguishing the class struggle, or on the Leninist and Stalinist road of waging this struggle sternly.

In the Communist Party of China Mao has cultivated his own cult and has not applied the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the class struggle, iron proletarian discipline, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party of China has been built up and imbued with liberal, reformist norms and two or more lines. Hence for Mao and the Communist Party of China the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism are fictitious.

People like Mao Tsetung accuse Stalin of having allegedly made mistakes in connection with the class struggle, while they themselves claim that in socialism the class struggle becomes gradually weaker. Indeed Mao Tsetung says quite openly that we should not wage the class struggle, should not execute the criminals, should not shoot the dangerous enemies, or put anyone in prison. However, this was never Stalin's way. In practice, he carried the struggle against the enemies of the people through to the end, sternly and with determination. Mao Tsetung provides five or six excuses to exonerate the counter-

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 201 (Alb. ed,).

revolution, to defend it and in this way tries to «prove» that his course is allegedly correct and Marxist-Leninist.

Mao claims he wants to eliminate violence, capital punishment, the law courts and the procuratorial organs, to avoid punishing counterrevolutionaries. He advocates only education and propaganda. Where is the class struggle on Mao's part in all this? Where does the dictatorship of the proletariat exist in his views and practice?

In point nine Mao speaks of the relations between right and wrong. What is his aim in speaking about these relations? In doing this Mao tries to attack Stalin. He says that «Stalin shot people for the most trifling mistake». This is a slander. Stalin did not shoot people for making mistakes. On the contrary, he struggled to correct those who made mistakes and there are documents which show this is true. Stalin directed that evildoers should be put in prison or concentration camps, and that counterrevolutionaries, traitors, spies, and the other enemies of the people should be shot for especially dangerous crimes. If he had not done this, socialism could not have been built in the Soviet Union, and Stalin would not have been on the Leninist road. Mao Tsetung is opposed to this line. He generalizes the issue and treats both those who have committed not very dangerous crimes, who certainly should not be shot, and counterrevolutionaries, in the same way. Who says that we should shoot those who have not committed grave crimes? Nobody. On the contrary, we are for correcting such people, and this is what we have done.

The tenth and final point of the «decalogue» treats relations between China and other countries. These relations, as he explains them and raises them to theses, are opportunist, revisionist relations. Their purpose is to avoid applying a correct revolutionary line in China, in aid of the world proletariat and the world revolution, in aid of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, so that they prevent them from fighting successfully against the bourgeoisie, capitalism and modern revisionism. In

fact Mao is a modern revisionist just like the Soviet, Titoite and other revisionists.

In connection with the foreign policy of China, the famous theses of Mao Tsetung say: «Our policy is to learn from the strong points of all nations and all countries, learn all that is good in the political, economic, scientific and technological fields and in literature and art». This is his whole policy. In order to do this, according to Mao Tsetung, peaceful coexistence (revisionist) must be established with all the states of the world. For Mao there is no distinction between these states. Later, ignoring the socio-economic order which exists in one or the other country, Mao Tsetung divided the world in three and is for the strategy of «three worlds». He is not against any «world». He does not make any distinction even in the «first world» in which Mao puts imperialist America and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. Now he is pro American imperialism, tomorrow he might be against it; today he is against Soviet social-imperialism, tomorrow he might be for it. Hence he shifts according to circumstances, as the revisionist interests of the Chinese state require and does not act on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles, does not think that the imperialist powers must be combated and the peoples' national liberation struggle supported.

With this line Mao Tsetung cannot defend the peoples' national liberation struggle. Let him indulge in demagogy and declare that «we, the Chinese, are with the peoples of the third world», but these are mere words. Since he enunciates the tactic I mentioned above, since he is with American imperialism with which he does not want to fall out, because he must «learn» from it and get credits from it, either openly or secretly, Mao Tsetung cannot be with the peoples of the so-called third world who are fighting against American imperialism, cannot help them to escape from the yoke of American imperialism. Through demagogy he tries to appear as a defender of states which are under the influence of Soviet social-imperialism, but

he does this so that they come under the influence either of China or of the United States of America.

Pursuing an anti-Marxist strategy, Mao allowed Nixon to go to China without that state being officially recognized by the USA; likewise, to facilitate the visit of the American president, he agreed to remove the barrier of the question of Taiwan, which had been raised like a steel wall to any country which wanted to establish diplomatic relations with China. Since that time no more has been said about Taiwan. With this he is telling the United States of America that it can stay in Taiwan, in Japan, in Okinawa, Burma and elsewhere, and China and the present Chinese revisionist leaders have based the whole of their foreign policy and defence on this strategy of Mao's. Of course, the Chinese leadership must have agreed that the Americans could stay in South Vietnam, too, and the war cease, that the Vietnamese should establish friendship with the Americans. This must have been why the opposition arose between the Chinese and the Vietnamese, who, at one time, declared openly, «We (the Vietnamese) do not allow any other state to meddle in our internal affairs...»

Mao Tsetung accuses Stalin of left adventurism, of having exerted great pressure on China and the Communist Party of China. Stalin must have had no faith in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. **When China was liberated, Stalin expressed his doubt that the Chinese leadership might follow the Titoite course. Glancing over all the main principles of Mao Tsetung's revisionist line, in regard to all those things which he raises against Stalin, we can say without reservation that Stalin was truly a great Marxist-Leninist who foresaw correctly where China was going, who long ago realized what the views of Mao Tsetung were, and saw that, in many directions, they were Titoite revisionist views, both on international policy and on internal policy, on the class struggle, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, etc.**

By printing this «decalogue», Hua Kuo-feng and company want to legalize their revisionist line, to legalize their counter-revolutionary activity, to legalize the stopping of the Cultural Revolution, because they think that this will make things easier for them, although, as I have written earlier, the Cultural Revolution in China was not on a revolutionary basis, but on an opportunist basis. It was a struggle of one opportunist group, headed by Mao Tsetung, against another opportunist group, headed by Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, etc., which had usurped power. Mao Tsetung had been endangered by the opposing group, which would have tossed him into the rubbish basket of history as he tossed Liu Shao-chi. Mao knew how to take advantage of the cult about him, which had been built up sky-high, although he accused others as boasters over the question of cult. According to Mao, these boasters are Stalin and his associates. Hence Mao took advantage of the unrestrained cult around his person, which had been fostered during his whole lifetime, aroused the army, relied on it and the school youth, and launched the so-called Cultural Revolution. But he prevented this revolution from being carried through to the end, because it was endangering all the opportunist cadres of the group of Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, was endangering even Mao Tsetung himself. And after a time, he turned the helm in another direction, supported the rightists and gave power to Chou En-lai who elaborated his plans and put them into operation.

During this period, new elements who emerged in the process of the Cultural Revolution, especially «The Four» who are now called «traitors» by Hua Kuo-feng, saw this terrible abyss for which China was heading, and with their own methods, in their own way, which it seems were not well-studied and mature, and perhaps, even not completely correct, but were at least more or less revolutionary, tried to set a limit to this hostile activity which was leading China to social-imperialism. On the death of Mao the rightists managed to take power. Immediate-

ly, with one blow, as they say, they struck the leftist elements and suppressed the revolution. Hence, the counterrevolutionaries who had been brought into the state and the party by Mao Tsetung and his followers, suppressed the revolution in China.

FRIDAY
DECEMBER 31, 1976

THE CHINESE STRATEGY IS SUFFERING FIASCO

Absolutely nothing, no anti-Marxist action of the Chinese should surprise us. We judge the actions and the ideas of the Communist Party of China, its Central Committee and Mao Tsetung in the Marxist-Leninist light which illuminates our Party. But nothing of theirs turns out to be on the course of our theory, because the Communist Party of China is not guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory.

As I have said and written at other times, this disease of the Communist Party of China is a disease which started at the initial phase of its activity, which it began with mistakes and is continuing with mistakes, even on the basic questions of the Marxist-Leninist theory, although nothing official has been written about this activity. There is talk about the factional fights which have gone on in its ranks: each faction criticized and accused the other; the one posed as pro the Comintern, the other not; the one claimed that «it was guided by the ideology of the working class» and considered this class to be the leadership of the proletarian revolution, the other considered the peasantry in this leading role, and so on.

These problems have never been analysed by the Communist Party of China in a scientific way, from the angle of the Marxist-Leninist theory, have never been really examined in the conditions of China. Even if they have been done, these so-called analyses are dominated by agitation and propaganda, with a meaningless stereotyped phraseology, idealist and sophist in form and content, similar to the old style of mystical

idealist Buddhist writings in which the cult of that person who is the «spiritual» guide and leader of the faction is built up and exalted.

One such faction was that of Mao Tsetung about which we cannot speak, because there are many things about it that we do not know precisely, including why Mao was expelled from the party several times. We know that Mao broke away, joined up again, was expelled from, and then was readmitted to the party, re-elected to the Central Committee and made the «Long March». This march went down in history, and the legend of Mao begins from this. He went to Yenan and there he formed the «Soviet» State of Yenan. But how did he form it? Mao acted like a leftist, acted proceeding from eclectic «Marxist» views, from mistaken views about the class struggle and the future state power. It can be assumed that with the term «Soviet» he referred to the «councils» as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat; however, as it later turned out, this «people's revolutionary» state power of Mao Tsetung was a «state power of workers, peasants, the petty and middle bourgeoisie». In this hybrid state power, each class had its own star in the state flag. This state power did not develop into and never became *de facto* and *de jure*, a dictatorship of the proletariat, while in words and propaganda it was, and it is claimed that it is a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state power in China could not have been and is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, because one of the functions of such a state is to suppress the exploiters, the counterrevolutionaries, the class enemies and the enemies of socialism, a function which has not been carried out in China. Contrary to the theses of Marx and Lenin, Mao did not fight against the restoration of capitalism in China, accepted this restoration and even prepared it with his anti-Marxist theories.

But why did this occur? This occurred because Mao, not being a Marxist, did not work for, nor did he build or temper a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The Communist Party of China is not a party of the working class, because it does not

lead the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a dictatorship does not exist in China. **In that country, the state is a progressive bourgeois-democratic state, and as Mao admits, this state «is led by a coalition of parties with differing political and ideological views».**

Hence, on these key problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, as well as the class struggle, Mao Tsetung is on the opportunist, revisionist road, is a social-democrat. This critic of Stalin is for the integration of the bourgeoisie and the kulaks into socialism, he is a new Bukharin concealed with Marxist catchwords. On the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao Tsetung, a new pupil of Bernstein and Kautsky, formulates allegedly Marxist slogans. On the question of the leadership of the country by many parties, he is a bourgeois social-democrat and operates like all the others while disguising his rightist views with leftist slogans.

Mao Tsetung led the National Liberation War of the Chinese people on the basis of those principles, Marxist in appearance but not Marxist in essence. The war of the Chinese people against the occupiers was a just war, but one which we could equate with the war of the Algerian people against the French. The Algerian people waged a resolute liberation war, led by bourgeois nationalists, while the war of the Chinese people was led by the progressive bourgeoisie and by unclear, vacillating communists, irresolute on the principles and norms of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, which applies these principles and norms in a correct manner in the conditions of the country. I am referring to the basic principles which I stressed above, because as to the alliances with non-communist, democratic and progressive elements, this is another major problem for the victory. However, the role of the Communist Party of China should not have been obscured and its leadership should not have been shared with the other parties in the way Mao puts it in his «decalogue» of April 1956. This whole batch

of so-called Marxist-Leninist theories of Mao Tsetung has been applied and propagated in an eclectic way according to the needs, the occasion and the situation.

Over a period of fifty years, Mao Tsetung and his associates built up a strategy and tactics not for the triumph of the revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, but for the triumph of China as a great world power.

Now, as in the past, in China they have acted according to petty-bourgeois views. The Chinese line has continuous zigzags, the strategy of the party has been unstable, its policy has ebbed and flowed, and not as Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics presents these questions.

During the war and even after it when the people's state power had been established, the Chinese external alliances have never been stable. What is important is that these alliances were not built on principled revolutionary bases but were characterized by hypocritical stratagems and pragmatic changes of direction, based on the idea of strengthening China as a great state. When the Khrushchevites took power, China, a former friend of the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin, became friends with them, and when it gained nothing from them, then it became friends with the Americans. Tomorrow it might link itself with the Soviets also, will do so with the Titoites, too, on a larger scale.

The Chinese Cultural Revolution was a factional fight between the group of Mao and that of Liu Shao-chi. Neither the working class nor its ally, the peasantry, and especially their leadership, the Communist Party of China, took part in it. They did not understand their role, were not set in motion by either faction. The army, which was with Lin Piao and Mao, played the decisive role in this revolution.

The so-called Communist Party of China was not a party of the revolution, because it had not been educated for such a purpose. It was more of a «peasant party», which, according to tradition, waited to see who would win by means of military force.

Mao's faction triumphed, but he stopped the «revolution» half-way, stopped the revolutionary violence, because the dictatorship of the proletariat did not exist. Mao together with Chou En-lai worked intensively to restore the situation and strengthen the positions of their clan in their own course. They pushed Kang Sheng aside, liquidated Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta, and at the same time prepared to get rid of the remaining «thorns» in their flesh — «The Four», as they call them.

With the deaths of Chou En-lai and Mao, the clan lost its main leaders. The country and the clan were left without a head and have fallen into great chaos. Those who remain are guided by the ghost of the dead, by an anti-Marxist ideology, inside and outside the country. The reactionary strategy of Mao and Chou has suffered and is suffering fiasco. In their time, those two manoeuvred, Mao with his undeserved «prestige» of the «patriarch», and Chou with his cunning on the stage and behind the scenes.

The new revisionists who came to the head of the party and the state in China, are continuing to wallow in the social-democratic mire into which they are sinking deeper and deeper. They think that their Marxist disguise will not be torn from them, but they are tearing it off themselves. They think that the «prestige» of Mao and Chou will get them out of the mire, that the potential of China, in terms of its territory and its population, will impose itself on the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and the progressive peoples. But they will be unmasked, will go bankrupt, will carry the anti-Marxist line of Mao and Chou through to the end, and will lead China at an even more reckless pace, on the course of a bourgeois-capitalist state. This will certainly occur if the elements of this group, of this counter-revolutionary faction, are not overthrown and if the «stables» of Mao and Chou are not cleaned out thoroughly with the iron broom, but this time through a truly great proletarian revolution led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party, through an iron dictatorship of the proletariat and a class struggle, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin

and Stalin leach us. This is the only road to salvation for China. **The road of Mao, Chou, Teng, Hua Kuo-feng is the road of capitalism, the road of reaction and social-imperialism.**

The myths and cults of Mao and Chou must be smashed to their foundations, because only in this way will China escape from the capitalist grip. The Chinese traitors who have seized power want to consolidate the situation; the Chinese Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries must fight arms in hand, must not fear revolution. This is the only road to salvation for China.

1977

SUNDAY
JANUARY 2, 1977

A MEETING THAT WAS OVER IN FIVE MINUTES

Our ambassador in Peking informed us that after he had sought a meeting with Li Hsien-nien, in reciprocity, to hand over the letter of our Central Committee in reply to their protest, according to which we had allegedly attacked the strategy of Mao, two days later Keng Piao, instead of Li, received him.

Our ambassador said: «Do you want me to read the letter, as you proceeded, or do you want to read it yourself?»

«Give it to me,» said the revisionist Keng Piao.

The whole business was over in five minutes.

MONDAY
JANUARY 3, 1977

IT SEEMS THAT THE PRO-AMERICAN FACTION IN CHINA WILL TRIUMPH

The street walls, especially in Peking, are being covered with dazibaos exerting pressure on the Hua Kuo-feng group for Teng Hsiao-ping to be completely rehabilitated and assume the functions of premier, vice-chairman of the party and chief of the general staff. Nothing more, only the main keys of China! In other words, all the powers of his patron, Chou En-lai, who rehabilitated him and trained him to take his place. If Mao had died before Chou, he, as second-in-command, would have taken the place of the former, and Teng, the third, would have taken the place of the latter. In this case, everything would have gone smoothly, the resistance of their opponents would have been suppressed. To this end, Chou, Teng and Hua Kuo-feng had long been preparing the plot and the coup. For this changing of the «guard» neither the party, the Central Committee, nor the Congress were taken into account. For the Chinese these organs have been and are just a facade.

However, things developed differently, two of them died, the third was eliminated, while Hua Kuo-feng, one of the conspirators and minister of internal affairs, acted quickly, arrested the opponents, appointed himself to the leadership and set *les rouages** of the plot in motion. But things could not go on like this for long, because «heads had cooled» and they no longer acted in unity. Thus the factions began to act separately

* The gears (Fr.).

and to stake their claims. This squabble amongst them is bringing out and will bring out a lot of dirty linen. The factions are agreed that any calumny can be used against «The Four», but do not agree to share the power as Hua Kuo-feng, who was last in line in the hierarchy of the plot, wants. The third in the hierarchy has to be elevated, and this is Teng, about whom, when he was overthrown, even Mao said, «Teng is not a Marxist-Leninist»; when he took power, Hua Kuo-feng himself also attacked and criticized Teng severely.

Now the Chinese leadership is in a great crisis. The country is ablaze (foreign ambassadors in different countries have told our ambassadors that «civil war has begun in China. Of the 27 provinces 17 are in revolution». The Chinese themselves admit this officially, but they minimize the situation). There must be many quarrels amongst the current leaders of China, there must be people pro Mao, and some pro those who criticize him, because Mao spoke about Teng in this way and tolerated «The Four» for so long; there must be others pro Chou En-lai, and the majority is in this group, because they now have power in their hands.

There must be two trends in the group of Chou: one pro Teng, and one pro Hua Kuo-feng. The factional fight is now centered on these two trends. In strong opposition to each other are these two lines: **the line of Teng and the line of Hua, both of them rightist, the one extreme and against Mao on some things, the other more moderate, and allegedly pro Mao on some other things. One line demands the full rehabilitation of Teng, while the other line accepts this, but after he «first makes self-criticism and provided he does not become premier of the State Council».**

If Teng takes power, Hua Kuo-feng will be left in an «honorific» post and will be put away in a corner, just as the Chou En-lai group did with Mao, while they sang hosannas to him, while Mao spoke an occasional word or wrote some verse from «the seventh heaven», to which he had been elevated.

Thus in China, at present, and not only now, but continuously, an unprincipled struggle for power has been going on. Liu Shao-chi fought for power. Mao likewise fought for power, and also Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and, now finally, Hua Kuo-feng, too, have all fought for power. In all this, principles and ideology are nothing but a disguise. The party there is split and off the beam, it is being dragged along by propaganda and the rifle. Throughout all this period of disturbances, intrigues and plots, the gun has dominated the party, and not the party the gun, the «warlords» decked out in new raiment and with a false ideological «lustre» make the law in China.

But in this great chaos of rivalries, the policy of the two superpowers also plays a role. Each of them defends its own partisans in China and builds up a «mirage» for them of how to get out of the economic chaos and become militarily strong. I judge that the pro-American faction will triumph because the United States of America is in a position to give China economic and military aid. The Chinese propaganda that «the United States of America has been weakened» is false and serves as a screen to hide the big deals which China is making with imperialism.

But the revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninists, those who carried out the Cultural Revolution in China, what are they doing? I think that there must be millions of them. Now they are being persecuted, being pursued, but to what extent and for how long?! What we hear, but which we are unable to verify, shows that they are moving, putting up resistance. If the revolution bursts out in China, it will spread like a prairie fire, will not be easily quelled, and the rightists will be endangered, because this revolution will be a bloody one, and not like that Mao Tsetung advocated.

TUESDAY
JANUARY 4, 1977

WE MUST CARRY OUT THE CONTRACTS WITH MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, BUT WITHOUT MAKING IDEO-POLITICAL CONCESSIONS

Mehmet informed me of the difficulties which the Chinese are causing over coking coal which, according to the contract, they should have delivered to us by the end of 1976. At present, we have reserves for the blast furnace up to the end of February this year. Mehmet and I exchanged ideas over this problem. We reached the conclusion that sounding the alarm does not help us, therefore we must keep cool and take timely measures. We must be clear that the Chinese are going to cause us many difficulties, if not blockade us completely. Naturally, we are not the sort to surrender to revisionism, but will fight it mercilessly wherever it appears, without yielding an inch.

The Chinese absolutely must give us the bulk of the coal for 1976. Together with them we shall set the time of delivery for the remainder and, in regard to the quantity of coal which was envisaged in the agreement for 1977, we must struggle to secure as much as we can of it because it is with clearing. Our business with the Chinese cannot go smoothly, therefore our people must talk calmly and patiently with them, so that they understand that they are acting wrongly, while at the same time avoiding friction, as far as possible, over the matters in which we are in opposition to them. We must leave the prospect open to the Chinese that we shall supply a portion of some important products to China with clearing, too. We must do such a thing so that they cannot hinder us in the construct-

ion of the projects which they are supplying to us. Our trade with the Chinese must be carried on skilfully and not rigidly. We must take what they supply us and insist later, on the quantities which remain undelivered. We must not say «we have contracts», but must fight to see them carried out. Practice proves that the capitalist countries, also, violate their contracts when it is profitable to them to do so; and indeed they even agree to and do pay the penalties. They arbitrarily violate not only their contracts in economic relations, but also their treaties over much more important problems. This is how China, too, will act in the future over the contracts and agreements we have. Therefore, we must show ourselves wary, must have patience, must be vigilant and ready to manoeuvre.

Our import and export trade is a great and complicated problem. Now that the sky over China is cloudy, this problem has become much more complicated, therefore it cannot be settled «in a rush» because it is a very complex matter. We have to study this problem in all its complexity.

It is urgent and very necessary to solve the question of raw materials which we must bring in from abroad with priority. Where will we get them? Those with which China will supply us, fine, but now we must take even these with reserve. That means we must make our calculations well, must save from one source and secure from some other source. This should be considered a reserve, even if China supplies us with this or that commodity.

We must make efforts to find those commodities with which China will not supply us in other markets, even of revisionist countries, I am referring to the so-called people's democracies, with which we have maintained trade relations. Our new requirements must be additional to those which we struggle to secure usually. Naturally, we have to struggle, because with those states we carry on trade with clearing, and, at the same time, must bear in mind the fact that we are in hostility with them and they might blockade us. Therefore, we must manoeuvre skilfully with our clearing goods.

We still have the capitalist market, which usually requires foreign currency. But we have little foreign currency, therefore what we have we must not use thoughtlessly but very frugally and on those goods for which we are really hard pressed.

In conclusion, I told Mehmet that we must study this problem, take decisions in the Government, and take measures to ensure that the plan is fulfilled. This year the problems of the whole five-year plan must be studied, too, especially in connection with the projects for which China has accorded us credits. It might abandon them in the middle of construction, and therefore we must take timely measures and decisions in order to continue and complete these projects with our own forces.

These tasks in connection with the Chinese must be pursued carefully, cool-headedly, because our protests have solved nothing. The line of the Party must not be violated, but commercial manoeuvres have to be made. Direct collisions with them over points of ideological opposition should be avoided as far as possible until they act openly against us. We must no longer seek trading privileges from them. We must struggle, I say struggle, to carry out the contracts, and this must be understood, with mutual understanding, without any ideo-political concessions.

I talked over these things with Mehmet and he was in full agreement with my ideas.

WEDNESDAY
JANUARY 5, 1977

DAY BY DAY THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS SLIDING INTO THE ABYSS

No doubt, in order to attack our correct ideological and political thesis against the «third world», which was put forward at the 7th Congress, two or three days ago the Chinese wrote a long allegedly theoretical article divided into chapters. Not only was the article referred to not in the least theoretical, but, as the problem was presented there, it was also wrong.

The aim of this article was quite clear: «to prove» that the division into «three worlds» is an «invention of the genius of Mao Tsetung». They want Mao Tsetung's paternity of this absurd and anti-Marxist invention of the division of the world in opposition to the division made by Marx and Lenin, to be acknowledged. The bourgeoisie and Khrushchev originally gave birth to this «love-child», but nevertheless the Maoists want to adopt it. Let them have it.

With this article the Chinese want «to prove» that this offspring of theirs, the «third world», has scored «great successes» and the situation there is «excellent».

However, the Chinese make no effort to explain this «third world», because they have no way to justify it theoretically from the Marxist-Leninist angle. Since it is impossible for them to do this, they have appointed some of their «theoreticians» as recorders of events which occur in the world, and these they list one by one in just such a banal manner as a press agency might list them in its regular feature «the events of the year».

The «clever» Chinese revisionists are doing this in order to

tell the «third world»: «See what successes!, see what great aid China is giving you» (!) (and they make a list of it). This list means, «China is with you, is part of the third world, therefore you must listen to it and toe guided by it, because together with it, you are the motive force of the world, you are the genuine Marxism-Leninism».

But over what is this undefined «third world», or perhaps defined by the Chinese, scoring these «brilliant successes»? «There is no doubt,» say the Chinese, «over Soviet social-imperialism.» Hence, each paragraph of this article speaks only against the Soviet Union, because, according to the Chinese, it alone is the cause of all evils! But what does this article say about American imperialism? Not much; it says only that the Soviet Union has contradictions with the United States of America. But why does it have these contradictions, and what do these contradictions consist of? The article does not say, because it does not want to say anything against the United States of America! **Hence, China is defending the United States of America. This is clear, because if you read the statistics on investments in the «third world», it turns out that 80 per cent are made by the Americans, 10 per cent by the Soviet Union, and 10 per cent by the other imperialist powers.** No comment is necessary to understand the falsity of the struggle of the Chinese when they claim to be «against imperialism, against social-imperialism, and against hegemonism». The Chinese do not explain these fundamental questions, either in theory or in practice, because they would expose themselves, therefore they recite formulas in order to be on the safe side and act differently from what they say.

Well, they don't explain these things, but **what about the problem of classes and the class struggle within these states of the so-called third world — do they touch on this problem, explain it, or even mention it? Not at all. This has been eliminated completely for the sake of the struggle against the Soviet Union and the defence of the United States of America and its cliques which are in power in the majority of the states of the**

«third world». But what are these cliques for the Chinese? When they take the side of the United States of America they are «free and sovereign democrats and nationalists»! What is going on with the peoples in these countries and what must those who are suffering, who are oppressed, and who are out of work there, do? **What do the Chinese advise them? For the Chinese these peoples are herds of animals, without personality, are only peoples of the «third world» who must simply tolerate the internal and external yoke of American imperialism and fight against Soviet social-imperialism!** «We might even hold meetings,» say the Chinese, «under this banner of the third world». «Let us begin with education,» says Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. «Agreed,» say the Chinese, «and tomorrow we shall hold another about cleaning up the environment.»

Day by day the Chinese revisionist leaders are slipping deeper into the abyss. Neither the Marxists, nor the revolutionaries, nor the progressive people are deceived by these allegedly Marxist-Leninist theories. With such palaver, saying that within China «the situation is excellent», when it is chaotic, or saying that «the situation in the world is excellent», when the world is threatened with the danger of imperialist war and enslavement for the peoples, the credit of the Chinese will hit rock-bottom. But it is better thus, than that lies and revisionism should triumph.

SATURDAY
JANUARY 8, 1977

THE CHINESE REVISIONISTS ARE ATTACKING THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA IN AN UNDERHAND WAY

The Communist Party of China has opened a dirty polemic behind the back of our Party without first raising with it the disagreements and contradictions which it has with our Party. It has prepared a standard material, summons to Peking the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist parties it can and is discussing it with them. This material has been prepared against the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party in general and against its 7th Congress in particular.

Even Khrushchev did not carry out such a revisionist, Trotskyite act against us, or as far as we know, against the Chinese, either. The renegade Khrushchev attacked us, attacked and opposed us, both openly and through letters, while the Chinese have never done such a thing.

When we have had differences with them over any important question of principle, we have either written them a letter or have made our views known to them by means of delegations. From our side, our stands have been correct as between two sister parties. When we have not been in agreement with them, we have told them this openly, have defended our views and have not changed our opinion. The Chinese have not replied to our letters and, over a series of problems, each party has acted according to its own views.

They claim that «they did not want to enter into polemics with us» over the things we have raised, and that is why they have not replied to us. However, they acted according to their

own strategy and this is their «right», and we, too, acted according to our strategy and tactics. **But, as it now appears, they have considered our strategy and tactics to be attacks on the Communist Party of China; so we, too, have the right to consider theirs to be attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania.**

It is clear that the Communist Party of China, which claims hypocritically that there must not be «mother party» and «daughter party», has wanted the Party of Labour of Albania to follow its line blindly, and moreover, to impose its opinions on us. I say this because it has not agreed to talk with us about these differences which were known to our two parties. But why has this occurred?

First, we think that China felt itself to be a «great state», its Communist Party to be a «great party», and Mao Tsetung to be an «infallible leader», therefore the feelings of the «great state», the «great party», and the «great leader» operated en bloc.

Second, although China is «for bilateral relations and bilateral talks», it is afraid of a confrontation of opinions with us. China «accepts» bilateral talks, but it wants such talks just to gain information, and then if its method works, it gives directives to others.

Third, China thinks that since it accords us some credits, we should comply with its views.

I want to go somewhat more deeply into our opinions about why Mao Tsetung and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China have not wanted to talk with us about the problems which we have raised and over which we have had differences with them. **We think that the problem lies in the social-democratic and opportunist views which Mao Tsetung had. He was not concerned at all if opposing opinions existed. Apart from this there was also another reason, that the problems referred to would open up other problems in connection with the general line of our Party, their party, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).**

They make a number of baseless accusations against us, for

example, that allegedly we were for the theses of Khrushchevite «peaceful coexistence», that we attacked the cult of Stalin, but later renounced this criticism, that allegedly we «believed only in the possibility that war could be avoided», and other such allegations which neither the activity of our Party nor its written documents confirm. But with these baseless accusations which they make, something else very critical and of great importance for China and the international communist movement is confirmed. **We believe that after the death of Stalin and during the ups and downs of Khrushchev, until the 20th Congress was reached, it is confirmed that Mao Tsetung and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China felt, so to say, a certain satisfaction in the direction that «from now on we (the Chinese) are going to act more freely in our internal affairs and in the international arena».** This is our impression which we draw both from our talks and from the subsequent theses of Mao Tsetung, according to whom «Stalin (allegedly) imposed the views of the Bolshevik Party on the Chinese and all other Marxist-Leninist parties». Hence, according to Mao, in the time of Stalin, all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world were compelled to assist the Soviet Union and its line, were in service to the Bolshevik Party, and did not feel themselves to be independent Marxist-Leninist parties. Mao Tsetung admitted this himself at the Moscow Meeting of 1957. Apart from this, at that meeting Mao Tsetung raised the question that «all of us, the communist and workers' parties of the world, that is, the socialist camp, should have a leader, and this leader should be the Soviet Union». Mao Tsetung presented this thesis at the Moscow Meeting and defended it, while Khrushchev seemed not to want such a thing. We must admit that we and the others also defended this thesis. But Comrade Mao Tsetung, with all his great authority, said something else, that **«Khrushchev is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist, a great leader of the Soviet Union», that «one can talk to and get along with Khrushchev», while with Stalin you had to stand to attention, was what he wanted to say.**

Likewise, as we heard with our own ears, Mao Tsetung gave Khrushchev unreserved support when he liquidated the so-called anti-party group of Molotov and his associates. Hence, all these facts show that **Mao Tsetung was completely with the revisionist line and with the putschist, denigrating, conspiratorial actions against the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Stalin and the Soviet Union.**

Our Party did not share these standpoints of Mao Tsetung or the Communist Party of China. After the death of Stalin we thought that someone else would come to the head of the party, and we can say in parentheses that we thought of Molotov. Precisely after the death of Stalin we entered into conflict with the new leadership of the Soviet Union — Malenkov, Bulganin, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, and others. Three or four months after Stalin's death they attacked us fiercely and shamelessly, accusing us of being people who did not know how to use those few credits which they had given us and how to build those few industrial projects which, in reality, we built at the proper time, because we worked to ensure that socialism would advance in our country.

We took part in the meetings of the communist and workers' parties in Moscow, but did not go there with the views of Mao Tsetung. We did not speak out against the Soviet Union until the conditions for this were ripe, but within ourselves, we had great worries and doubts about its leadership. It did not show itself resolute, there was confusion there. We sensed the contradictions which existed within it, among the leaders, and especially over the line of Stalin, although we had no real knowledge of them.

Our opinion is that Mao Tsetung knew about this situation and that he must have been in agreement with the line and actions of Khrushchev against Stalin and the line of the Bolshevik Party. **Mao Tsetung must also have received promises from Khrushchev about economic aid and political aid in the international arena, as well as promises of military aid including the secret of the atomic bomb.** We think that Khrushchev made him

these promises, and for a time it looked as if things were going well, but he was a trickster. Mao, too, we believe, had something up his sleeve. After the death of Stalin and regardless of his saying that «Khrushchev is a great man», Mao (naturally, these are suppositions) put himself above Khrushchev and thought that he ought to have his place after Lenin as «a great philosopher» and the leader of a country with the biggest population in the world. Although he said that «the Soviet Union should be the leader of the camp», in reality he thought that there should be at least two: China and the Soviet Union, one *de jure*, but two *de facto*, which would make the law in the world.

We held the 7th Congress and the Party of Labour of Albania expressed its own views just as it thought, while the Chinese leadership turned sour and made the tragic mistake that it attacked our congress in a manner to be condemned, contrary to the norms which exist between Marxist-Leninist parties. As long as Mao and Chou were alive, we had internal contradictions, but they did not agree to discuss them, or stood firm on their opinions and we, having no other possibility, stood firm on ours. This was an opportunist tactic on their part, but, at that time, they did not make this anti-Marxist mistake which the Chinese have now made, because, first, they knew that our views were unshakeable, and second, the Party of Labour of Albania, with its correct line had defended the Communist Party of China and China itself at the most difficult moments for them, both at the Bucharest Meeting and at the Meeting of 81 parties in Moscow, as well as later, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Why did Hua Kuo-feng and company make this mistake? They did it because their policy suffered defeat and created great confusion inside and outside China. We could not defend his internal activities, because we had many reasons not to support him and because we are still not clear about what is going on in China. China's stands in foreign policy weakened its positions. With the activities which the present leaders have car-

ried out, Mao has been attacked indirectly; meanwhile Teng, who had been rehabilitated once and overthrown again, was staging a comeback to regain the posts he had lost.

The problem emerged recently of «The Four», who were condemned on the basis of dirty personal allegations and not on a political and ideological basis. Now the Cultural Revolution is barely mentioned, it has been blacked out and in fact has been liquidated. From all these events, major doubts began to arise among the Marxist-Leninists of the world about the Communist Party of China. Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, who knew how to manoeuvre, died and China was plunged into chaos. **But why? Because its line has not been a correct Marxist-Leninist line. Two or more lines prevailed in the party, there were factions in struggle with one another, etc.**

In this situation the 7th Congress of our Party met and more than forty parties took part in it by sending delegations or telegrams of support. No doubt the Chinese considered this international solidarity a challenge and defeat for them, because many things were contrary to their theses. Our principled stand brought about that the authority of the Party of Labour of Albania in the international communist movement and in the world was raised. **Therefore, judging the situation to be difficult for them, the present Chinese leaders began their hostile, Trotskyite attack on our Party in an underhand way. They summoned representatives of Marxist-Leninist communist parties to Peking one by one, from Hill of Australia and Jurquet of France down to those of Latin America.** Meanwhile, through a terse note with no address and no signature, they told us that «the line and strategy of Mao Tsetung was attacked at the 7th Congress»! Naturally, we replied to the Chinese at greater length than what they wrote to us and asked them to explain where and how we allegedly attacked the strategy of Mao Tsetung.

In the standard material referred to, the Chinese revisionists distort the truth which exists in our materials and doc-

uments, such as in the letters which we sent them on the border problems with the Soviet Union, on their proposal about going to Moscow after the fall of Khrushchev, on Nixon's visit to Peking, Kosygin's meeting with Chou En-lai, etc. Copies of the letters sent to the Chinese exist. Unfortunately for them *«Verba volant, scripta manent»** These letters expose their slanders, deceptions, distortions and their aims and show why they have carried out these hostile, anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary actions. Duplicity is quite unable to conceal their aims. Not only were the opinions and actions of our Party in connection with the above-mentioned problems correct at that time, but life has proved that they are still correct today, and we believe that they will be correct tomorrow, too. Facts are stubborn, and they confirm our Marxist-Leninist theses. The demagogy which the Chinese revisionists use and the allegedly Leninist theoretical foundations on which they base these actions of theirs against socialist Albania are in vain, incapable of concealing their true features as revisionists and opportunists. Our contradictions with the Chinese revisionists are contradictions of principle; it is in vain for them to claim that our analyses are «weak», «unfounded», and that allegedly only they make an «objective» analysis of the international political situation.

The main issue for the Chinese is to convince people by whispering in their ears that the United States has been weakened economically and militarily, its internal and foreign debts have increased greatly, things have reached the point that other capitalist countries are investing in the United States of America and that country is no longer strong as it was before. This is a false, unfounded analysis and it is presented in an attempt to prove something which cannot be proved. They want to prove that allegedly the United States of America is no longer aggressive; that, according to the Chinese, it is merely trying to hang on to what it has gained; that it wants

* «The written word remains, the spoken word flies away» (Lat.).

to maintain the status quo, and therefore, for the world «the main enemy is Soviet revisionism which wants expansion». **This is one of the theses of the Chinese, and one of their main ones. They accuse us of allegedly not making a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and of the contradictions between the two superpowers, and that is why we do not follow the road of the Chinese of calling on «United Europe», the European Common Market and the world proletariat to unite against the Soviets. It emerges as their «conclusion» that we allegedly favour Soviet social-imperialism!** Not only is this a revisionist thesis dressed up as anti-revisionism, but it is also hostile and slanderous towards us.

American imperialism is aggressive, bellicose and warmongering, and no thesis opposed to this can stand against the facts. The Americans' bases, the Americans' credits, the great increase in their armaments, the pro-American cliques which have been established everywhere, prove that the American imperialists want not only the status que but also expansion, otherwise there is no reason why there should be such profound contradictions between them and the Soviet Union, while the Chinese claim the opposite. **«The Soviet Union wants war,» say the Chinese, «while the United States of America does not,» and they imply that the quotation from Mao: «The United States of America has become like a rat and the whole world is shouting in the streets 'kill the rat!',» shows this. This also shows the softness on the part of the Chinese and indirectly appeals to us to refrain from attacking a state like the United States of America, which has now been reduced to a rat.**

Can this strategy of Mao's be called Marxist?

The strategy of Mao Tsetung «based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis» has definitively determined that «the rivalry between the two superpowers lies in Europe». Astonishing! Why does it not lie at some weaker point of the world, too, where the Soviet Union is seeking expansion, as in Asia, Africa, Australia, or Latin America?! The tradition of the colonialists has been to move in at the weak points. And the imperialists launch their

predatory wars for hegemony, for new markets and for a new division of the world. Is the main rivalry not that between the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union? Then, according to the Chinese, these two superpowers, one of which wants the status quo and the other expansion, will reach the point of launching the war in Europe, as Hitler did in his time, because he wanted expansion. But in order to achieve this, he had to conquer France, Britain and the Soviet Union. For these reasons he began the war in Europe, and not elsewhere. **Stalin entered into alliance with Britain and the United States after Germany had attacked the Soviet Union and not before. But the Chinese take the tactic which Stalin was obliged to use in those conditions as an argument to say: Why should they not rely on the United States of America in this coming war?**

None of these things confirms the thesis of the Chinese on the alliances which they advocate; but they all confirm the opposite. When the Germany of William II attacked France and Britain, the 2nd International advocated «defence of the fatherland» (bourgeois) on the part of both the German socialists and the French socialists, although the war had an imperialist character from both sides. Everybody knows how this was condemned by Lenin and what he said against imperialist wars and about turning them into civil wars. **Today, when the Chinese make their pronouncement about the defence of «United Europe», they are doing precisely what the 2nd International did. They are inciting the future nuclear war which the two superpowers want to launch and, although this war between the two superpowers cannot be anything other than an imperialist war, they are appealing to the «patriotism» of the peoples of Western Europe, of its proletariat, to put aside «their minor issues» with the bourgeoisie (and these «minor issues» are oppression, hunger, strikes, killings, unemployment, the inviolability of the bourgeois state), and to unite with NATO, «United Europe», the European Common Market of the big**

bourgeoisie of the concerns and fight against the Soviet Union, to become cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie.

The 2nd International could have done no better in its propaganda!

But what does China advise the peoples of the Soviet Union and those of the other revisionist countries which take part in the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon to do? **Nothing! With its silence it says to them: «Keep quiet, fight and shed your blood for the bloodthirsty clique of the Kremlin»! Is this a Leninist stand?! No! This line of the Communist Party of China is anti-proletarian, warmongering.**

The Chinese are not for fighting on the two flanks, against both imperialist superpowers, to foil their plans of predatory war, and do not want anyone to work so that if war breaks out, it will be turned into a civil war, into a just war. This is precisely the Leninist teaching which we follow, and that is why the Chinese accuse us of having illusions about peace, and of carrying grist to the mill of the Soviets!!

The Chinese slander us, saying that we overrate the collaboration of the United States of America with the Soviet Union and underrate the contradictions between them. They say, likewise, that «the Albanians stress that the two superpowers, both the one and the other, are equally dangerous». The former charge is not true, while the latter statement is completely correct. Not only do we recognize and make a correct assessment of the contradictions which exist between the two superpowers but we struggle to make them deeper. In all our documents these problems are properly defined.

The Chinese do not have much to say about the fact that the two superpowers are in complete agreement in their opposition to socialism, communism and the peoples' liberation. The slanders and sophistry of the Chinese are unable to conceal the revisioning of Marxism-Leninism on their part, or to attack the correct line and stands of our Party. The Chinese declare openly that the Americans tell them: «Beware, because the Soviet Union

will attack you». This means: «You Chinese need have no fear of us Americans, because your alliance with the United States of America is on the right course». And on the basis of this instruction the Chinese pursue a policy of «genius»: «We must tell the Soviet Union to attack Europe, and indirectly we shall also weaken the United States of America and its allies, and thus we shall triumph»! Chinese tricks!

Another important question: In order to camouflage their incitement of the future imperialist war, and to defend their thesis of «United Europe», the Chinese are trying to refute Lenin's clear opinion in connection with «United Europe» which we cited at the 7th Congress of our Party. They claim that in basing themselves on Lenin to refute the thesis about «United Europe» the Albanians are «beating the air because Lenin expressed this opposition to a European federation between Russia, Austria, and Britain which were imperialist». And they add, «We (the Chinese) are referring to the union of the countries of Western Europe». This means that to the Chinese, the capitalist countries of Western Europe are not reactionary! However, these «united states of Europe» themselves are saying everyday that if they unite, they cannot fail to comprise an imperialist entity. Which are these states? They are precisely the ones about which the Chinese say, «They have become so powerful that they are even investing in the United States of America»!

In the relations of the Communist Party of China with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world everything is deception and demagogy. The Chinese do not maintain sincere relations with these parties. They maintain relations with their lackeys only, those who are obedient to them in their anti-Marxist principles. To the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world they make it quite clear that neither internationalist aid nor proletarian internationalism exist. From this anti-Marxist basic idea derive all their theories about the «bilateral meetings», which they «want» merely to brainwash the other parties that oppose them. The Chinese avoid multi-party meet-

ings because, they allege, instead of strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement, such meetings split this unity and increase the disagreements. Absurd! Anti-Marxist! With this line they are against the unity of the international movement of the proletariat.

The Chinese do not invite delegations to their congresses and do not send delegations to the congresses of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. **The reasons which they give for this stand of theirs are likewise absurd! The truth is that with all these things, they want to hide the decay of their line, the lack of Leninism in all aspects of the work of their party, and so they do not want to have other parties at these meetings to judge them. The bilateral meetings serve them only to gain information, and the Foreign Directory of their Central Committee is nothing but a kitchen of the intelligence service.** For the Chinese, each party should be left to struggle in its own way, and they do not fail to «illustrate» this idea with some «Marxist» quotation, but at the same time they do not fail to tell other parties: «Work as we tell you».

The Chinese recognize any party or group which calls itself «Marxist-Leninist» or better Maoist. This means to divide the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, to create confusion, factions, to weaken the internationalist Marxist-Leninist unity, and the headquarters of the revolution.

«Diplomatic support,» say the Chinese, -supports the revolution.» This is how it ought to be. But it has not been and is not so with the Chinese. We have told them in the past, «You should have diplomatic relations with the states of the world and should not remain isolated», but they opposed our view and confronted us with «the question of Taiwan», laying down the condition that first People's China must be recognized by the various states and then they could establish diplomatic relations. We fought for China in the UNO, until it was admitted. But the Chinese leaders did not want this admission, because Chou En-lai publicly expressed his desire to form another UNO of his own. We were against this idea, but today they are saying

no more about these activities which they carried out yesterday. We suggested to them that they should break off diplomatic relations with the Suharto government of Indonesia which humiliated China as a state, but they did not do this. Nor can their diplomacy with Pinochet and Franco be justified! Then why do they not establish diplomatic relations with Israel, too? Because it is an aggressor? But what is Pinochet when he suppresses and kills the proletarians, the communists, the progressives and the freedom-loving Chilean people?

«The Party of Labour of Albania is not in agreement with us when we concentrate our fire on the Soviet Union,» say the Chinese. **This is a slander. We are against their stand, because they do not concentrate the same fire against the United States of America, too. We are for the fire to be concentrated just as strongly against the United States of America as it is against the Soviet Union.** Why do the Chinese leaders never admit openly that the Soviet Union could attack China, too, as they claim about Western Europe? But the Chinese say only: «The Soviet Union will attack Europe». Why do they feel themselves so secure on their Eastern borders? We have the right to ask this question and to raise this problem for discussion.

When the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America concentrate their fire against the United States of America, they do this also against the ruling cliques of generals within their own countries and against the revisionist Soviet Union, but China does not! **It sees only one enemy, but does not want to see the two of them.** Hence the strategy of China is based neither on reality nor on the Marxist-Leninist principles.

We have condemned the cult of the individual and condemn it to this day about anybody at all. On this question we follow the view of Marx, and for this reason amongst us, in our leadership, there is Marxist-Leninist unity, affection, sincerity, Marxist-Leninist respect towards comrades on the basis of the work which each does and his loyalty to the principles of the Party. Amongst us there is no *idolâtrie**. Above all we speak

* French in the original.

about the Party, while we speak about Enver only as much as the interests of the Party and country require, and when from the base and the masses there has been some excess in this direction, the Central Committee, the leadership of the Party and I personally, as much as I can and to the extent that they have listened to me about it, have always taken and always will take measures to proceed on the right course.

It is not necessary to dwell on the slanders and accusations made against our Party by the Communist Party of China alleging that «we united with the line of Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence», etc. The entire struggle of our Party, all its documents and writings prove the opposite of the Chinese accusations, while the line of the Communist Party of China has been identical with that of the Khrushchevites. Why did this party of the Chinese make zigzags in line? This has its own reasons, which I have explained in other notes.

In regard to the theory of «three worlds», we analysed it at the Congress and consider it, as we have stated, a fictitious, non-class, non-Marxist division. Mao's thesis and the efforts of the Chinese to analyse this appellation allegedly from the theoretical angle, by mentioning an analysis of Lenin, without giving the reference, cannot achieve their aim. Lenin made analyses of the international situation after the First World War and later, but he wrote that there are two worlds: «the capitalist world and our socialist world». The Chinese say: «Since the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries betrayed and turned into capitalist countries, the socialist system has disappeared»! No, the socialist system has not disappeared, it exists and is advancing in the genuine socialist countries which remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, such as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. But even if no socialist state were left, Lenin's thesis remains unshakeable. Even in this case, two worlds would be created through struggle, through revolution, hence they would exist.

We and all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties have

made and make analyses of international situations in the light of Lenin's analyses and theory. Both during the time of the war and after the war we have studied the international situation deeply. At each of our congresses we have analysed the ratio of forces in the world, because it is essential to do this, otherwise one is groping in the dark. That party, that socialist or non-socialist state which does not make its analyses of international situations blunders to disaster. **But to divide the world into several worlds, to attach Arabic or Roman numerals to them, to integrate yourself into one of them, and to seek to impose this imaginary division on others, is unacceptable.** How can a socialist country identify itself with the «third world», that is, with countries where exploiting classes and oppression prevail, and line up with the kings and the shahs, as the Chinese themselves admit, when it can aid and support the peoples of these countries without including itself in this «world» and without dividing the world into three? Our view is neither one-sided nor two-sided, as the Chinese accuse us, but is Leninist and corresponds to the reality. With our class analysis of the situation and our correct class stand we assist the peoples, the proletariat, the genuine freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples, first of all, and specifically do not assist the states in which the kings, the shahs and reactionary cliques are dominant. We assist those peoples and those democratic states which truly want to liberate themselves from the yoke of the superpowers. We stress that such a task cannot be carried out properly in the class way if the shahs, the kings, and the international concerns are not combated. The Chinese are wrong to conceive the struggle in this way and think that they are solving this complicated class problem by identifying themselves with this imaginary world which has neither head nor tail, but which must be considered a grouping of states with different regimes and policies. Not all these states are pro the liberation struggle, against the «second world» or the «first», and neither are they all pro the struggle against American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, as the Chinese claim.

The trend of the peoples of the world is towards the struggle for liberation, for revolution, for socialism. But all the cliques of those states of the «third world» cannot be lumped together for this course. China places itself in the «third world» just as Tito places himself in the «non-aligned world», and both of them are competing to sell the most «entry tickets» to their particular worlds.

Our view, in the analysis we make, is based on the class division of the world which Lenin made. This analysis does not hinder us from fighting against the two superpowers and assisting all the peoples and the states which are demanding liberation and which have contradictions with the two superpowers. We can even help some monarch or prince if the situation and the interests of the people of that country require it, but to conceal the principles of a socialist regime, to conceal its class nature, to conceal and distort Marxism-Leninism and the ideological and political norms of the party of the proletariat, this is anti-Marxist, deception and hypocrisy. The Party of Labour of Albania has never done and never will do such a thing, because it would be an unpardonable crime towards its own people, towards other peoples, the international proletariat and the world revolution.

SUNDAY
JANUARY 16, 1977

WHY THESE VARIATIONS IN THE CHINESE STRATEGY?

I am jotting down some thoughts in these notes in connection with some of the baseless, Trotskyite criticisms which the Communist Party of China is making against the Party of Labour of Albania behind its back at meetings with comrades of some Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world. The Chinese summon these people to Peking or to their embassies in different countries of the world, and deal with the problems of international policy and of the international communist movement according to their own strategy and tactic. On some of these problems they are in flagrant opposition to the strategy and line of our Party.

But today I shall deal with the question which the Chinese leaders raise that, allegedly, when we say that one imperialism must not be relied on to fight the other imperialism, this is an anti-Chinese view.

The Chinese revisionists claim that every Marxist-Leninist party must faithfully follow the different variants of their strategy. **At the 8th Congress the aim of the strategy of the Communist Party of China was to unite all the forces that could be united, and under the leadership of the Soviet Union, to guide them into fierce and ceaseless struggle against American imperialism.**

Later, at the 9th Congress, the Communist Party of China changed its strategy. According to this strategy it was necessary to fight with all our strength simultaneously against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as the most rabid

enemies of the peoples. At this congress it was also said that we must fight in such a way as to bury both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

At the 10th Congress this strategy changed again, and from the struggle on both flanks it went over to the struggle on one flank. Soviet social-imperialism was considered the greatest enemy of mankind, while American imperialism was reduced to second rank. Hence, as we can see, a different strategy emerges from each congress, while the strategy of our Party does not change, our line is: there are two main enemies of the peoples, socialism and communism — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism with all their allies, the reactionary big bourgeoisie.

Hence, our conclusion that we cannot rely on one imperialism to fight the other imperialism, is the consequence of the unwavering strategy of the Party of Labour of Albania. The Chinese call this unwavering and stable strategy on the Marxist-Leninist road of our Party an anti-Chinese strategy! But why do they call it an anti-Chinese strategy? This has an aspect of the truth: the Chinese rely on American imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism.

I think that the reliance of the Chinese on American imperialism is no fiction. With the meeting of Chou En-lai, and later of Mao with Kissinger, with Nixon, with Schlesinger, and the whole lot of specialized groups of the Senate, of big financiers, and of the heavy industry of the United States, it is confirmed that this reliance is real.

Naturally, when they began their talks, both sides made concessions to each other. The objective of American imperialism is to have China on its side so that it does not go over to the side of the Soviet Union. China, of course, has its own aims, wants to become a superpower, and to balance the other two superpowers. However, for this it needs time, it needs means, it needs modern weapons, and as it now turns out, the Communist Party of China has chosen the course of relying on American imperialism.

Has China received aid from the United States of America? We have no facts, but we think it has received aid. We base this on what the American newspapers write, on the speeches of President Ford, on the allusions of Kissinger and on the official support for China on the part of Kissinger who said in a speech that if China was attacked by another power, then the balance in international relations would undergo a great change which would have important consequences. This is approximately what Kissinger said. Moreover, the United States of America supplied China with ten «Boeing» aircraft while still not having established diplomatic relations with it, but having only an American liaison office in China, and China a similar office in Washington. Through these liaison offices, that is, under this umbrella, countless announced and unannounced delegations have been and are being exchanged. However, it is not just a matter of «Boeings», because after all, an aircraft can be considered a commodity which the United States of America sells to the whole world. From Ford's speeches to the Senate it seems that China has also bought computers from the United States of America. Apart from other things, these computers, important and complex apparatuses, serve to control powerful radar systems and the firing of anti-aircraft missiles. This has given rise to a commotion and a polemic in the United States of America, but in fact we hear that after the purchase of this computer, or these computers, China began to step up its extraction of oil, because such apparatuses are highly perfected and are useful both for peace and war industry.

Of course, there was also the fear that this action might upset the balance, and for this reason, as we have read in the papers, the United States of America offered such computers to the Soviet Union, too. The Chinese might have received other important military patents from the Americans, and I believe they will get them in the future, too. That is why I say that the reliance of the Chinese on the United States of America is not a fictitious reliance, but real.

But why does the United States of America supply such

things to China? Of course, it has its own strategic aims. The United States of America wants China to be armed, but to be armed for attack against the Soviet Union and not the United States of America. This means it will carefully consider what armaments to give China. The armaments, patents or models of armaments which the United States of America supplies will help China defend itself from an eventual Soviet attack. Thus, the Americans do not exclude the possibility of a clash between China and the Soviet Union, indeed they desire such a thing; that is why they are helping China with armaments and fanning up the fury of Soviet imperialism.

The Americans are also aiming at another thing: if China is armed and confronts Soviet social-imperialism as a relatively strong power, then the United States of America thinks that the Soviet Union will have to withdraw forces from Europe to deploy them on the long border with China. On the other hand, by acting in this way, the United States of America will encourage its way of life and thinking among the Chinese people, as it has done in other countries, because such substantial aid from the Americans, naturally, will win sympathy among the Chinese leadership and an old friendship will be revived in the Chinese army, too. The American way of life and thinking will not fail to penetrate amongst the people, too. Therefore, in China the United States of America not only finds a big market for getting rid of its goods and for acquiring Chinese raw materials, but armaments will figure first of all amongst those goods which it will export, because the United States of America, like the Soviet Union, has become one of the biggest suppliers of arms to other countries.

The Americans are well acquainted with the mentality of the Chinese people and the Chinese leaders. The Confucian views, going back more than two thousand years ago, have deep roots in the consciousness of the Chinese people while the period of the construction of socialism (such as this socialism is being built in China) is a very short period. Confucian views exist not only among the people but also among the Chinese

leadership which has not been purged of remnants, because we see, and the facts show this clearly, that there are a series of factions in the Chinese leadership; we see that various conspiracies are got together, organized and disorganized for the overthrow of one and the other; murders are arranged and many other activities which, unfortunately, resemble the old Chinese mentality. To a certain degree these remnants are still fostered to this day when China has been proclaimed a People's Republic.

The United States of America studies all these matters in detail. The interests of American imperialism in the zone of the Pacific, in Japan, Korea, China, Vietnam, India and elsewhere, have been exceptionally big. Therefore the American sinologists have worked and have analysed every situation systematically, they have studied the political trends and opinions amongst the people and the leaders and have dealt with the problems in such a way that they will be solved or begin to be solved in the interest of the Americans.

Hence, the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, with the report that Chou En-lai delivered there, turned the strategy of China towards reliance on the United States of America, and this not in a fictitious way, but in a real and concrete way. China is greatly interested in strengthening itself within a given period and Chou En-lai defined this period at the 10th Congress by declaring that by the year 2000 China would become a «great socialist power». Naturally, according to the views of the Chou En-lai group, this «great socialist power» would be built up with the internal forces of China, but also with the aid of one superpower, and according to the views and tendencies of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, that superpower would be American imperialism. These two could also have chosen the Soviet Union, but to Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai this was out of the question, because the alliance with the Soviet Union did not give them what they had hoped. Thus, the turn was made towards the United States of America. The turn in this direction was determined for military reasons too,

which the Chinese do not mention, but have in mind, and here stands the falsity of their propaganda which explains their strategy: the Soviet Union is first of all a powerful land force. The attack which could have a certain effect on China will be, first of all, the attack which will be made from the borders of the Soviet Union, which is heavily armed with conventional weapons and also powerfully armed with modern weapons, with atomic bombs, not to mention the navy, which has been so enlarged and strengthened as to frighten American imperialism and its allies, the British, the Japanese, etc. The strategy of the Soviet revisionists is to dominate the world, to dominate the seas, and oppress the peoples.

Hence, China has judged that an eventual attack is more likely to come from the Soviet Union than from American imperialism. The latter has always understood this situation because in the two former world wars, being protected by the oceans, the fleets and weapons it possessed and its economic power, it has incited the others to fight, to kill and destroy one another, so that in the end it could profit from the blood shed by foreigners. Thus, American imperialism has always encouraged others to fight so that it might gain. This is what it is doing today with China — it is assisting China to strengthen itself and fight against the Soviet Union. The United States of America might even assist China during the war, but still it will be the blood of the Chinese and Soviet peoples that is shed, the war might be turned into a world war, as the two former ones were, and the United States of America might come in

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at the closing stages, after the others have suffered very great losses and achieved Pyrrhic victories.

For its part, China is following the strategy of getting the most out of American imperialism, of not declaring war on the Soviet Union, and of pursuing such a policy that China will be considered the world arbiter to settle the problems. In this direction the Chinese view is based on the idea of the great state, on the size of the Chinese continent and the big Chinese population. Naturally, this policy is also based on the economic

strength and military build-up which China intends to create during this period, therefore it will not be surprising if Hua Kuo-feng, provided he remains in power, or whoever replaces him, recommends a «quiet and gentle» policy with the two superpowers. That is, China will avoid worsening its relations with the Soviet Union, have good relations with the United States of America, improve its relations with the Soviet Union later, and thus get aid from both of them, in order to develop its economic and military power in peace. It is a fact that at present there is a chaotic political, economic and organizational situation in China, which must be put in order or otherwise China will always remain weak and at the mercy of the great powers.

China has to strengthen its economy, because at present the Chinese economy does not seem to be strong. It has colossal mineral wealth, but this wealth must be extracted, enriched and processed. China is weak in regard to armaments, too. It does have a number of atomic bombs, but as the American specialists and those of Western Europe say, it will take China about twenty years to be able to match the existing level of armaments of the Soviet Union.

In this situation, therefore, **it is possible that we shall witness a new turn in the policy of the Communist Party of China,** I mean to say, a new strategy, different from the former ones, different **from the early strategy**: struggle under the leadership of the Soviet Union against American imperialism; different **from the strategy**: struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism simultaneously; and different **from the strategy**: in unity with American imperialism struggle against the Soviet Union. It is possible that the Chinese **will arrive at a new strategy: peace on the two flanks, friendship with the Soviet Union, friendship with the United States of America.** As it now appears, China wants to follow such a strategy and might achieve it.

Naturally, we will never follow China on this course, even if we have to remain alone; but we think that these variations

of the Chinese strategy will not raise its prestige in the world. The peoples and progressive mankind throughout the world will understand that the Party of Labour of Albania, a small Party, has a consistently correct and stable Marxist-Leninist policy, and that Marxism-Leninism is an unerring theory.

TUESDAY
JANUARY 25, 1977

THE «THEORY» OF THE «THIRD WORLD» IGNORES THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The theses that «the third world is the greatest and most powerful force which drives the revolution forward», etc., are anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary theses presented by Mao Tsetung and his Chinese disciples (all so-called Marxists). These theses drawn from «a Marxist-Leninist study of the world situation and its evolution», are a serious restraint on the world revolution and the national revolutions. China and its leader, Mao, who have gained a reputation for what they are not in fact, call themselves members of the «third world» and with this they aim to weaken the class struggle on a national and international scale even further.

Which are these states of the «third world»? Up to date, no «list» of them has been announced, and of course, it is impossible to do such a thing. Mao and his adherents say only that they are those states which do not take part in either the «first world» or the «second world». It is easy for him to define the «first world», it is comprised of the United States of America and the Soviet Union; the «second world» is comprised of the «developed states», but there is no mention of which these states are and why they are such, and the rest make up the «third world». This division, without any scientific, theoretical, or class basis, seems ridiculous!! And so it is in fact. The whole «theoretical» argument for this division is that the «third world» has aspirations to be liberated from social-imperialism and imperialism. This thesis can never be Marxist-Leninist.

Only those who forget that the world is divided into capitalists and proletarians can accept it as such, those who do not accept that the gulf, the division, between these two classes is being developed and deepened everyday through the class struggle, those who are no longer with the oppressed against the oppressors, those who do not promote this class struggle between the capitalists and the proletariat.

«The nations want freedom, the peoples want revolution,» etc., says Mao. This is true, but against whom must the peoples fight? He does not tell us this completely. «Against the Soviet Union which is the main enemy, and against the United States of America in the second place,» says Mao. But shouldn't these peoples fight against the internal capitalist oppressors? Mao does not mention this struggle because, according to him, it must be non-existent since he lumps the oppressed and their oppressors together.

Mao formulates his thesis of the «third world» in an anti-Marxist way and places himself in it in order to dominate it. He forgets the cliques of shahs, of monarchs, of fascist generals, the cliques of sheiks and emirs, and all the castes of India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc., who rule the peoples savagely and are so closely linked with the imperialist and social-imperialist powers! If China ignores these close links, their aim and development, then its leaders are anti-Marxist. And this is what they are in fact.

How is it possible to confound the Marxist-Leninists, the countries and peoples who aspire to liberate themselves from bondage to national and international capital, with their oppressors, the ruling capitalist cliques?! How can there be any advance to liberation and revolution if the distinction is not made and the struggle not waged between oppressors and oppressed, between exploiters and exploited?! With his theory of «three worlds» Mao Tsetung not only does not make this distinction, but fights precisely to extinguish the class struggle, to ensure that it does not exist on the national and international level.

From anti-Leninist positions, Mao Tsetung's China incites

the struggle against the Soviet Union, and softens the struggle against the United States of America. This policy is utterly anti-Marxist, it incites imperialist world war, instead of weakening and smashing it, because all the suffering, the bloodshed, the misery, fall on the peoples. **China is inciting predatory wars and restraining just revolutionary wars.**

The Chinese leadership and Mao do not want to see that the cliques in power in the majority of the countries of the «third world» are dependent on the technology, the modern armaments and the credits of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This dependence, especially that on the United States of America, the Chinese revisionists call «progress»!

According to them, imperialist America arms and finances the shahs as well as the generals of Latin America so that «they can make their countries and peoples independent»! What a «beautiful» concept this is of independence, what a «beautiful», «correct», «Marxist-Leninist» concept of imperialism!! Mao Tsetung and his adherents have spread and supported such concepts.

«Mao Tsetung thought» is a counterrevolutionary, strike-breaking factor which has undertaken and is acting to split the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement, which emerged and consolidated itself in the struggle against Khrushchevite modern revisionism and other revisionist parties. The contradictions between the Khrushchevites and the Maoists are not over principles. They both are anti-Marxist, revisionist trends. The contradictions which flow from these views are based on the rivalry of two imperialist great powers, the one already formed, the other building up.

We must expose the Maoists just as we exposed the Khrushchevite revisionists.

WEDNESDAY
FEBRUARY 2, 1977

«GEMS» FROM THE CHINESE PRESS

The Chinese press is writing astonishing things in its regular feature on the struggle of «The Four» against Chou En-lai.

On January 27, «Renmin Ribao» wrote, «When the black hand of The Four was extended to the city of Paotin (in Hopei province) peace was disturbed there for a while, divisions were caused and armed clashes took place».

The army newspaper on January 23 also accuses «The Four» of having «violated the right of free speech, of forcibly suppressing the activity of the revolutionary masses, preventing the people from exercising their democratic rights and freedoms, carrying out espionage from the centre to the base», etc., etc. It writes that «The Four» sabotaged the line of Mao of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend».

On January 24, 1977, this same newspaper accuses «The Four» of «having sabotaged the liberation of Taiwan after the Sino-American Shanghai Communique created favourable conditions for its liberation», and says that «Chang Chun-chiao did not permit the training of cadres from Taiwan».

Amongst other things this article says, «Hua Kuo-feng takes great care of the brothers of Taiwan; he personally organized the amnesty of all the war criminals who were in prison, freed all the American and Chiang Kai-shek spies who were in prison, as well as the personnel of the Kuomintang party and government of district and brigade rank». According

to this newspaper this measure «profoundly educated the people of Taiwan and had a major influence, both inside and outside the country

The main Chinese newspapers are admitting such revisionist «gems»! These things are being done by the Chinese press, which, naturally defends those who have usurped power, and unwittingly makes very clear what a reactionary state power has now been established in China, and from these «facts», one can come to the conclusion that «The Four» must have been on the right road.

To Chou En-lai and Hua Kuo-feng and company, to combat Mao Tsetung's revisionist idea of «a hundred flowers» and «a hundred schools» would mean that you were an anti-Marxist. And on all these issues and in all these accusations which are now being raised against «The Four» it is fair to ask: What was Mao doing? Why did he not intervene to put these «deviators» from his «infallible Marxist-Leninist» line in their place?! Did Mao not see that they were acting? Did he not read in the newspapers all these «monstrosities» which «The Four» were perpetrating? Did not his «closest comrade», as Chou En-lai now turns out to be, who «fought tooth and nail» against «The Four», report to him on all those things that were being done?

Very mysterious, surprising and contradictory things are emerging. But if you inquire, if you go deeply into these problems, it emerges that Mao Tsetung was a revisionist, a liberal, who allowed anybody to do what he liked at China's expense. The motto of «a hundred flowers» and «a hundred schools» confirms this. «Overthrow one another if you like,» he instructed «but don't kill yourselves. Afterwards, I, 'the great helmsman', am with him who triumphs.» This is the main idea. As for Chou, he was and was not with Mao. If he had been completely with Mao they should have «fought together tooth and nail» against «The Four» and liquidated them. However, Chou did not have Mao's full approval, and this was not because Mao saw the problem correctly. Chou worked under the lap and

awaited the death of the «Chairman». All these things are true and there is no way to conceal them. In all this there was no Marxist-Leninist ideology, but, as I have pointed out in other notes in this diary, struggle was waged there for personal power and there were intrigues, plots and putsches, one after another.

MONDAY
FEBRUARY 7, 1977

THEY SOWED THE WIND AND NOW THEY ARE REAPING THE WHIRLWIND!

According to information which reaches us, the Chinese, not only in Peking but also in their embassy in Paris, **have summoned representatives of the (Marxist-Leninist) Communist parties of Colombia and Argentina and have even offered them money in bribes** with the aim that they should persuade their parties to retreat their adherence to the Joint Statement of eight Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin-American countries which came out as a result of the meeting they held in November 1976. The comrades of these two parties were scandalized by such unscrupulous, hostile and villainous acts of the Chinese. They categorically refused their offers and declined to engage in such hostile and disgraceful actions. Naturally, other comrades from Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Europe heard about these actions of the Chinese and were scandalized.

One feels truly sorry for the fraternal Chinese people and the genuine Chinese Marxist-Leninist comrades When one sees into what noisome swamps, into what filth and disaster, the Chinese revisionists who seized power are leading China. But the boil must be lanced to get rid of the pus, hence the Chinese people must look for the source of this evil infection which has them by the throat and is choking the life out of them and must mobilize their forces to rid their body of this plague.

Likewise, all the genuine Marxist-Leninists in the world must see what sort of false «Marxism-Leninism» has been developed in China by a series of leaders who disguised them-

selves behind the Marxist theory in order to hide their right opportunism, revisionism, and their links with the bourgeoisie internally and in the world at large.

Once he died, the mask was torn from Mao, who was the main actor in this tragedy. He entered into history as a «great Marxist-Leninist» and as long as he was alive, managed to deceive peoples, parties and individuals, but in the end, his performance as a «merited» actor in the distortion of Marxism-Leninism, was revealed. **The facts about his life, the development of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of China, determined by Mao personally, and the present situation in China are confirming the theses of the Party of Labour of Albania which long ago, in the 60's, had detected the first signs of this ideological degeneration, a degeneration which developed gradually, just as our suspicions developed gradually and became more precise.**

Our 7th Congress hurt the Chinese revisionists badly, therefore they acted like madmen. The Chinese revisionists acted outside, first of all against the indomitable enemy of modern revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania, just as they acted within China, through the coup d'état, which they carried out with Hua Kuo-feng at the head, **but they ran their heads against the wall and ended up battered and bleeding! They sowed the wind and now they are reaping the whirlwind! The Chinese revisionists thought they could frighten us, they believed that with that great body of theirs they would smother us, or isolate us, believed that «the cult of those who were dead» would play the same role as when they were alive.**

However, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai were cunning, both of them manoeuvred, knew all the dodges, all the political tricks, **whereas the titular head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of China, Hua Kuo-feng, thought that the laws of his secret police would be able to replace the revolutionary theory of Marx and Lenin. But here he broke his head.**

On many key problems, such as the anti-Marxist decisions

about the alteration of the strategy of the Communist Party of China several times, the anti-Marxist stands adopted on not replying to the letters of the Party of Labour of Albania, on not sending delegations of the Communist Party of China to the congresses of the other Marxist-Leninist communist parties, and on this party not inviting the other parties to its congresses, on their opposition to meetings of the representatives of many Marxist-Leninist parties, on the question of the division of the world into «three worlds», on the alliance with the United States of America, and many other problems, Mao and Chou acted, but did not make issues of these things, did not impose them openly on those who did not swallow them. **They used subtle tactics, while the «friends» who came after them, having neither the brains nor the skill of those who died, resorted to bullocking methods and use of the stick, saying, «Everything that China has done and is doing, everything that Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai have said and done is sacred, therefore all must fall on their knees before them!»** And here they did themselves in the eye.

The contacts of the Communist Party of China with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world are made at present by a certain Keng Piao, a rabid anti-Marxist. No one calls him to account. He develops the content and form of contacts with other parties, both ideologically and organizationally, from anti-Marxist positions, from the revisionist positions of the Chinese leadership, from the positions of the great state and the big party. For our part we have not maintained and do not maintain any contact with this very dubious person and his directory, which is nothing but a «wasps' nest».

We became acquainted with Keng Piao long ago, when for a short time, he was the ambassador of China to Tirana, and since he left here he became director of the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. After our 7th Congress, the lethargy in the relations between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania came to an end, and this agent, Keng Piao, raised to

a matter of principle the non-participation of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties in the congress of another party, raised to a matter of principle the question that representatives from many parties should not meet. For him only «bilateral meetings» are «legal», because in such meetings he can intrigue, slander, corrupt and threaten those with whom he talks and can sell them «soap for cheese».

This nondescript director wants to impose the state policy of China on everybody. This secret agent is said to have delivered a speech to the military cadres, in which he said: «In view of the Soviet danger, the American presence in the Far East, Japan and the Philippines is necessary, and the question of Taiwan is a secondary matter; certain 'headstrong revolutionaries' do not understand the strategy of China which demands that NATO, the 'United Europe' and the European Common Market which are threatened by the Soviet Union, must be supported». Couldn't this Keng Piao, who speaks like a counsel for the defence of American imperialism, even be an agent of American imperialism?

In any case, he is a sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism, of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state, an enemy of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world. Under the leadership of Hua Kuo-feng, Keng Piao is elaborating and putting into practice with every means the struggle against the Marxist-Leninist ideology throughout the world, the struggle against the principles of proletarian internationalism, and against the unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the world proletariat which are fighting against the two superpowers, against oligarchies and against world capitalism.

The Communist Party of China, with these individuals at the head, has set out on the road of disruption and the creation of «parties» and «groups», which are guided by the opportunist, revisionist, eclectic ideas of Mao Tsetung. More and more each day, these new revisionists will be exposed, will sink more deeply into the mire from which they can never

emerge, except as a third social-imperialist power, and the party of Mao will assume the colour, the features and the ideological content of the «Communist» Party of the Soviet Union, of the Khrushchevites, and will pursue its own strategic aims.

SATURDAY
FEBRUARY 12, 1977

«HEAVENLY» ARGUMENTS!

We lived to hear even this!! In order to unmask «The Four», the Chinese newspaper «Renmin Ribao», organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, writes amongst other things that «even the gods are angry with the treachery of the 'gang of four'».

Apparently, «Mao has gone and been received in an audience by the gods» (as he had said to Edgar Snow) to whom he complained about his wife Chiang Ching and her comrades!! Not even the most conservative reactionary bourgeoisie uses such asinine things to expose its enemies.

The current Chinese leaders are not only anti-Marxists, but they have lost any measure of common sense. **It seems, they are in great trouble because nobody believes their «material» arguments against «The Four», so now they have begun to use «heavenly» arguments!**

MONDAY
FEBRUARY 14, 1977

THE CHARLATAN «ADVOCATE» OF THE ROTTEN CHINESE LINE

This time, another obedient soldier has joined the revisionist line of the Communist Party of China. This is Kazimierz Michal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Poland. Following Hill of Australia and Jurquet of France, another renegade from Marxism-Leninism has come out to attack the Marxist-Leninist theses of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. He sends us his criticisms in writing, in a letter, allegedly as decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland with which he has not had any contact for seven or eight months. The letter purports to come from Warsaw, but Michal has not had any contact with Warsaw either. All this phoney stage management to give importance to his revisionist «theses», to show that allegedly he is a man of principle who leads collectively, is intended to show us that the criticisms addressed to the Party of Labour of Albania are from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland and not at all from the Chinese, whispered in his ear in Peking and later, after our 7th Congress, by the Chinese ambassador in Tirana.

The Polish revisionist Michal has become a lackey of the Chinese. On the problems over which he attacks us and many other theses, he was and had proclaimed himself pro our theses and against the Communist Party of China. This is documented in minutes. Now he has changed his colours. Why on earth? Because he was not only a disguised revisionist, but possibly also an agent sent to us in the dramatic forms we know about. We welcomed him, made sacrifices for him, and did everything

in our power when he was here to ensure that he felt himself at home.

We had no contradictions with him over political and ideological opinions and gave him only one piece of advice: that contacts should be established outside Poland with some comrades sent from the CC of the Communist Party of Poland, because these contacts could not be made through our embassy.

At first, Michal did not speak with sympathy about China, but neither did he speak against it. Gradually he deepened his criticism and he was opposed to a series of Chinese theses and condemned them. Once when he went to China, they totally ignored him there, therefore he came back from Peking furious and spoke against the Chinese. Fair enough, up to this point everything was normal. Nothing gave us cause to doubt him.

However, after several dubious actions on his part, Michal began to criticize the decisions and actions of our Party through revisionist theses. This made us even more vigilant. We replied to his criticisms and he seemed to be disturbed. Then things went even further, until he sent us the letter referred to against our 7th Congress and pro the Chinese revisionist line. That is to say, when he saw that we had contradictions with the Chinese, Michal turned over the page.

Can it be (and this is just a supposition) that Michal is in the service of the Soviets, sent to Albania with definite aims? In the situation created between us and the Chinese leaders, could he not have been set the task of winning the trust of the latter for other interests? This is an «important task» which the Polish and Soviet espionage agencies might have set Michal, who after our Congress, began the open attack against us. The Chinese are happy with this mangy goat that has come into their fold.

But let us now come to the letter which this lackey of the Chinese revisionists sent our Party.

Kazimierz Michal criticizes us over two questions which he calls «political and ideological mistakes», «unfortunate anti-Leninist and anti-Stalinist mistakes», because they are not in

accord with «Mao Tsetung thought». Distorting the ideas and actions of Lenin and Stalin, he attacks both of them, attacks the Party of Labour of Albania, and elevates Mao and his revisionist ideas with allegedly theoretical formulas, but which, in reality, are the banal reasoning of the capitalist propaganda and of the fabricated propaganda which has not a shred of Marxist-Leninist ideology in it, which the Chinese have concocted as «crutches» to support their revisionist ideas.

What are the points in which Kazimierz Michal is in opposition to us? They are two:

1) over the «third world»;

2) over the issue which he champions that there are not two main enemies to the peoples of the world, but only one, always one.

The theses of our Congress are well-known, therefore I shall not dwell on them, but shall comment briefly on the revisionist «gems» of this renegade, this charlatan «advocate» of the rotten Chinese line.

1) He has no way to conceal that the «third world» is «Mao's thesis», although he says that «it is Teng Hsiao-ping who declared it openly at the UNO». But this thesis has to be backed up with ideological arguments. No such reasoning exists, publicly at least, either from Mao or from Teng. Then, the «advocate» Michal intervenes to defend it, and he makes this defence, «basing himself on Lenin». However, **Lenin did not divide the world into three or into four. Lenin did speak about groups of states, but when he speaks about the world he mentions only two, the capitalist world and our world of socialism.** Our Party has defended this Marxist thesis at its congresses and did so again recently at its 7th Congress.

But how does the «advocate» Michal defend the «infallible» thesis of Mao about «three worlds»? He makes a «Marxist-Leninist» interpretation of Mao's theory of «three worlds», saying that if it is analysed, this means «groups, types of states». Hence the «worlds» have become «types of states»; the «third world» is allegedly «a group, a type of states», and according

to the «advocate», everything has been explained politically, ideologically, from the class angle and every angle, «therefore everything in this division proceeds from the class basis». Thus, according to him, «at its Congress the Party of Labour of Albania was wrong».

In order to illustrate Mao's revisionist and counterrevolutionary thesis, the «advocate» says that «the level of development of capitalism in the various states of the world, their economic dependence etc., on a world scale, make them opposed to the hegemony of superpowers», etc. But this thesis does not prove the thesis of «three worlds».

These capitalist «groups of states», with different levels of development, remain capitalist states and reserves of one or the other imperialism. These capitalist «groups of states» have contradictions with the imperialist powers and within themselves, and these contradictions must be worked on to deepen them with the objective that the revolution and the cause of peoples' liberation from internal and external capital should take advantage of them. This is the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the Party of Labour of Albania, while the «advocate» Michal tries to explain the Maoist thesis of the «three worlds». And after performing this «sleight of hand», to be on the safe side, the «advocate» is careful to say that these «types of states», which Mao calls «worlds», are headed by monarchs, feudal lords, etc. There are progressive and other elements in them and the situation in these states is complicated, says the «advocate». It seems that possibly the «great helmsman» made a «third world», in which he placed himself together with China, in order to make it less complicated. That is why Mao, the shah of Iran, the king of Saudi Arabia, the fascist Pinochet in Chile, the fascist junta in Brazil, etc., are hand-in-hand doing the «third world» dance. Further on in this letter the «advocate» admits that «these states of the third world are linked with the neo-colonialist system», etc.

In regard to the formulation which we make of our thesis, and which the Congress report explains well, and

likewise about the problems of states, the contradictions, etc., the «advocate» wants «to prove» that this is a «general formulation when it says that these are bourgeois, capitalist states». But if they are not such, what are they? This the «advocate» does not tell us. He merely wants to put Albania in the «third world» (because China is certainly in it). Hence, according to him, «we should place ourselves in the 'third world', because we are developing states». This is the «theoretical» and «class» definition which the «great helmsman» and his Polish «advocate» make of the «third world»! According to them, this is allegedly a class definition, seen through the eye of the class, from the angle of the interests of the class and the proletarian revolution! This is a view of revisionist renegades, agents of the world and the national capitalist bourgeoisie.

To cap all, these traitors say that the division of states into «worlds» did not worry either the Comintern or Stalin. But why should it worry them? Both for Lenin and the Comintern, there were states and groups of states, but for them there were only two worlds and not three.

The «advocate» says that Lenin divided the bourgeois-capitalist states into five groups. Lenin's analysis is correct, but he did not describe the groups of states as «five worlds», and did not place the Soviet Union in these groups; he continued to say that there are two worlds, which are the capitalist world and the socialist world.

What dirty distortions! After he makes these distortions, in order to disguise them and be on the safe side, the «advocate» says: «When speaking of the need for support for the revolutionary movement of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which Mao calls the 'third world' (thus he puts Mao beside Lenin to convince us that Mao thinks like Lenin!!), from the international communist movement, Lenin did not do this to support the states, but to support the internal revolutionary movements of these states», etc. What does the «advocate» prove with this? The opposite of what he wants to defend, because with what he says he proves that Mao does not defend

the revolutionary movements within these states, either in theory or in practice, but defends the states which oppress the proletariat and the revolution.

The other revisionist culmination is reached when the bankrupt «advocate» Kazimierz Michal says that «we must not entangle the relations of the international workers' movement, including those of socialist states, with the revolutionary movement which is developing in the more or less developed capitalist states», etc. But what is Mao doing?

According to him, these two movements should not be allies, should not be confused with, or guide each other. In other words, one should hit the nail, the other the horseshoe, it is enough that they are confounded in the «third world», enough that they defend the Maoist theses, the alliance with capital and American imperialism, against the social-imperialist Soviet Union.

In the end, to be on the safe side, the «advocate» rounds it all off by saying that «these different movements must not be confounded with the international relations between states». In order to convince us that Mao's «third world» is based on «class views», he says that the «third world» is not an abstraction, because it is made up of a hundred states. Thus he has also defined their number, but in fact he has made an abstraction about all the class contradictions and about the struggle which is going on in these states of the «third world» against the internal capitalist class and world monopoly capital.

The head of the «advocate» Michal, who tries to pose as a «Leninist theoretician», has been stuffed with counterrevolutionary views. He deforms the formulations and quotations of Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern, and gives only half of them without source references. Nevertheless, even distorted in this way, still they do not prove his and Mao's theses which are revisionist. Mao is consistent in his revisionist views, while the Pole is like a revisionist who has been stranded «stark naked» in the street and is trying to find a shelter where he can hide his head full of rubbish.

In the defence he makes of Mao's revisionist theses about the division into «three worlds» he hesitates, tries to find the version of «types of states», tries to refute our theses by distorting the formulations of Lenin who, when analysing the international situation at that time, divided the bourgeois-capitalist states into five groups, but Kazimierz Michal is striving in vain because he gets nowhere and is unable to refute any detail of the Leninist theses of our Congress.

Just like a lawyer who, after asking the criminal whom he has undertaken to defend, and formulating the theses that he will present to the court, the «advocate» Michal went to the Chinese ambassador in Tirana to ask which questions Hua Kuo-feng wanted to defend before the Party of Labour of Albania and the international communist movement. And this he did. He defended Maoist modern revisionism, attacked the Party of Labour of Albania and the international communist movement, defended the theses of capital, of American imperialism, and of the revisionist Soviet Union. Major renegades, such as Tito, Khrushchev and Mao, and later minor ones like Michal, Hill and Jurquet, will certainly emerge at the turning points of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. But all these renegades, of whatever ilk, will be exposed and discredited and will end up, as all their predecessors have done, in the rubbish bin of history.

This is the essence of the first criticism which the Pole, Michal, makes of one of the theses of the 7th Congress and the reasoning he presents.

2) His second criticism is about our theses: «The two superpowers constitute the same danger». According to him, «this is a truth of an abstract character», and to make it concrete, he does not fail to adopt the theses of our 7th Congress, which explain the international situation and the various contesting forces in a great reality and with Marxist-Leninist theoretical conclusions.

The «advocate» of the Chinese revisionists, the revisionist Michal, uses the same methods, the same tactics, the same

distortions, the same tricks and that same «self-assurance of a theoretician» which he used on the first point. But here he has «bitten off more than he can chew». The Pole wants to find reasons to prove precisely that revisionist thesis which even the Chinese, themselves, have not yet begun to defend openly, as he does, because this would be their undoing.

The Chinese say that «the main enemy is the Soviet Union while the United States of America comes in second place». This thesis is anti-Marxist. They base their entire ideology and policy on this definition and every action of theirs in the international arena flows from this. But, in order to disguise themselves in the face of our Marxist-Leninist line, in the face of the international communist movement and world opinion, the Chinese do not fail to say, from time to time, «We have two main enemies — the Soviet Union and the United States of America».

The Pole, Michal, is becoming -more Catholic than the Pope». He is like that frog of the fable which wanted to be as big as an ox and, to this end, blew its sides out and out until it burst. And the Pole, Michal, in order to defend a reactionary revisionist thesis, blew himself up until he burst, and revealed all his inner rottenness and that of the Chinese at the same time.

How does Michal try to refute our thesis? Quite simply: «A country cannot have two enemies, but only one — one external and one internal. On the continental scale, too, there is one main enemy, and not two»!

The Pole posed the problem in order to defend the Chinese thesis that «the main enemy is Soviet social-imperialism», because «it is richer economically, more heavily armed, more dynamic, and less exposed»! (All reasons prepared and sent to him by Keng Piao).

However, Michal bears in mind that the Chinese strategy changes with each congress. The 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China brought out that «the main enemy is the United States of America, hence we must unite with the Soviet Union

against the Americans», whereas now the United States of America has allegedly become less dangerous! It will come as no surprise if, when the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China is held it may decide that the main enemy is not the Soviet Union but the United States of America, or might declare that the two offer no danger!

Thus the Pole explains these *volte-faces* with the «argument» that «life does not stand still», that is, according to him, the communist parties must change their strategy every seven years, because «today the Soviet Union is the main enemy, and the others are its running dogs», tomorrow «the United States of America becomes the main enemy and the others turn into its running dogs». To put a false luster on his idea, which is revisionist, Michal allegedly takes this «argument» from Lenin.

Proceeding from these revisionist theses, Michal reasons like a Polish nationalist and not at all as an internationalist. He says: «For the Communist Party of Poland there is one external enemy, the Soviet Union and one internal enemy, Gierek. In order to fight these two, the Communist Party of Poland must unite even with the blackest reaction». (A thesis sent by Keng Piao.) Thus, since Michal can unite with the blackest reaction (the Vatican), why does he not unite with Gierek, too, because he does not like the Soviets, either. But the time will come when he unites even with Gierek!

But who is the main enemy for the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) according to Michal? He does not say this but thinks: «the Soviet Union». It is of no concern to this Maoist «dialectician» that West Germany is languishing under the revanchists of Bonn and oppressed by the United States of America, at the same time, while simultaneously, East Germany is oppressed by the revisionist gang of Honnecker and the Soviet Union.

But what about the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) which has two internal enemies on top of the United States of America — against whom should it fight, according to

Michal? He does not say this, either, but thinks: «against the Soviet Union».

How clearly, how simply, how «theoretically» this renegade settles these matters!!

From this point he wants to get to another question, namely that we Albanians are wrong when we say: «We must not rely on one imperialism to fight the other». According to this lackey of the Americans, we can rely on the United States of America and its running dogs to fight the main enemy — the Soviet Union.

Michal says that the thesis of our Congress closes the door to «compromises», «alliances», either internally or abroad. In order to demonstrate this absurdity, he distorts Lenin and Stalin, deforms history! He takes the peace of Brest-Litovsk as an example, and calls this «a compromise of Lenin's with Germany». The Peace of Brest-Litovsk was not an unprincipled compromise, as Michal interprets it, but a peace which was imposed on Lenin by the need to save the Soviet Republic. By means of this peace, Lenin, who created the first state of the proletarians, got this state out of the predatory imperialist war and defended the revolution. This action was correct and contrary to the aim of the nobles and the Kerenskys, who shoulder to shoulder with the Anglo-French imperialists, wanted to continue the war of overthrown Czarist Russia and to strangle the revolution. This renegade goes even further, using the «history of the sealed railway carriage» to illustrate how far Lenin went in his compromise with the Kaiser's Germany. In this way this renegade tries to throw mud at Lenin and the October Revolution by alleging that they were assisted by the German Empire.

Likewise, Michal does not fail to mention the «Soviet-German non-aggression pact», which Stalin made, and the alliance concluded between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain against Nazism. Stalin acted correctly and made no unprincipled compromise either with Hitler or with Anglo-American imperialism. When the war

was at the threshold of the Soviet Union, when Hitler had gobbled up Austria and Czechoslovakia, when Chamberlain signed the Munich treaty to urge Hitler towards the Soviet Union, Stalin appealed to the Western «democracies» for an anti-fascist alliance, but they turned a deaf ear. Then, in order to gain time, he signed the non-aggression pact, and not an alliance, with Nazi Germany.

After he gives his «arguments», presenting the «compromises», the Polish renegade asks and supplies the answer himself: «Can it be said that with these Lenin and Stalin betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the revolution? In no way». This kind of «argument» is a Trotskyite provocation.

Hence the Polish renegade says that the Marxist-Leninists can make alliances and compromises at any time and in any situation «even with the devil» to defeat another devil! All this serves him to defend the Maoists' friendship with the Americans, because «there cannot be two enemies at the same time, but only one main one, hence you can rely on the one to fight the other». If the thesis of this revisionist renegade is correct, then, to be consistent, he has to admit that Gierek's unity with the Soviet Union is in order and correct, too. This «great theoretician» is against stereotypes, but in fact, in order to demonstrate his revisionist theses, he simply distorts history and treats these distortions as stereotypes to get Mao and China out of the mire.

The Pole, Michal, completely shut away and isolated from revolutionary life, sees the world and politics through the eyes of someone dazzled by the sun, who is guided by the «Voice of Free Europe», «Radio Warsaw», and «Radio Moscow». Fed up with the rubbish in Hsinhua, he is concocting allegedly Marxist-Leninist theoretical ideas in order to refute these two theses of our 7th Congress, because he says «he is in agreement with every other thesis of the 7th Congress of the PLA». The demagogue remains a demagogue and covers these criticisms with exaggerated eulogies of the Party of Labour of Albania, myself, and so on.

What credit can we give to his saying that the other theses of the Party of Labour of Albania are correct, when up till yesterday, he defended even those which he now criticizes, as very correct? We have not altered anything in the strategy of our Party and that is why it has scored successes. **The Maoists took China into the mire of opportunism and that is why these things are occurring there. The revisionist Michal wants us to plunge into this mire, too, as he has done. No, such a thing will never occur if we implement Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninist norms and the class struggle precisely, as we have implemented them up till now. The Party of Labour of Albania does not waver from this course.**

The analyses which our Party has made of the internal and external situations are Marxist-Leninist, that is why it has come to correct conclusions, that is why it has fought properly to deepen the contradictions between the enemies of the revolution and the peoples' liberation, and that is why our Party does not judge situations and the enemies narrowly, only from the national standpoint, but as a party guided by the overall interests of the proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism. In their attacks upon us, neither Mao, the Communist Party of China, nor their advocates, mention the proletarian revolution, proletarian internationalism, or the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world. If they involve themselves in these vital problems of the revolution, then they will certainly lose even those few feathers they have been left with.

The Maoists and their revisionist advocates do not want this polemic and are struggling to avoid it. **The Marxist-Leninist polemic has always terrified the revisionists, both the Khrushchevites and the Maoists.** In their recent letter in which they attack us, the Maoist revisionists say explicitly: «We shall not reply to you because we do not want to enter into polemics».

We did not engage in polemics but merely expressed our opinions openly. The Chinese and their advocates wanted us

to refrain from speaking about our opinions while the Maoists were to express their opinions and we were to give them silent recognition as universal truths. Very clever!!

«Why did you raise these issues openly?» the «advocate» Michal reproaches us, and pretends he doesn't know. However, he knows very well that we have pointed out these issues of principle on which we are opposed to them in letters to the Communist Party of China, and have tried for three years on end to send a Party delegation to discuss them, but Mao, personally, and Chou did not agree to this. Now this «advocate» of a rotten cause proposes to us, «we should hold a multi-party meeting to iron out these contradictions», when he knows very well that China is against such meetings and is also against bilateral meetings with us, while with other parties such as those of Michal, Jurquet and Hill, which it has as its lackeys and into whose ears it pours all sorts of absurdities, China holds bilateral meetings.

In other words, Maoist China is doing everything in its power to hang on to its undeserved prestige in the international communist movement, without doing anything in the interest of this movement, or doing the opposite of what it should. It wants and is struggling to impose itself as the leader of the peoples' liberation struggle and hence of the «third world», trying to present Mao and his successors as if they have made a realistic analysis of the world «in movement, in revolution», and have issued the most suitable prescriptions that everyone, the peoples, revolutionaries, communists, Marxist-Leninist communist parties, «types of states» of the «two worlds», together with the United States of America, of the «first world», should follow China to fight Soviet social-imperialism, «the main enemy of mankind.»

All these renegades have taken upon themselves to cause a new split in the revolution and the Marxist-Leninist movement, which has revived and is growing stronger. The Michals, Jurquets and Hills and company are the Giereks, Zhivkovs, Gomulkas, Sharkeys, Marchaises, of a new variant of revisionism

on whom the heavy artillery must be turned to expose, defeat, and liquidate them.

With those who are unclear, the Party of Labour of Albania must show great patience in explaining things to them, and will do so, because we must not underestimate the myth and the cult of Mao in the world as a «great Marxist-Leninist». On the other hand, such advocates as Michal arc not included among those who are unclear, but are clear and dangerous renegades, hence the fire must be concentrated against them, to destroy them like rats!

VLORA, SATURDAY
MARCH 5, 1977

CHINA IS AIMING TO BECOME A SUPERPOWER

For us there is no doubt at all that China is in alliance with the United States of America. It seems that there is a secret agreement between these two countries on their joint struggle against Soviet social-imperialism. **Hence China, which has built its strategy, or to put it better, which has altered its strategy, has taken no account of the interests of the world revolution and the peoples' liberation, but has reckoned only to strengthen itself as a great social-imperialist state.** In this framework, these two states aim to achieve the weakening of Soviet social-imperialism. This policy of China is expressed in its efforts to ensure that all the communists, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the national liberation movements in the world should consider Soviet social-imperialism, not only from the strategic aspect, but also from the tactical aspect, the main enemy, or the only enemy, which must be fought at all costs.

China has received and is receiving aid from the United States of America and from other capitalist countries of the world, both from those of Europe and from Japan. Especially now, at the start, this aid is military aid. The United States of America in the first place has supplied China with powerful computers and will supply it with more later. However, the Soviet question is restraining the United Slates of America in its pro-Chinese course, because the Americans do not want the Soviets to become antagonistic in their attitude towards the United States of America. **This means that American im-**

perialism wants to have in hand «both the stick and the carrot». It has not cut off the carrot to the Soviet Union, but has given it large credits. It is known that these large credits are not granted to the Soviet Union with no strings attached by American imperialism. With these credits it has certain definite aims and first of all that the Soviet Union should not be aggressive against the United Stales of America. This does not mean that there are no contradictions between Soviet social-imperialism and American imperialism. No, there are big contradictions between them, indeed major ones, which we must exploit. But we cannot say that agreements and understanding between these two superpowers do not exist. This is the phase of the division of the world, the division of markets. Hence there is bitter contest in the relations between them, but there is also agreement, because otherwise there is no sense in all this great aid which the United States of America and all the other capitalist states are giving the Soviet Union, states which, as China says, are under the daily threat of a sudden, lightning attack by the Soviet army.

As the Chinese themselves say, the Soviet Union is keeping about a million soldiers on the border with China. To keep a million Soviet soldiers on the border with China means to weaken the European front, which China considers the most dangerous front in case of some attack by the Soviets.

The Communist Party of China wants all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the peoples of the world to adopt its strategy, the author of which is Mao Tsetung. This is similar to what Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites did when they sought to impose on us the theoretical, political, economic and military theses of their 20th Congress etc., for the strengthening of Soviet social-imperialism. Now China, too, is doing the same thing in an anti-Marxist way and for non-revolutionary aims, for its own interests as a great state. It is precisely for such aims that it seeks to impose on the Marxist-

Leninists of the world a new strategy which obviously cannot be called a revolutionary strategy.

When it decided to give China credits in armaments, in industry and other directions, the United States of America calculated not only the great financial profits in this, but also major political gains, because China, with its weight and influence, carries on propaganda in favour of American imperialism, presenting it as a non-aggressive power. In this way China is bringing about that the peoples, who are suffering under the economic and military domination of American imperialism are blind to this oppression, or accept it in the face of another great danger. However, this other great danger is no smaller than that with which the peoples of different continents are already saddled. It is for this reason, too, that American imperialism is financing China and will finance it in the future. **As long as China carries on in support of the imperialist and hegemonic policy of the United States of America, as long as China exacerbates its own conflict with the Soviet Union, and in this direction the United States of America is trying to deepen the contradictions between China and the Soviet Union, the aid of American imperialism serves to fuel the flames of these contradictions.** It is for this reason that we say that the war that may be waged in Europe, could also be waged in Asia, because war is the offspring of imperialism and social-imperialism. Soviet social-imperialism is a power which is inciting war, which is preparing for war, just like the United States of America which likewise is preparing for war.

China has become entangled in the activities of these two superpowers in order to attain the objectives it has set itself to become a superpower, too. Naturally, its efforts to incite a third world war result from this and no one knows where this war will break out. With this course that China has taken it will break out in Europe or in China. In any case the United States of America will use others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

If China were a genuine socialist country, guided by the

Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and carried out a revolutionary policy, then it would fight on the two flanks, against the two imperialist states, but in fact it is proceeding on the opposite course. With the alliance which it is forming with the United States of America, China is courting war between itself and the Soviet Union, between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Why do I say this? Because we can judge that, at present it is the two superpowers which are fighting for hegemonic positions in the world, fighting for markets, to absorb the wealth of other peoples, but on this course on which China has set out, it too will not fail to become a third partner in these aims and this policy.

As Marxist-Leninists, we must not follow the counterrevolutionary and anti-Marxist course of China, but must follow our own Marxist-Leninist revolutionary course. By fighting for this course, we have defended Marxism-Leninism and its purity, have defended the interests of our people, the interests of other peoples, their liberation, and have tried to undermine the imperialist atomic war which may burst out amongst these three partners that are fighting for hegemony while relying on one another. The support of these states for one another is always to the detriment of the world revolution, the socialist countries and the peoples' liberation.

As Marxist-Leninists, we are against predatory, imperialist wars, whether launched by the Soviet social-imperialists, the United States of America, or China, which is transforming itself into a social-imperialist great power. Therefore, as Marxist-Leninists, we shall struggle against these predatory wars, because such wars are always to the detriment of the lofty interests of the peoples, their liberation, independence and self-determination, to the detriment of the triumph of the revolution and socialism in the world. Therefore, being against predatory wars we are against aggressive powers, against those who aspire to become superpowers, we are with the peoples, whom we must encourage to struggle to stop the wars and if this main objective cannot be achieved, then they must turn them into liberation

wars. The alliance of the Marxist-Leninists with the democrats and progressive patriots of each country today, is based on their unity against the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers. There is no other course, no other strategy.

China divides the world into three and wipes out any class difference, internally and externally, because it has deviated from the struggle of the popular masses against oppression and exploitation, because the present Chinese strategy confounds the aims of the state with the interests of the masses of the people oppressed and exploited by this state of the reactionary bourgeoisie. For China, only states which support its policy and strategy exist, and this policy and strategy consist of the struggle against a single enemy, Soviet social-imperialism, and the cessation of the struggle against the United States of America. This means that China is preaching social peace simply so that this social peace serves its strategy, which is intended to strengthen the dominant positions of China in the so-called third world, and to protect the United States of America from the blows which the peoples may strike at it, either directly or indirectly, by striking at the capitalist groups in power in the states of the so-called third world which are closely linked with American imperialism. Meanwhile, China is totally disinterested in the states which are under the domination of the Soviet Union; it has lumped the peoples of these countries together with the modern revisionist and capitalist groups which are in complete unity and jointly oppress these peoples. This means that China does not make any differentiation, overlooks the interests of these peoples, either of the former countries of people's democracy or of other capitalist states which are under Soviet influence. China identifies these countries with the state power of the bourgeoisie and the hegemonic line of the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Hence, this division of the world which the Chinese make, has as its purpose to quell the struggle of the popular masses to shake off the yoke of local and foreign capital. **This cannot be a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, since it ignores the**

revolutionary struggle of the working masses against oppressing capital and since China does not defend the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggles.

Let us take an example — Burma. China should have diplomatic relations with the Burma of U Ne Win, but not in these very narrow forms as it is acting. It considers its relations with Burma everlasting, extremely close, while on the other hand, as is known, there is a movement of people's national liberation forces in Burma led by the Communist Party of Burma, which is fighting with its forces in the jungles and the mountains in extremely difficult conditions against the oppressive reactionary forces of U Ne Win. He launches attacks and kills the communists and patriots. The general secretary of the Communist Party of Burma, personally, fell in these battles. But is it right and Marxist-Leninist, that, during this time, China should exalt its links with the Burma of Ne Win and send on a friendly visit precisely to this Ne Win, the wife of Chou En-lai who throws bouquets at this executioner of the Burmese people? You see, this is how China conceives these relations with the capitalist states and how it underrates its relations and the aid which it ought to give the peoples who are fighting against reactionary cliques which oppress and exploit them to the bone.

Therefore, for China, the «third world» is alliance with the governments and states of this so-called third world, and not alliance and friendship with the peoples of these countries. China does not support the aspirations of these peoples in any way, aspirations which are in open opposition and struggle against their leaderships, because these leaderships are capitalism in power.

Not even the slightest defence can be seen in the Chinese press or the Chinese radio of the peoples' national liberation movements, not a word is said or written about the powerful demonstrations of the proletariat in all the capitalist countries, there is no mention of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in those countries. Yes, such propaganda has disappeared

from the pages of the Chinese press. **This stand supports its strategy in order to let the capitalist states and American imperialism know that China has ceased its revolutionary struggle and its aid to the peoples who are fighting for liberation.** On the other hand, China's deception and demagogy lies in the fact that it poses precisely as if it is revolutionary, as if it assists the revolutionaries and the Marxist-Leninist parties, a thing which is utterly untrue. In fact, China assists only those elements and those so-called Marxist-Leninist groups that sing paeans of praise to its counterrevolutionary policy and strategy. In these conditions, then, in no way can it be said that the political and ideological line of the Communist Party of China is correct, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist. It has entered a blind alley, an anti-revolutionary course. **Therefore, with our propaganda and stands, we must emphasize the genuine Marxist-Leninist line which consists of powerful defence of peoples' national liberation movements, of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and of all the progressive democrats who are fighting against oppression by local capital and cosmopolitan capital.**

China appears to support the countries of the «third world». **Its support is for the positions of the governing circles of these states, including those which are linked with American imperialism and of all the bourgeois-capitalist states which oppose Soviet social-imperialism. But, not being in revolutionary positions, failing to fight in the interest of the peoples, China does not take a single step forward, on the contrary, it is taking steps backwards.**

VLORA, MONDAY
MARCH 7, 1977

THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP HAS LOST ITS POLITICAL BEARINGS

The international situation is full of events, struggle is going on all over the world amongst various states, between the two superpowers — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, while the contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalist bourgeoisie are becoming deeper. The communists are taking part actively in the class struggle which the proletariat and the other exploited masses are waging to win their political and economic rights. The Marxist-Leninist parties, wherever they have been created, are fighting against the two superpowers, against oppressive capital in their countries and against modern revisionism everywhere in the world.

In this situation nothing at all is being heard about what China is doing and what actions it is taking to strengthen the positions of the revolution, to intensify the class struggle of the world proletariat and the peoples' liberation struggle. **We can say without reserve that it is not undertaking any action. But why? Because the present leadership of the Communist Party of China is not in genuinely revolutionary positions, but in very opportunist positions and has lost its political bearings.** The opportunism which has infected it causes it to have an unstable and uncertain line, prevents it from taking even the slightest step forward, because it comes into contradiction with itself, with its own working class, and with the aspirations of the whole Chinese people. The actions which the present Chinese leadership took within the country were counterrevolutionary

actions. They were not taken on the party road, therefore they have caused it complications from which the way out is not easy to find. Hence the Chinese leadership finds itself in a state of internal political instability, and from this stems its external political instability or inactivity.

Internally, China is in chaos: people do not readily accept either the views or the actions of the new leadership, which is not capable of running China so that, at least, it proceeds on the course which Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai had set. Even though the course of those two leaders was not Marxist-Leninist, but a pragmatic, opportunist course, in the international arena, the great authority of China continued to play a role, although not a first-rate role, of course. At present China is not playing an active role in the arena of international policy, and does not enjoy the authority it should have. No one listens to it, because it has nothing to say; it does not take part in the political activities which are going on in the world, and indeed, even the current political activities within the country are unimportant. Nowadays, some Korean trade delegation, some deputy-minister, some delegation of Yugoslav journalists goes there, and travels all over China. Even in the main Peking newspapers, you will see nothing but stale propaganda against «The Four», and the great attention which is devoted to the delegation of Yugoslav journalists and Yugoslav policy.

The Chinese press is following the policy of Titoite Yugoslavia with the greatest care, publicizing and highlighting it. Likewise, it is highlighting the policy of Rumania. At present, following the earthquake in Rumania, you find only such terms as the «heroic Rumanian people» here and the «heroic people» there, etc., in the newspaper «Renmin Ribao». It is true that the Rumanian people have suffered a great disaster, and our humanitarian communist feelings were profoundly moved by this, but the policy of our Party towards the Rumanian revisionist state and the Rumanian revisionist leadership does not alter in the least. The Rumanian revisionist leadership appealed for aid

around the world and we see that from the United States of America to London, they are sending from fifty to a hundred thousand dollars in aid, which is quite ludicrous. Such «aid» became so ludicrous, that the Rumanian leadership was obliged to send a statement to the International Red Cross in Geneva that it would not accept further aid from abroad, apart from what had been sent already. And why should they accept it? The amounts sent as charity to Rumania are a mockery.

This is the state to which China has been reduced in its policy. But the stands of the current Chinese leaders are astounding and always have been astounding. On the occasion of the 8th of March, our ambassador in Peking informs us that the person in charge of the Chinese women's organization, (which may or may not exist as an organization although it seems the person in charge exists as far as I know) together with the wife of Chou En-lai, gave a reception for the wives of ambassadors accredited to Peking. At this reception, in a demonstrative manner, they took the wife of our ambassador, put her at the main table, and the two sat on either side of her in order to show the women of the diplomatic corps that their relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are more than good.

What does this show? This shows the instability and two-faced stand of the present Chinese leadership, which, on the one hand makes such demonstrations, and on the other sticks the knife into us. This means that wherever it can, it splits or tries to split the leaderships of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, which are in a difficult situation because they are not convinced about what the Chinese tell them, but still hesitate to maintain an open stand against the Chinese revisionist line. Then some of them turn to us, seeking to clear up certain views which exist in the international communist movement and which are not in accord, especially between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. We tell them: Come by all means, we are ready to discuss these matters, although at our 7th Congress all the political and ideological problems

were put forward in a manner clear to all. We have a line, a viewpoint, which we have expressed openly, and not just at the 7th Congress, but while this Congress made a proper analysis of the situations which are developing in the world, its report and decisions are deductions from the whole of the correct line, the Marxist-Leninist strategy and Marxist-Leninist tactics of our Party which serve this strategy.

It seems to us that the stands the present Chinese leaders are maintaining are the basis of that unstable anti-Marxist policy of the new leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng.

When one reviews the Chinese press, in regard to the political stands of the party and the state in China, one will find only one theme: the struggle against Soviet revisionism, or better, the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, that is, the pursuit of a state policy only; hence they hammer away in one direction. Thus the Chinese newspapers are filled with reports from different agencies which speak about political and ideological stands which reflect the demands of states, the struggle between states, the various meetings which are held in the world, etc. This means that the policy of China and the Chinese press has an orientation to gather from the four corners of the world those reports of the different agencies which speak about a situation which suits the Chinese taste and views and which bring grist to the mill of the policy of China. This policy is against Soviet social-imperialism and pro the United States of America, pro the unity of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie of all kinds of states, in struggle against Soviet social-imperialism.

This means that China does not have a policy of its own. In the Chinese newspapers, you do not see a leading article in which the political views of the Chinese government are expressed, let alone those of the party, which you do not see at all. In them you will see only reports of foreign agencies which give a clear idea of what policy China is following. This is done with the aim that when it comes to the question of saying that «You China, have had such and such a policy», it

can say: «I have not had such a policy, I simply repeat news items which seem to me important». Thus you will not find formulations of its policy in any newspaper, or in any speech of the main leaders of China. **You will find only two problems in the newspapers: the struggle against «The Four» and the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism.**

We must unmask Soviet social-imperialism continuously, as we have done, but at the same time, we have unmasked and will unmask American imperialism, too.

VLORA, WEDNESDAY
MARCH 9, 1977

THE CHINESE OPPORTUNISTS WANT THE COMMUNIST WORLD TO SING TO THEIR GLORY

Stands which do not surprise us. The news agencies carry the statement of the presidents of Peru and Argentina about Latin-American integration. It is evident that this statement is the line of the dictators of the states of Latin America which is based on American imperialism. But this is not the problem. I am referring to the fact that China, too, is publicizing this statement through the press. This means that China is ready to publicize and inform Chinese and world opinion about every action of the reactionaries, while it made no mention at all of the statement of eight Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Latin American countries.

This event of importance in the international communist movement made no impression on China, or to put it better, was not to its advantage, because it is ready to publish not just a simple news item but whole articles, when this is to its advantage. It acted in this way with the decisions which the «Marxist-Leninist Communist» Party of Australia took after the report and resolutions of the Central Committee of that so-called Marxist-Leninist party. The Chairman of that party, Hill, also sent a letter to the Communist Party of China in which he praises Hua Kuo-feng as a wise and able man, praises «Mao Tsetung thought», which, according to him, is the same as Marxism-Leninism, condemns «The Four», and defends the «third world» according to the theory of Mao Tsetung. The Communist Party of China publishes this letter of Hill's on the front page of «Renmin Ribao».

Such a stand requires no explanation. To us it is clear that the Communist Party of China speaks only about those parties and groups which follow it, which curry favour with its leadership and praise it, and makes no mention at all, not only of the activity, but even of the existence of other Marxist-Leninist parties and their actions, as for example, the statement of eight parties of Latin-American countries, which also speaks in support of China and of Mao Tsetung. But this statement is not to the liking of the Chinese.

The «famous» Keng Piao, who is engaged in international matters in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, once told our ambassador in Peking: «We do not want the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties to come to China, but we can do nothing about it, because we cannot throw them out, hence we would prefer them not to come at all, because they are a hindrance to us». Thus, those parties which assist their work, the present Chinese leaders acclaim; the others, who hinder their work, they denigrate. However, this stand merely unmasks their aims and stands.

The Chinese have taken an anti-Marxist road and are trying to justify it. Therefore their efforts consist of unrestrained, baseless propaganda, devoid of Marxist-Leninist logic, let alone Marxist-Leninist inspiration. The Chinese want to force all the Marxist-Leninist parties to take their side, notwithstanding that their theses are wrong.

They carried out a putsch and overthrew four members of the Political Bureau. This is an internal matter of theirs. However, without the slightest Marxist-Leninist logic, they want the others to praise their theses and actions, to propagate and exalt them, to describe them as correct and as the Marxist-Leninist truth.

The other matter is a disgrace. A certain Hua Kuo-feng, a person little known up till now, headed this putsch. **The Chinese demand that the whole communist world should sing to the glory of this person and support the building-up of his cult,**

which the Chinese propaganda is doing in a scandalous way. These actions are not Marxist-Leninist, therefore, for us Albanian communists, the course which the Communist Party of China has taken with these actions, whether in regard to foreign policy or in regard to internal policy, is not a Marxist-Leninist course. When our judgement of matters really led us to believe that we had to defend the CP of China, we defended it. Thus, our Party was the first which defended the Cultural Revolution, and defended Mao Tsetung, too, but we not only did not exalt him as the Cultural Revolution did, but also did not accept the cult of Mao Tsetung. Moreover, we were astonished at such activity, although Mao Tsetung was no Hua Kuo-feng, but a leader recognized both inside and outside the country. **In these events our Party maintained the stand it had to maintain, and this it based on facts. We supported the Cultural Revolution, not because the Chinese wanted us to defend it, but because we considered it reasonable that China should be defended at those very dangerous moments for it, when Mao Tsetung himself told us it was in danger.**

But now we cannot in any way defend the wrong theoretical and political theses of the present leadership, nor can we exalt such personalities as Hua Kuo-feng, Keng Piao, or a certain Li Hsien-nien, who has not shifted from power throughout his whole life, has shown himself to be a true chameleon and has always maintained non-Marxist and unfriendly stands towards our Party and our socialist state. Towards us he has maintained an arrogant attitude from the position of the man of the great state. He wanted us to kowtow to their ideas because they accorded us a credit, which the Chinese were duty-bound to accord as internationalist aid to a fraternal socialist state. But we never bent the knee to these people with anti-Marxist views and attitudes. We could even have done without the aid of these anti-Marxist elements, but we have always thought that the aid which China accorded us was aid we deserved and on the internationalist road, which one socialist state accords another socialist state such as our country, which had fought

and was fighting for the revolution and international communism, which was fighting encircled by capitalist and revisionist states that threatened its freedom and independence.

However, we have a great deal to say even about this aid, because from the time that Teng Hsiao-ping came to power, that is, when he was rehabilitated, not only was it reduced, but we see that now the Chinese are creating difficulties for us in the construction of enterprises which have been supplied to us on credits from China.

VLORA, MONDAY
MARCH 14, 1977

CHINA DEFENDS ITS OWN OPPORTUNIST THESIS OF THE «THIRD WORLD»

The Chinese theory about the «third world», which has not the slightest shred of class content, and makes no specific distinction between states, is putting up a desperate and stubborn defence of this «world». In a Hsinhua item, transmitted from Peking on the 3rd March, they say that the «non-capitalist road» which the Soviet Union advocates for the countries of the «third world» is a trap. This road truly is a trap, but why it is a trap and how this trap should be combated, this the Chinese propaganda does not explain.

The Soviet Union, and not it alone but also the United States of America, which China does not mention, are trying with all the strength and means at their disposal to infiltrate into the states of the so-called third world, to establish their influence, neo-colonialism, in them and to exploit those countries and peoples in the interests of Moscow and Washington. To this end, the Soviet Union has found the propaganda course according to which the countries of the so-called third world have to utilize the state enterprises which must become the basis that will take these countries on the road to «socialism». According to this item of Hsinhua, the Soviet Union is investing and building to this end, sending there old factories newly painted up. There is no doubt that this is going on, but the question arises: Under whose direction are these state enterprises? Are they under the direction of the people or under that of the bourgeois-capitalist cliques of these countries? Of course, they are under the direction of capitalist cliques. Hence

the Soviet Union and the United States of America are assisting precisely these bourgeois-capitalist cliques, which are taking advantage of the aid of the two superpowers to preserve and strengthen their power at the expense of the people. This is clear to all, except the Chinese. To them, this is not clear.

The principled class struggle which the proletariat, the peasantry, the oppressed people and progressive elements of these countries must wage is not clear to the Chinese. Against whom should the struggle be aimed? Of course, against American imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism, and against the internal enemy, which is precisely the bourgeoisie with its apparatus of oppression, with its state, the gendarmerie, the army, its police, which has been oppressing these peoples for centuries.

China does not touch this aspect of the problem (and this is the capital one) but has undertaken to carry on only a propaganda policy with no solid content or foundation, against Soviet social-imperialism. But in order to fight Soviet social-imperialism and American imperialism, which are tightening their stranglehold on these peoples, naturally their struggle must be assisted by directing the class struggle of the peoples against the forces of darkness and oppression. However, this cannot be done according to the «classification» which Mao Tsetung has invented about the «third world». **This struggle cannot be waged if this «theory» is not liquidated, if these states are not seen as they are and with the composition they have, with those contradictions which exist within them, antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, and if work is not done to deepen the antagonistic contradictions and to take the side of the peoples who are fighting for liberation. This is precisely the course that our Party defends, and we think that this is the Marxist course. Whereas China does not defend this; it defends a course which is not Marxist-Leninist;** it defends an utterly wrong course, one which serves American imperialism and which disguises itself with allegedly Marxist-Leninist slogans.

VLORA, TUESDAY
MARCH 22, 1977

THE THEORY OF «THREE WORLDS» IS AGAINST THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The Chinese have activized all their forces in defence of the theory of «three worlds». In this direction they have set in motion a number of «Marxist-Leninist communist» parties, which are trying to demonstrate that the «third world» formulated by Mao Tsetung is allegedly a world which is well-based theoretically and the main anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist force in the world. This is not true. The truth is what our Party of Labour says, that the proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for their liberation comprise the main force against the reactionary internal bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism.

The theory of «three worlds» is against the proletarian revolution, and replaces it with the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This anti-Marxist theory eliminates the decisive leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, lumps all the forces together under one umbrella or in one bag, calling them the «third world» and giving them that role and those attributes which these forces do not possess, and with this «world» denies the socialist world. This means that China denies that it is a a socialist country, calls itself an «undeveloped country» and not a socialist country. According to this theory, to be an undeveloped country means to be a socialist country. This theory is simply anti-Marxist and reactionary, it means to consider all the undeveloped countries with bourgeois capitalist systems as socialist countries. Why is China doing this? It seems to

me that it is doing this not only to defend an incorrect ideological thesis, but **in order to realize its secret objective — to lead all those states of Asia, Africa or Latin America, which it includes in this «world», to become their leadership by presenting itself as their main defender. But in fact China is not defending anything, because it does not give any sort of aid, even economic aid, to these states which are bourgeois-capitalist states; the majority of them are linked with the United States of America and the capital of other imperialists, or with the Soviet Union.** China does not deny the contradictions which exist in them; but, without fighting their internal oppressors and without fighting modern revisionism, which is a trend of capital to perpetuate its oppression of the peoples, neither freedom nor independence can be won, without mentioning the construction of socialism.

Hence the peoples who are fighting for liberation must strengthen their unity with the working class and, under the leadership of the working class, fight for their liberation from the internal capitalist bourgeoisie and its main props — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

TUESDAY
APRIL 5, 1977

THREE THEMES OF THE CHINESE POLICY

There is constant talk about the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping, which is pending. This is the first theme of the Chinese policy. But apparently, Hua Kuo-feng and company have struck a snag. **All their efforts, day by day, have been concentrated on the exposure of «The Four».** Their propaganda on this question has become stale, is in bad taste, because such scandalous, petty, non-existent things are brought up that nobody can believe them. The accusations they make against «The Four» rebound on them.

The second theme of the policy of the Chinese leaders in power is: **to gather and reproduce in their own press everything which is said, by anyone at all, against the Soviet Union.** This is the foundation-stone of their policy, and with this they want to prove the thesis which they have adopted, namely, that «the Soviet Union is the greatest enemy» and the struggle of all must be directed against it, while the United States of America should be considered no threat.

The third theme of their policy is **the welcoming and farewelling of representatives of all those «Marxist-Leninist communist» parties, which have adopted the standpoints of the Chinese revisionists**, which have taken opportunist positions. The Chinese want these opportunists to do two things: to boost Hua Kuo-feng and to abuse «The Four».

Any other diplomatic activity has ceased and this was bound to occur, because the leaders in China are divided among themselves. They are split because, it seems, some of them

want to go to the limit in defence of Teng, ie., in defence of the policy of Chou En-lai and in eroding the foundations of Mao's shaken «prestige», while the others, supporting Hua Kuo-feng, want to hang on to their positions and are trying to consolidate them under the sullied banner of Mao.

We must take notice of the Tanjug agency which has become the confidante of the Chinese and their mouthpiece on these matters. Tanjug says that the announcement of Teng's rehabilitation has been put off until June, because the Chinese leaders must first find the means to convince those thirty million Chinese communists who believe that Mao, like Hua Kuo-feng himself, heavily criticized Teng. Hence, now they are obliged to eat their own words.

THURSDAY
APRIL 28, 1977

THE RALLIES OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND THE STAND OF CHINA

The great internationalist rally which was held in Rome, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the death of Antonio Gramsci, the great rally of proletarian internationalism of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) which was held in Lisbon, as well as the two earlier rallies, which were held, one in West Germany, after the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), and the other in Italy, by the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), all have great importance for the communist movement throughout the world.

These rallies of Marxist-Leninist communist parties in which the representatives of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, including representatives of the PLA, take part, **are of enormous assistance to the communist movement throughout the world.** We are showing the peoples and the communists that, irrespective of the betrayal of the Soviet and other modern revisionists, irrespective of the opportunist deviation of the Communist Party of China, **Marxism-Leninism will never die, but on the contrary is advancing, growing stronger, being tempered in class battles** against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and the fascists that have raised their heads.

The rallies held by the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are an encouragement to the revolutionaries, who, in the dangerous moments of the grave crisis of capitalism, see that

there is the force which tells the proletariat of all countries and peoples oppressed by the superpowers, the big capitalist powers, etc., that they must always dare to fight these savage enemies of theirs fiercely, even with arms. Apart from this, we can say that these rallies emerged after the 7th Congress of our Party, and it was natural that this should have occurred. These rallies assume an important character especially when the line of the Party of Labour of Albania is opposed to the line of the Communist Party of China on many main issues of principle.

The idea of multi-party meetings, besides bilateral meetings, which was expressed at the 7th Congress of our Party, was one of its important orientations. On the occasions when they judge it necessary the Marxist-Leninist communist parties can and should hold multi-party meetings and consult with one another about joint actions against the enemies of communism and the revolution. As we know, however, the Communist Party of China maintains the opposite stand on this important question. It is against meetings of several or many parties and claims that the only solution is the practice of bilateral meetings.

What is the line of our Party in connection with this question? It upholds the principle that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties must strengthen their unity, must clear up opposing points which might exist in their strategy and tactics against the enemies of the revolution, and co-ordinate their joint activity in the international arena. Such activity tempers them and shows the enemies that communism is an indomitable force, that the communists are not split and that modern revisionism has no possibility of achieving its aim. As we know, the aim of modern revisionism is to ensure its unity in diversity, in order to liquidate the unity of Marxist-Leninists. Meanwhile, the line of the Communist Party of China on this question is that the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world should remain in illegality or semi-legality. **According to the Communist Party of China, these parties throughout**

the world can operate within their own countries, and if they want to display themselves, let them go to Peking, make contact with Keng Piao or even Hua Kuo-feng, eulogize the Communist Party of China, issue a communique in the press about this contact, and that is all. Then let all of them go home.

This means that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world should live under the umbrella of the Communist Party of China. In other words, whoever goes to Peking and shakes hands with Hua Kuo-feng and Keng Piao earns a brief communique in the newspaper «Renmin Ribao» and in this way shows the world that «he exists and is in full unity with the great Communist Party of Mao Tsetung's China»! Such an action clearly shows the patriarchalism which the Communist Party of China practises. That is to say, perhaps a few lines can be reserved in the Chinese press and the radio for that party which is linked with the Communist Party of China, and according to the Chinese, this is sufficient for it to be called a Marxist-Leninist communist party.

China is afraid of multi-party meetings because its participation in these meetings will require that problems of importance to international communism and the revolution must be discussed. But the Communist Party of China cannot stand up to discussions because the feeble foundations which it has on a series of major problems for the cause of communism would be eroded. That is why it avoids meetings of this type and wants the Marxist-Leninist communist parties to hold only bilateral meetings, and while not being in harmony with one another, to be in harmony with the Communist Party of China.

We are receiving reports from the countries of Africa that the local people, the communists and progressives of Tanzania, etc., etc., are greatly astonished by the stand of the Chinese towards Zaire and Mobutu. They condemn the reactionary stand of China which goes to the aid of American imperialism against the people of Zaire, because Mobutu is nothing but a mercenary, a capitalist reactionary, who oppresses the people of

Zaire in close collaboration with the neo-colonialists who have dug their claws into the Congo, first of all. American imperialism has major interests in Katanga and throughout the Congo and French imperialism, also, has interests in the Congo.

Then how is it possible that under the mask of the so-called third world, cliques such as that of Mobutu, which are fighting to keep their own people in bondage and, together with the imperialists, to exploit them to the bone, can be assisted? China is doing this, allegedly because it is fighting the «main enemy», as it calls Soviet social-imperialism. However, Soviet social-imperialism cannot be combated in this way. Soviet social-imperialism might interfere, and in fact has interfered; in the Congo and Katanga, it has possibly trained the gendarmes of Tchombe or of some other big chief who has influence in Katanga. But what does this show? This shows that these two imperialist powers, which are trying to create their spheres of influence everywhere, to divide the markets to the detriment of the peoples of the world, must both be combated equally. Hence the peoples of the world must be called on to rise in revolution, because while the present Congo under Mobutu, or someone else like Tchombe and Kasavubu, is said to be «free» and «independent», in fact it is neither free nor independent but is a colony of one imperialism; and two or three imperialist powers are seeking to divide the market of the Congo between them.

China understands this, but thinks it is to its advantage to act in this non-Marxist-Leninist way. How can this wrong line of the Communist Party of China, which is disrupting the revolutionary movement and the world revolution, be left unexposed? This line damages the Marxist-Leninist parties which are fighting for the revolution and for the complete genuine liberation of the peoples from the yoke of neo-colonialism and rabid internal reaction which is linked with foreign reaction and capital.

How can we reconcile ourselves to the stands of China which, on the one hand, goes to the aid of Mobutu, this repre-

sentative of Congolese capital, with arms and, what is more, is ready to go to a meeting, which the son of Bhutto, this agent of the CIA, who oppresses the people of his own country, wants to organize in Pakistan about the so-called third world, and on the other hand, as cool as you like, expresses its opposition to meetings of several Marxist-Leninist communist parties? China combats these meetings, splits the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, and maintains contact with a series of groups of dissidents and individuals infiltrated into them by the agencies of capital and the bourgeoisie of different countries. **No, there can be no conciliation over this, because the Chinese line is an opportunist line, a non-Marxist-Leninist line in the service of world capital.** We think that China is making many mistakes on this issue and is going far off the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

FRIDAY
APRIL 29, 1977

THIS MEANS: FORGET THE WOLF AND FIGHT ITS SHADOW

I talked with Comrade Ramiz about a question which I consider opportune and important. We must **write a theoretical article the essence of which is to unmask the content of the Chinese opportunist line in connection with the so-called theory of three worlds.**

We see at present that the Chinese and their followers everywhere are making great use of the thesis of the «third world» in order to promote it as a «correct theory of national liberation struggles», and in this way, without saying so explicitly, they are denigrating and attacking the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party and its 7th Congress, which dealt with this problem in particular.

Basing themselves on some quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, taken out of context, they are trying to explain (but are explaining nothing) their theory of the «third world» (which in fact denies the revolution). The Chinese are also accusing us of being «dogmatists, Blanquists, who want to Skip over the stages». According to them, the Albanians are not fighting to ensure that the peoples of the world first carry out the national liberation struggle, but are trying to bite off the big chunk directly: want the peoples to fight for the proletarian revolution.

In other words, in this article, without mentioning the Communist Party of China by name, we must expose the opportunist views which it has raised at present in order to

quell the revolution. **China does not agree with the definition which the classics of Marxism-Leninism have made of our epoch,** who said that after the victory of the Soviet Union, after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the world has entered the epoch of proletarian revolutions. For China, mankind «is not living in this epoch», it pretends that we are still in the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

It is precisely this question that we must explain clearly in this article. Regardless of the fact that since the twenties the world has undergone transformations, that the peoples of many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which Lenin included among the colonial countries, have now won a certain political independence, which in fact is formal, just as their sovereignty and freedom are formal, today the states created in these countries have fallen under the yoke of American imperialism and other capitalist powers of the world, including Soviet social-imperialism, and these peoples are being exploited in other forms, which we call neo-colonialism. Hence, **these so-called free states are dominated by bourgeois-capitalist cliques which exploit and oppress the peoples in agreement and in economic and political alliances with the superpowers and other capitalist states.** Many of these states, which have won their independence and which are said to have achieved the stage of bourgeois democracy, have not carried out even the most elementary reforms of that stage, such as the distribution of the land, the agrarian reform.

We must explain that since such a situation exists, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the proletariat cannot be allowed to remain in the framework of the status quo, that is, to fail to fight for the proletarian revolution. But **when we speak about the proletarian revolution, this must first be prepared and, for the proletariat and its party to be prepared for the revolution, they must be organized, must create alliances with the peasantry and with the petty and middle bourgeoisie, which are demanding liberation** (the latter from the big capitalist bourgeoisie), and passing on from thorough-going economic-

political reforms, must come out in proletarian revolution. The proletariat and its party cannot enter an alliance either with the parties of the big bourgeoisie, which is in power in many of the states of the so-called third world, or with the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie which stand in reactionary positions. **The Marxist-Leninist communist party, the party of the proletariat, must always preserve its independence. This party and the proletariat led by it must be in alliance with only that class and those strata which aim for and aspire to the revolution.**

Meanwhile, with the line it is following and the stands it adopts, China says «stop» to the revolution. It professes a new revisionism, which is a variant of modern revisionism, a markedly opportunist form of distortion of our Marxist-Leninist ideology. Its objective, in essence, in theory and in practice, is to hinder and stop the revolution, to preserve the status quo of the so-called free and independent states, which, in fact, are dominated by the local big capitalist cliques which are in alliance with American imperialism, and to arouse these states to fight against Soviet social-imperialism. **«The fight» of this «third world», in which China has included itself, is carried out in alliance with American imperialism.**

Thus China, with the aid of American imperialism, relying on it and posing as a member of the «third world» itself, wants to stop the revolution and to gain time so that it, too, can become a superpower. Such a thing is in the interests of the United States of America, because, by pursuing this line, China not only hinders the revolution and distorts the Marxist-Leninist ideology, but at the same time serves the maintenance of the status quo, i.e., protects the markets of American imperialism and the big national bourgeoisie of every state, until, by plunging into this anti-Marxist, anti-socialist course, China itself manages to become another superpower in order to balance the two existing superpowers.

The duty devolves upon us Albanian Marxist-Leninists to explain this line of China's and we shall make this explana-

tion, basing ourselves, as always, on our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, who have made these questions very clear. Not only at its 7th Congress, but since the time it was founded, our Party has always proceeded according to the teachings of our classics, has understood them correctly in theory, and has applied them correctly in practice, too.

Our Party has never shown itself to be dogmatic, in no way has it shown itself to be Blanquist; but on the contrary, it has always known how to lead the people on the road of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, on the road of the National Liberation War, to smash the nazi-fascist occupiers and drive them outside the borders of the Homeland. **Our Party knew how to combine this great National Liberation War with the Marxist-Leninist principles, i.e., with the transition from the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the construction of socialism.** How long the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution lasted is of no importance, because, in our conditions, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, as well as the tasks of the socialist revolution, were carried out in such a way that they were combined in time and direction. The circumstances in our country were such that the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution was very quickly left behind, and the Party knew how to utilize the conditions created. The conditions had matured, because the bourgeois elements of the commercial bourgeoisie or the feudal owners of the country linked themselves with the occupiers, made common cause with them, rose in struggle against the people and the people's war settled accounts with them, so that the revolution passed relatively easily and quickly from one stage to the other.

Through this article which we shall write we must make world opinion, and especially the Marxist-Leninists, clear about this fraudulent theory which the Chinese revisionists are spreading under the guise of Marxism-Leninism. According to them, since China is allegedly a socialist country and Mao Tsetung a «great Marxist-Leninist», then the Marxist-Leninists of the

whole world must follow everything he has said unquestioningly. This we do not accept.

We have to make and have made our analysis of the development of socialism in China in order to see what sort of socialism is developing and what forms are being used there on this course. **From a long time back we have not been in agreement with the views of Mao Tsetung, especially with his saying that «the countryside must encircle the city».** We, as Marxist-Leninist, have never accepted this view of Mao Tsetung's because in this way Mao Tsetung considers the peasantry the most revolutionary class. This is an anti-Marxist view. **The most revolutionary class of society is the proletariat, therefore it must lead the revolution in alliance with the peasantry, which is the most faithful ally of the proletariat.** The proletariat has to win this ally, which the bourgeoisie tries to win over to its side. Mao's theory is extended even further. «The peoples of three continents: Asia, Africa and Latin America,» preaches Mao, «must unite against the other two continents, the old continent and the North American continent,» that is, against Europe and the United States of America. Hence, as a derivative from his theory, Mao has the view that all the states of these three continents must be supported unconditionally, without making any class distinction and differentiation among different regimes. According to him, Europe and North America are the city, the proletariat, while the other three continents are the peasantry. Such a theory is *aberrant** — it does not take account of the objective reality, the materialist development of history, is unclear on the role of the working class, the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, and takes no account of the revolution. **It is precisely the theory of Mao Tsetung which does not take account of the different stages through which the development of mankind must pass.** Mao Tsetung's concept that «the countryside must encircle the city» is cropping up now with the theory of the «third world».

* French in the original.

The fact is that since Mao Tsetung now calls the «third world» the main force of the revolution, in theory he liquidates the great revolutionary force which drives history forward — the world proletariat. This is absurd.

This «theory» or «analysis» which the Chinese revisionists make of the world today, assists the enemy views that «the revolution has failed», «is losing ground fast», and we should no longer speak about proletarian revolutions, but should sit doing nothing and applaud and assist Mobutu of Zaire. But Mobutu and company are representatives of the big bourgeoisie which has sold itself out to and linked up with the United States of America, with France and the capitalists of other countries. What is China doing in this situation? It is defending Mobutu with propaganda and supplying him with weapons. That is the policy it is carrying out. But can this stand be correct? No, this stand cannot be correct. On the contrary, by acting in this way, China is making the yoke on the Congolese people even heavier, and we can say the same thing about the other countries, too.

Therefore, the article which we shall write must be carefully compiled, with a very high theoretical content, and all the angles must be taken up well. Basing ourselves on our Marxist-Leninist theory, we must show that the theses of the 7th Congress of our Party are correct and Marxist-Leninist, that they are based on the teachings of our classics and respond to the objective reality of present day world, of its division and the struggles and contradictions which exist today. Our Party analyses these situations and contradictions thoroughly and knows how to define and use correct fighting tactics which have as their sole objective: the carrying out of proletarian revolutions and the liberation of the peoples.

Our recent Congress has given a very clear explanation of the struggles, for example, of the peoples of Africa, who have won a certain formal freedom or independence. Some of them have won their independence with arms, such as Algeria, etc. But some other countries were «given» this «free-

dom» and «independence» by French imperialism, British imperialism, etc. In fact, these imperialists give the peoples nothing, but with this «gift» they keep the peoples of these countries bound to them with many threads. Hence, if we accept, and we have to accept, that such peoples have achieved a «freedom» which permits oppression by the local bourgeoisie and savage feudalism, then they must rise up in struggle for genuine freedom. Against whom must these peoples fight and what sort of fight should they wage? They must fight against the local capitalist cliques which are in power, which oppress them, as well as against foreign capitalists, American imperialism, French imperialism, German, Portuguese, or some other imperialism, and together with them, Soviet social-imperialism, too. That is, if we talk about struggle, we must tell the peoples who are exploited by internal and foreign capital that they must fight against it, while China does not say such a thing. **Our Party explains to these peoples that they must fight and against whom they must fight, while China does not tell them either that they must fight or against whom they must fight.** It calls on them to fight only against Soviet social-imperialism, because it is aiming at world hegemony, and, in other words, is threatening the American hegemony in the world. We tell the peoples how they should organize the fight, who should lead this fight, what are the principles of this fight and what the strategy and fighting tactics of the fight of these peoples should be. Meanwhile, China does not tell the peoples any of these things. On the contrary, it recommends that they pursue a strategy of capital, and should use tactics which serve this capital, which prolong its life, in a word, it tells the peoples to forget the wolf and fight its shadow.

AN AMERICAN AGENT — A CLOSE FRIEND OF MAO TSETUNG'S

I have read the main book of the American journalist Edgar Snow, the «journalist of the century», as they call him, who has written about China before and after the revolution. But his last book, which in Italian has the title «La Mia Vita di Giornalista» («My Life as a Journalist»), gives one a better understanding of who this personality is.

This journalist **built up a great reputation as a person with profound knowledge of the Chinese question and this is not without foundation. This person has lived a very adventurous life.** It is quite obvious from all his writings that Snow must have been an agent of the CIA, if that is what the American intelligence service was called at that time, or a journalist in the service of the American secret police and the Department of State. As he says himself, Roosevelt had summoned him several times in order to be informed about China. Naturally, the president of the USA had no need to be informed by Snow about the climate of China or about Chiang Kai-shek's army and administration. It is quite clear what Roosevelt was interested in learning from Snow: he wanted to know about the men in the caves of Yenan, their ideas and objectives.

In this book, Edgar Snow tells us of his pilgrimage, of how before the Sino-Japonese war, after being sent to the Philippines, to India and Indonesia, he was finally sent to China where he stayed for several years. He was linked with the foreign concession holders and worked especially for the

United States of America; he was linked with Chiang Kai-shek, with the main Chinese capitalists, and in the end, through the widow of Sun Yat-sen, he went into the zones liberated by the Chinese communists. That is to say, **he got right to Mao Tse-tung's headquarters, to the caves where the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China established itself** after the Long March.

In this book, before speaking about Mao, and relating the wide range of activity he carried out with the Chinese leaders, Edgar Snow speaks about a series of questions, a series of facts: how industrial cooperation was organized with Chiang kai-shek, with the Kuomintang, with Chou En-lai and the other Chinese communists; how aid was received from the father-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen; how it was brought about that the interests of the overseas capitalists, whether in the United States of America, in Hong Kong or elsewhere, were aroused, and how at that time the ways of development of agriculture and the ways of development of industry began to be organized, which later, after China was liberated, were to assume more definitive forms, as you might say, because in fact nothing is definitive in China.

Edgar Snow goes on to tell about his life in the caves of Yenan. As I have said above, he relates that he got right to the centre of the Chinese communists, **became a friend and admirer of the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, stayed with them and their wives day and night**, conversed with them and taught them to play poker. He also tells how he won the trust of Mao Tsetung. At first, he shows the latter as a dreamer without a basis but then, in a very refined way, comes to the point that he wanted to achieve: to the creation of the great personality of Mao Tsetung. The author relates that Mao Tse-tung became intimate with him for the reason that, at that period very little was known about the national liberation war of China and the Chinese revolution in the United States of America and the Western world. Snow says that Mao Tsetung

was eager for him to write about the Chinese revolution and Mao himself so that the world would understand what this revolution and the Chinese leadership were.

Edgar Snow's familiarity with Mao Tsetung reaches such intimacy that he even mentions trivial events from Mao's daily life, to the point that he sets down in black and white in his book that Mao Tsetung was constipated for seven days on end and when at last his bowels moved this was a major event for the whole circle around him.

In other words, Mao Tsetung and the other Chinese leaders had complete trust in Edgar Snow. He served China, assisted it, because he made Mao Tsetung's China known abroad, and China greatly assisted Snow, too. According to him, the Chinese leaders trusted him to the extent that **Mao Tsetung informed this American about all his political plans, all his ideological views, and even his military plans.** Edgar Snow also says that whenever Mao Tsetung was preparing an attack against the Japanese or against Chiang Kai-shek, Mao gave him detailed information, saying: «If the Japanese use this tactic we will use another tactic»; «if Chiang Kai-shek attacks us from that direction, we will counter-attack from another direction, or withdraw to this or that flank». Hence, Edgar Snow was like a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who, although he was not in the leadership, knew everything from outside because the trust in him was complete.

This person poses and is publicized as a sinologist of great importance and is an authority for the West, and, there is no doubt about that. In this book, Edgar Snow presents himself as rabidly anti-Soviet but not against the Soviet Union of the recent times, but with a deep aversion, with a *visceral* hatred as the French say, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, Stalin and the Soviet Union. And when does he speak in this way? During the great anti-fascist war of the Soviet Union against the Hitlerites. It is astonishing how such a suspect individual, indeed extremely suspect, such an opponent of the

Soviets, who did not hide his anti-Sovietism, should have had such a great standing with Mao Tsetung and the other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He retained his standing in China to the end of his life, indeed before he died, he went to China where he was welcomed with great honours by Mao Tsetung.

Reading all these things, one cannot fail to think that the views of Mao Tsetung and his comrades were pro-American, that they had great admiration for the United States of America and that **the «journalist» Edgar Snow managed to play an important role in the rapprochement of China with the United States of America, in the preparations for Kissinger's visit to China, followed by those of Nixon and, later still, Ford.**

THURSDAY
MAY 5, 1977

CHINA'S PRO-AMERICAN GAME IS VERY DANGEROUS

Some more thoughts about Edgar Snow's book entitled «My Life as a Journalist».

In the final chapter of his book, the author relates how during a talk with the Indian Nehru, he glanced at his watch, saw that it had stopped, and therefore asked Nehru what time it was. Nehru told him, but added, «You must alter your watches».

Edgar Snow relates this episode in order to criticize the American policy towards China. He describes this policy pursued for a long time, and inspired by McCarthy, Truman and others who supported Chiang Kai-shek, as wrong and without perspective. He says that in America they did not understand the Chinese revolution led by Mao Tsetung, and that is why they demanded that China should remain in the old capitalist positions and make some sort of concessions to American capitalism.

Edgar Snow, as a defender of American imperialism, shows himself to be a well-wisher of China. His conclusive analysis is this: When China won its independence in 1949, the United States of America was wrong in thinking that after winning its independence it would fall into the lap of the Kremlin. No, this will not occur, he says, and gives a series of arguments for why China cannot become a colony of the Kremlin. One of them is the argument that in order to carry out its revolution, China did not base itself ideologically on the urban proletariat, but on the peasantry. China is not in accord with the Kremlin ideologically on this and many other questions. Therefore, says Edgar Snow, it is in the interest of the United States of America to have China as a friend and a great market

of which it is in need, and thus it absolutely must change its stand towards China.

And, of course, in order to support this idea of his in a way that would influence the American policy, Edgar Snow presents China and the new Chinese regime of Mao Tsetung as not a very radical regime. According to him, if the United States of America changes its policy towards China, this regime could quite easily develop a policy of friendship with the United States. This policy, according to Edgar Snow, has great importance because of the extent of the territory of China, its big population, its great underground riches, and the influence which this country will exert in Asia and in the world.

As a conclusion, he says that this influence will not cause much harm to the present capitalist system, which, in his opinion, cannot possibly continue with the features, organization and policy of the period before either the First or the Second World War, and therefore the capitalist system must adapt itself to some extent to these situations.

Edgar Snow, the American Department of State's man, who had contact with the American presidents (three or four times he was received in audience by Roosevelt) and was summoned for consultations in connection with Chinese problems, presents himself as a friend of Maoist China. From reading his book, we can say that he managed to introduce many of these ideas and aims of the Americans among the Chinese leaders to some extent, because **we are seeing at present that the Chinese policy has made a great turn towards friendship with American imperialism, which has changed neither its nature nor its aims.** I say that Edgar Snow managed to introduce his ideas among the Chinese leadership to some degree, because after the liberation of China, for several years on end, Mao Tsetung advocated «merciless and uncompromising struggle» against American imperialism, while at the end of his life (and not when he had lost his senses, but when he was in order and completely normal) he found the road of friendship with the United States of America. Indeed,

Mao began this friendship with Nixon and Kissinger, with these individuals whom Edgar Snow presents in his book as politicians towards whom he personally nurtured a great aversion. However, it was precisely with Nixon that Mao Tse-tung tied the knot and when this sort of president was forced to leave the White House over his political scandals, Mao invited him to Peking again, had a cordial meeting with him in order to let the world know that he supported that former president whom even the American «democracy» «detested».

Thus it is understandable that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state are trying to support this whole strategy and the tactics which they are using to disguise the 180 degree turn towards American imperialism, with allegedly Marxist-Leninist theses, with quotations from Lenin, Marx and Engels, pretending that they, too, advocated compromises with imperialism; that the world is in the process of changing; that it is necessary to see who is the main enemy against whom you can unite with the other enemies, and similar stands contrary to Marxism-Leninism. All these theses of the Communist Party of China are false. It distorts the quotations of the classics, takes them out of context, but such a thing simply illustrates its own betrayal.

It is clear that the United States of America will respond to these advances of the Chinese, will assist China and will make it dependent to some degree on itself through credits and modern technology. But at the same time American imperialism will not exacerbate its relations with the Soviet Union up to the point where war breaks out to please China. No! **The Americans will pursue the policy of balance in their own interest, and only when the contradictions become exacerbated to the extreme, either with the Soviet Union or China, can and will they go to war**, which is inseparable from imperialism and social-imperialism. **In the end, they will hurl the world into a terrible bloodbath over domination of this world.**

Hence, China's game, its anti-Marxist policy, is extremely dangerous for mankind.

SATURDAY
MAY 14, 1977

SAIFUDIN IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Chinese parliamentary delegation, headed by a certain Saifudin, Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is making a friendly trip to Yugoslavia. It was received by the president of the Skupshtina who, with the greatest goodwill, told it about the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which is now called the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and about the role of the «great Marxist» — Tito.

SUNDAY
MAY 15, 1977

CHINESE SERVILITY TOWARDS AMERICA

After the London meeting of the major imperialist economic powers with the United States of America, the newspaper «Pravda» wrote an article against the decisions taken at that meeting. The aim of this article is evident: Moscow is not in agreement with the decisions which were taken in London, therefore, in the article it fights, criticizes, and exposes them in its own way and in its own interests. It is truly scandalous that Moscow's article was immediately replied to by «Renmin Ribao» of Peking, which, with utter shamelessness, comes to the defence of the «great successes» and the «advantanges of the unity» of these capitalist states and defends the «unity» and progress of «United Europe», describing this as a «great success» which is in opposition to the hegemonic ambitions of the Soviet revisionists.

The press of American, British, French, Japanese imperialism does not bother to rush immediately into polemics and respond to the articles of «Pravda» blow for blow. The imperialists mind their own business, hold meetings, take measures, make propaganda and will certainly write articles, but it is. scandalous that the «cake» Carter baked in London was barely out of the «oven» before the Chinese had their teeth into it.

Day by day the Chinese are sinking deeper into the mire, the filth of opportunism without feeling the slightest shame about what world opinion, the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries think of them. They defend every action of American imperialism and the bourgeois-capitalist states like

the dirtiest lackeys they are; and everything done by these big aggressive imperialist powers, which are oppressing the peoples, China applauds. It seems to me that servility towards American imperialism, that imperialism which is supplying China with credits to strengthen itself, can go no further. At the same time Hua Kuo-feng and Yeh Chien-yi are proclaiming to meetings of tens of thousands of people gathered in stadiums that world war may be declared tomorrow; therefore, they say, they must organize themselves for war, develop the war industry and the economy, and build new oil-fields, or new industry in the interior of China. But it must be said that they are concealing the true aim of this campaign. According to the Chinese, the Soviet Union is going to wage war against American imperialism, and they are saying that it is absolutely essential that they prepare for war. Up till yesterday they were not saying any such thing. The question arises: if they are preparing for war, against whom are they preparing themselves? Who will attack China, American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism? The possibility cannot be ruled out that Soviet social-imperalism will attack China, therefore the Chinese should not reach the mistaken conclusion that the Soviet Union is going to attack Europe and not China. **All this present policy of China has a clear aim: to gain time in order to arm itself and become a capitalist great power, that is, to occupy the same positions as the other two superpowers and be ranked along with them.**

As for the revolution, it has been put off till the millennium.

MONDAY
MAY 16, 1977

THE CHINESE DELEGATION IS EXPRESSING GREAT ENTHUSIASM FOR THE TITOITE REGIME

Day by day, Tanjug, «Renmin Ribao» and Hsinhua in unison are publicizing the trip of the delegation of the National People's Assembly of China, headed by Saifudin, around Yugoslavia. **Saifudin speaks with special warmth and admiration about the efforts of the peoples of Yugoslavia in the war, about the organization and construction of «socialism» in Yugoslavia**, he visits factories, farms, etc. In making speeches and proposing toasts he does not fail to express his satisfaction and to speak of the «Chinese people's feelings of sincere and close friendship towards the heroic Yugoslav peoples». Saifudin was received with honours by Tito at the White Palace (the American White House in Belgrade). The Hsinhua communique supported the communique which Tanjug gave.

Tito spoke to Saifudin with sympathy and admiration for great China, for its successes and the major role it plays in the world, and also begged him to transmit his warmest respects to «Comrade» Hua Kuo-feng. For his part, **Saifudin transmitted to Tito the greetings from Hua Kuo-feng, warmly congratulated him on his birthday** and handed him a carpet to hang on the wall as a gift. The Chinese also gave their close friend, Kim Il Sung, a similar carpet on the occasion of his birthday.

They took Saifudin to Voyvodina where the Chairman of the Assembly of Voyvodina told him how in that place all the different peoples of Yugoslavia «are living in complete harmony», in order to tell Saifudin, in other words, that the national

question in Yugoslavia has been solved correctly. From there Saifudin also went to Montenegro, hence close to our borders, in order to see «this mountainous country and its heroic people, and to establish friendship with them». Saifudin was accompanied in this pilgrimage by the old Montenegrine general, Peko Dapchevich, an old partisan of the Yugoslav army. Later they took him to Dubrovnik to see the port of that city and the Soviet warships which were anchored there, as well as in other ports of Yugoslavia.

In his talks with the Yugoslavs and Tito, Saifudin did not fail to speak about the «non-aligned world» in order to ingratiate himself to the Yugoslavs. However it is clear that **Saifudin has not gone there to strengthen the friendship between the two states only, but to link the two parties as well, because the Communist Party of China is now establishing relations with all the revisionist parties of the Western type.**

The councillor of an embassy in Peking told a comrade of ours that a top-level delegation of the Italian revisionist party is at present in Peking where it is holding talks with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, «but», added the councillor, «its going to Peking will not be published by the press», that is, this visit will not be announced officially.

Thus the Communist Party of China had an official meeting with Carrillo, who went to Peking some time ago, and now it is organizing meetings with the Italian revisionist party, too.

WEDNESDAY
MAY 18, 1977

THE CULT OF ONE IS DROPPED AND ANOTHER'S IS BUILT UP

Every day for seven months we have been reading long articles and repetitious communiques directed against the «gang of four». What charge are they not levelling against this «gang»! The «gang of four» has done every imaginable evil and hostile thing. According to the present Chinese leaders this «gang» is made up of the four leaders who emerged from the Cultural Revolution.

This Cultural Revolution was led by Mao Tsetung, which means that these elements had the full support of Mao Tsetung in their activities. Now the question arises: Was this support and this trust well-founded or not? I think it must have been well-founded, otherwise a heavy blame falls on Mao Tsetung and his other comrades who led the Cultural Revolution. With this I want to say that if these people were agents, if Chang Chun-chiao was an agent of the Kuomintang, or Chiang Ching a whore, as they charge, who sat on Chiang Kai-shek's knee, etc., etc., then the question must be asked: Where was the vigilance of Mao Tsetung and other leaders, like Kang Sheng, who even when Chen Po-ta was denounced, even when Lin Piao was denounced and when the criticism against Confucius and Mencius was carried out, allowed these people to remain in the Central Committee, and according to Hua Kuo-feng and company, to make the law? This, of course, is astounding, but at the same time, unacceptable.

We think that the present anti-Marxist and anti-revolu-

tionary leadership which is pursuing a reactionary course pro American imperialism, and in unity with it against the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, overthrew these elements who could not have been four, but must have been millions, and is continuing to expose them. This shows that «The Four» were not alone, and this poses the question: Was all this great body of people mistaken, were they blind, did they not see or sense where they were leading the country? It is an unacceptable state of affairs but the fact is that the Chinese army, commanded by «generals» with astonishing tendencies, has made the law during the whole period including that of the Cultural Revolution. Lin Piao operated relying on the army. This is what Hua Kuo-feng, who relies on the army, and Yeh Chien-yi, are doing, too, in order to strike this sudden blow, as they say, in order to «liquidate The Four with one blow».

A great propaganda campaign is going on in China now to build up the cult of Hua Kuo-feng sky-high. He is following the tactic of endless meetings which go on for twenty days and in which up to 7,000 people take part. The participation of up to 7,000 people in such broad meetings about one problem serves this aim: to raise the star of Hua Kuo-feng. Hence the cult of one is dropped and the cult of another is built up. Now Mao's weight has been reduced and the balance is tilting heavily to the side of Hua Kuo-feng, but for how long, this we shall see. Mao Tsetung said: «Every seven years a revolution will be carried out, the rightists will come in and then the leftists, and so on in turn for ten thousand years».

FRIDAY
MAY 20, 1977

THE CHINESE PEOPLE STILL LOVE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

From the report which Comrade Behar sent us in connection with a tour which he made of some provinces of China it turns out that, in general, the officials received him correctly but with coolness. On this tour Behar was accompanied by Liu Chen-hua, who was the ambassador before last in our country, not a good element, who especially at the end showed what was hidden behind that stupid smile of his.

Many persons whom Behar had met in Peking shook hands with him coolly and moved away, because they did not want those who were watching to see them stand near him. Apparently an order has been issued from above that such an attitude should be maintained. However, there were some of the leaders of the regions which they visited, who took no notice of this order and expressed their love and sympathy for our country and our Party to Behar.

Where Behar had contacts with the base, the situation was rather different. It seems that the order had not reached there, although that former warmth, love and sincerity was no longer there. It was felt that something had changed, and that this change had been caused by the propaganda of the Chinese leadership against our Party and country. However, this propaganda had not succeeded in producing the full effect intended, and according to Behar, indeed even where it had achieved some effect it was purely formal, because in reality the rank-

and-file, the people, preserved their love and friendship for the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania.

There are good people who fiercely criticize the policy of Hua Kuo-feng especially towards Yugoslavia and Rumania and say: «What is this perfidy which is being committed? We are making friends of our enemies, and enemies of our friends such as socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania who have always been in the vanguard defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and especially defending China».

There is no doubt that there is political, ideological and economic chaos in China at present. This chaos has been caused by the opportunist revisionist line of the Hua Kuo-feng group which is striving to develop this line and implant it in the party and among the masses.

Behar informs us that wherever he has gone he has no longer met the term «Chairman Mao Tsetung», but «Comrade Mao Tsetung». Now only Hua Kuo-feng is described as «Chairman» there.

SATURDAY
MAY 21, 1977

A MAN IS KNOWN BY THE COMPANY HE KEEPS

Saifudin's trip to Yugoslavia ended with «the greatest success». According to the words of the leader of the Chinese parliamentary delegation, «the results were excellent». According to the news agencies, he expressed his thanks on behalf of the delegation for «the very cordial welcome they received» and especially thanked President Tito who, according to him «talked with the delegation with great cordiality and in great detail».

Saifudin said that the members of the delegation had formed very positive impressions about the development of Yugoslavia. He said that **«the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia won their freedom and independence through their struggle under the leadership of President Tito, while after liberation, relying on their own forces** (and Mr. Saifudin has stressed this constantly in his speeches), **they are building up their own country and have valuable experience», which of course will be of great benefit to the Chinese!**

To declare publicly that the economy of Yugoslavia has been developed allegedly on the basis of self-reliance means, apart from other things, to defend the so-called self-administrative socialism and to make efforts to conceal the fact that this kind of «socialism» has made the development of the Yugoslav economy conditional, not on self-reliance, but on the credits and hand-outs of imperialism and capitalism. Up till now not even Tito himself has dared to make such a statement that Titoite

Yugoslavia «relies on its own forces». This stand puts the Chinese leadership in the ludicrous position of a charlatan advocate who without any argument denies that guilt which the accused himself has admitted.

This delegation headed by this Saifudin judged and even expressed its special satisfaction that it saw that **«the nations of Yugoslavia have found their proper leadership and here in Yugoslavia the national problem has been solved in conformity with Marxist principles...» Thus, according to Saifudin, Titoite Yugoslavia with its president is Marxist-Leninist and building socialism!**

It is known world-wide that apart from many other evils, Titoite «self-administration» brought Yugoslavia the deepening of feuds and serious divisions between nations. The new Yugoslav bourgeoisie, with Tito at the head, has always pursued a policy of oppression of national minorities. This policy has led to distrust and hostility between nations and peoples of Yugoslavia and has spread the ideology of bourgeois nationalism.

The danger of the policy of the deepening of the quarrels between nations which make up the Yugoslav federal state has been recognized by Tito himself, who despite the measures of state compulsion which he has taken to prevent the break-up of his Federation and certain limited rights which have been recognized to the nations to placate them and avoid disturbances, at least temporarily, is extremely worried about what will occur with these nations after his death.

When the question arises about the rectification of the borders established at the time of the czars between China and the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China proclaim this loudly. But when they raise the question that the agreements of the time of the Second World War should be annulled because «the borders of states were defined wrongly», and, of course, they make Stalin responsible for this, they find the solution which Tito has allegedly provided for the problem of nationalities within the Yugoslav Federation as «just» and «Marxist-Leninist».

The Chinese cannot do more to defend Tito than this and there is no more Saifudin could have said to satisfy those who sent him to Yugoslavia to kiss the hand of Tito. But whatever false testimony the Chinese give, however much they try to prettify Titoism, their prattle will not cure the Yugoslav federation of this chronic disease which is wearing it down.

Saifudin also made a high appraisal of «Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment, its collaboration and solidarity with the other non-aligned countries and the developing countries», but he did not say «with the countries of the third world». **What servile hypocrites these people are!** Tito and all the people who met and talked with Saifudin spoke openly of their line and their views, while the Chinese concealed his. But why did he do this? In order to please the Titoites.

In fact, formerly, the Chinese described the «non-aligned movement» as a means in the hands of capitalist states for the domination of peoples. Now, turning over the record, they assess it as a movement which is allegedly directed against imperialism and colonialism, while they present Tito, this renegade from the international communist and workers' movement, as the founder of «non-alignment»; and expressing the alteration of the Chinese course towards this so-called non-aligned movement, too, Saifudin stressed: «We rejoice also that we are able to see that Yugoslavia, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, is firmly adhering to the policy of non-alignment, resolutely defends its own sovereignty and independence, makes tireless efforts to strengthen the unity of non-aligned countries and other developing countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism», etc. These statements require no comment and prove that the Chinese are trying to conceal the fact that Titoism, this opportunist ideological and political current, is engaged in sabotage work amongst the progressive forces of the countries which are fighting for freedom and independence and is disorientating their efforts to eliminate the colonial remnants, etc.

It is quite clear that the Chinese parliamentary delegation is no chance delegation, but it has gone to Yugoslavia for certain definite objectives, and the main one is not only to defend Tito and Titoism, to prove that the development of Yugoslavia «is on the basis of self-reliance» and that the policy of «non-alignment» is allegedly aimed against imperialism and colonialism, but also to strengthen the state and party links, to reinforce their friendship and to collaborate as comrades of common ideals, throwing off all disguise. The head of the Chinese parliamentary delegation to Yugoslavia did not conceal this aim in the least. This is what he said in the speech which he delivered at the banquet given in his honour when he arrived in Belgrade: «... China and Yugoslavia are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but... are linked together by the common historical experience and by the common struggle which awaits us today. We sympathize with, support and encourage each other... I wish you new, even greater successes under the leadership of President Tito...» It is very easy to see that the Chinese want to fight together with the Titoites. But what sort of struggle will this be, and against whom will it be aimed? There is no doubt that this «struggle» will be like that of Tito which is supported by imperialism, and will be aimed against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and liberation movements. The present Chinese leadership will proceed on this road, because otherwise it would not be seeking comrades, friends and collaborators like Tito and would not place itself on the one front with him. There can be no other logical deduction from the assessment of these facts.

Tanjug is reporting at length on all these views I mentioned above. We must say that this agency speaks accurately about these matters, embellishes nothing, is exact, because the interests of modern revisionism which Tito represents are great, the interests of the Yugoslav state are great, **therefore their purpose is to set Hua Kuo-feng's China firmly on the revisionist course and make the Chinese state their ally, i.e., to strengthen its pro-American positions.**

The betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist line by the Chinese can be seen in the communiques which they issued about this visit by Saifudin. Hsinhua gives short stale communiques; the problems which I mentioned above, hence the views which the Chinese delegation has expressed in Yugoslavia, are not given in them but are concealed. The reason for this is that they fear internal Chinese opinion which is opposed to such a joint course with the traitor Tito; and they also fear international opinion which will classify China as it deserves to be classified. For these reasons Hsinhua is concealing the truth, avoiding revealing the aims for which Saifudin went to Yugoslavia, what he did and what he said there. Thus the Chinese people are to consider this an unimportant trip, while in reality it has great importance for the Chinese leadership.

Regardless of the fact that China has relations with the United States of America and could reach agreement directly on many questions, in practice there could be some things in. which it feels the need of the intervention of this Yugoslav double-dealer to accelerate the process of friendship between China and the United States of America. Josip Broz Tito has always been zealous in this work, and after an activity of this kind, he has never failed to receive his cheque from Washington.

Immediately after the departure of Saifudin, the Vice-President of the United States of America arrived in Yugoslavia where he, too, will have cordial talks with Tito who will inform him about everything that Saifudin raised and give the American Vice-President his recommendations and, of course, for this work carried out, he will receive his reward, no doubt a fat cheque.

We Albanian communists are very sorry for the Chinese people whom this leadership is setting on a course of treachery, but there is nothing we can do about it. This is a struggle which only they themselves can wage, a struggle which first they must understand and then carry out with the greatest severity. However, this situation which has been created also has its good side

— the renegade, revisionist, anti-Marxist clique which has seized power in China has exposed itself with these actions.

Present-day China has taken its place alongside the United States of America, alongside Titoism, alongside all the revisionist, so-called communist, parties. As the saying of the people goes, «A man is known by the company he keeps».

CHINA DEFENDS THOSE PARTIES WHICH BEAT ITS DRUM

The Communist Party of China is proceeding systematically to split the world communist movement. **It has informed the rank-and-file people about the contradictions over principles which it has with the Party of Labour of Albania.** This information has been given according to their views, hence misleading the party and the people, pointing out that «the faults and the distorted views» are on our side, whereas it is allegedly on the Marxist-Leninist road.

In regard to other Marxist-Leninist communist parties which have been formed in different countries of the world, the Communist Party of China maintains this stand: those Marxist-Leninist communist parties which resolutely implement Marxism-Leninism, which analyse the problems in the light of Marxism-Leninism and fight for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, which are revolutionary in thought and deed, it combats; while those «Marxist-Leninist» parties and groups which blindly take the side of the Communist Party of China and defend, proclaim and advertize the mistaken line of the «third world», of the struggle only against Soviet social-imperialism, of unity with the bourgeoisie, defence of the European Common Market, etc., etc., it has divided in two groups: those which are completely with it are invited to Peking where they are met by Hua Kuo-feng personally; while the others which are still with the revisionist line of the Communist Party of China but do not defend it quite so ardently and merely enunciate

it, are not received by Hua Kuo-feng but by Keng Piao or Li-Hsien-nien. For them there are no banquets from Hua Kuo-feng, as there are banquets for the former.

In those countries where there are no such parties, the Chinese, by means of elements who beat the drum of the Communist Party of China and are its agents, by means of various associations of friendship with China manipulated in different countries by the Hsinhua correspondents who are agents of the Chinese intelligence service (we say this with conviction as it has been proved on many occasions), create groups, so-called Marxist- Leninist parties, with the ideology of «Mao Tsetung thought». The Chinese direct these «parties» towards struggle against the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties which have long been formed in different countries and which fight consistently for the revolution on the road of Marxism-Leninism.

It seems to me that this has two aims. On the one hand, defence of the Chinese line, i.e., defence of American imperialism and the capitalist bourgeoisie, the preservation of this evil world and the postponement of the revolution. This is precisely why the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties which hinder the Chinese line are combated. **On the other hand, by means of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which beat the Chinese drum, China is infiltrating, planning, and adopting unity with the old revisionist parties of Western Europe as well as other continents, like Australia, etc.** Indeed, the Communist Party of China has made contact with the Spanish revisionist party of Carrillo. It is said that it has made contact with the Italian revisionist party, too, and it will certainly do so with the French revisionist party. **With the sending of the Chinese parliamentary delegation to Belgrade, the links of the communist Party of China with the Titoite revisionists and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also came out openly; they have been established de facto, if not officially, but have not yet been announced.** These two parties, the Chinese and the Yugoslav, are in agreement over each other's line because they do not have many differences.

From the state angle China is developing its relations with Yugoslavia sensationally. Dozens of Yugoslav delegations are going to China. This indicates China's rapprochement with Yugoslavia. The question arises: Why is China not declaring its party relations with Yugoslavia? For the time being it is not declaring these relations because this would expose it badly and it does not want to be exposed, therefore it is hiding the truth both from its own people and from international opinion. But on this question, too, the Communist Party of China acts in various specific Chinese ways to make it a *fait accompli* so that it will seem a natural thing to internal and international opinion that the Communist Party of China has relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, just as it has relations and links with the Communist Party of Rumania.

With the Party of Labour of Albania, in reality, it does not maintain contacts. We have wanted to have contacts with the Communist Party of China but these contacts have not existed. Only diplomatic, friendship and trade relations have existed between us but not party relations. Even when our Party has sent delegations they have made visits and trips but have not been able to do the work and hold the talks, which we wanted.

With the revisionists, however, the Communist Party of China is entering ever more deeply into working relations and ideological and organizational links. This is how the situation stands, this is the new tactic of the Communist Party of China on its road of revisionist degeneration.

FRIDAY
JUNE 3, 1977

KOREA AND CHINA ARE PREPARING TO WELCOME TITO

Our embassies in Pyongyang and Peking inform us that the press and news agencies in Korea and China are every day carrying out propaganda exalting revisionist Yugoslavia and its president, the renegade Tito. The objective of all these agencies is to propagate openly that Yugoslavia is allegedly a country which is «successfully» building socialism on the basis of «self-reliance», that it is allegedly a progressive country, etc. This is a big fraud on a world scale but from one aspect we think it is good that this is happening because the genuine Marxist-Leninists, honest people who have followed all the many aspects of the development of the Yugoslav state, will understand what ideology is guiding the Korean Workers' Party and the Communist Party of China and will reach the conclusion for themselves that the ideology guiding both these countries is revisionist.

As it seems, these two countries are preparing their internal opinion for an eventual visit of Tito to Korea and Peking. According to the Yugoslav ambassadors, Tito has promised that he will go to Korea, but first has to prepare his visit to Peking. Apparently, with the visit of the Chinese parliamentary delegation, which expressed such enthusiasm about the Tito regime, the Chinese and the Titoites reached agreement that Tito is to visit Peking, but the date of this visit has not yet been announced. Nevertheless, the preparations in this direction are being made, and this will be very good for us because we have done everything to prove both to China and Korea as well as to the whole world, that Titoite Yugoslavia is a capitalist country, as we have said all along.

TUESDAY
JUNE 7, 1977

WHY IS TITO GOING TO CHINA?

Various news agencies are writing that in August the President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, will go to Moscow and Pyongyang and afterwards to Peking. The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Forlani, who was received by Tito, announced this through the press in Belgrade. Today, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, also gave this news. The visit of this renegade to Peking will be made precisely at the moments of the great turn which China has taken towards close friendship with the United States of America and all the rest of the capitalist world against Soviet social-imperialism which the Chinese leadership proclaims is the main and only enemy of socialism and the freedom of the peoples.

Thus Tito, this renegade from Marxism-Leninism, an agent of American imperialism and servant of the world capitalist bourgeoisie, will be welcomed with great enthusiasm and pomp by another renegade from Marxism-Leninism, Hua Kuo-feng. Under his rule at present, and nobody knows for how long, Hua Kuo-feng has a population of 800 million, a whole continent, and the renegade Tito, who is an old fox who knows how to manoeuvre in order to grab capital and liquidate socialism, will feel himself at home in Pyongyang and Peking. In Pyongyang, I believe that even Tito will be astonished at the proportions of the cult of his host, which has reached a level unheard of anywhere else, either in past or present times, let alone in a country which calls itself socialist.

However, Hua Kuo-feng, too, who took the place of Mao

Tsetung, has begun a deafening propaganda campaign to build up his own cult, since the triumph of the military putsch he organized. Apart from other things, day by day, not just one but scores of different delegations are going to China, some to sing the praises of this person, others to sing the praises of the state power which he has established, or of the struggle which Hua Kuo-feng has been waging for eight or nine months against «The Four», calling them «gangsters», «robbers», «whoremongers», and whatever you like. Groups of businessmen from imperialist America and other capitalist states are going to China to make investments and to secure markets for their goods.

Together with Hua Kuo-feng and Kim Il Sung, there we shall see Tito. China and Korea were two countries which Tito had not visited, hence he is going to fulfil this desire, too. The stamps of China and Korea were missing from his collection, while he has not included the stamps of Franco and Pinochet, but tomorrow he might put these, too, in the album of his travels, to hatch up intrigues under the cloak of a great world policy. In fact Tito should be given his due. Regardless of the fact that he is a vile traitor, he is clever at intrigue, at double-dealing, at forming and dissolving combinations. **Therefore his trip to Peking is not just a simple visit, but is to demonstrate his «majesty» to China, to say to the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China: «See! I am what I am, and your Chinese leadership kowtowed before me. Since your leadership is Marxist-Leninist and is kowtowing before me on my visit to Peking, that means, it is kowtowing to a great Marxist-Leninist who was the first to stand up to Stalin and is standing up to all the world capitalists, American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism», etc. This is what Tito wants to tell them.**

Tito is certainly going to China to hold political and economic talks. In regard to economic questions, Tito has hopes of solving some problems of the crisis which has gripped Yugoslavia. The first arrow from his bow will be aimed at this, but his next arrow will be aimed at the further strengthening of

the links of the Hua Kuo-feng group with American imperialism, not that the Hua Kuo-feng group has not entered into close and friendly relations, which are developing in all directions, with the American capitalists, with the big American concerns and trusts, but the help of this American agent might serve both Washington and China.

In China Tito will give and receive promises. He is not going empty-handed, either from the side of the Soviets or from the side of American imperialism. Before he goes to Peking he will certainly have balanced the proposals he will make to the Chinese with the two superpowers, which naturally, are each trying to exert their direct influence on the development of events in China, but Tito, too, will be working on this from his own angle.

I think that Tito's work in China will be in favour of American imperialism and in the disfavour of Soviet social-imperialism. No doubt he will go about this work very craftily, which will be to the liking of the Chinese and they will accept it with great pleasure. If Tito is to carry proposals on behalf of Brezhnev for a detente with China, hence for a certain accord, or the beginning of an accord between China and the Soviet Union, Tito will do this, and it is to his advantage to do it, because it is his greatest desire to continue, through his treachery, to play the policy of the balance between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, of course, putting a few extra kilos on the American side.

Tito will receive a pay-off from the three sides, from the two old superpowers and the new, rising superpower, which is «gold plating» the emblems of the «socialist» Republic of China. It is claimed that Tito is to go to China as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and not as general secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This is a tale which serves to conceal the treachery of the Chinese leadership which does not want to disclose its revisionist features immediately. It wants to hide behind the mask of so-called Maoist Marxism, but the reality is different. Mao himself, was pro Tito and

against Stalin, irrespective of the fact that he declared the opposite, that Tito had become incorrigible and must be ranked with Hitler and Hirohito. His successors, or Hua Kuo-feng, to whom Mao Tsetung allegedly said, «With you in charge, I feel at ease», «corrected» this renegade.

It is a fact that, with his visit to China and Korea, Tito is building up his authority as a renegade in the international arena. Of course, he is building up his authority in the world of capitalist intrigues, in the world of the enslavement of the peoples, and this title will stick to him.

Meanwhile, Kim Il Sung thinks that the visit to Korea of Tito, whom he considers a great man, will give him even greater credit in the eyes of his own people in order to strengthen his personal cult. Kim Il Sung has great hopes in Tito and will welcome him with great cordiality and pomp, because he knows that Tito is the envoy of Carter, of the Americans. Kim Il Sung wants to have contacts with the United States of America, to establish diplomatic relations with that country, so that it softens its stand towards Korea.

As for the question of the unity or joining together of the two Koreas, this is a problem which will not be solved at present. But if this unification is not carried out on the Marxist-Leninist road, it is self-evident that it will not be carried out in favour of socialism.

Therefore Tito is going to Korea to carry out negotiations on behalf of American imperialism with Kim Il Sung and not to get credits, because there are no strong-rooms in Korea from which Tito can get them. Korea is so deeply in debt itself that it is unable to meet its repayments.

In regard to the «third world», Kim Il Sung pretends to be not only a member, but possibly, also, its leader. He also has pretentions that the «Juche» ideas, i.e., Kim Il Sung thought, should be spread throughout the world with great speed. All these pretentions do not upset Tito who, as we know, poses as the leader of the «non-aligned world», of the «non-aligned states». The two «leaders» will kiss in Pyongyang just as har-

moniously as their two worlds match each other. The two sides, will have the blessing mainly of American imperialism but in certain directions, of Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, too.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China has betrayed. In Korea, too, we can say that the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party is wallowing in the same waters. As for Tito, it is known that he is an inveterate traitor. This, naturally, is a great evil which is being committed against the revolution, it is a retrogression and a heavy loss for Marxism-Leninism. But this evil which is occurring and which does not depend on us, since it is occurring, also has its good aspect and this good aspect is that these individuals, these groups, these cliques, are exposing themselves, and the genuine Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, the world proletariat which is suffering, which is fighting in demonstrations and strikes in which people are killed, see that their oppressors, the capitalists, the imperialists and the agents employed by them, who pose as communists, as Marxist-Leninists, are conspiring to the detriment of the revolution and the peoples. Hence this great betrayal will open people's eyes and the struggle of the peoples and the Marxist-Leninists against these traitors will develop quantitatively and qualitatively. The time will come when, in different countries, the proletariat of the respective country, with its own genuine Marxist-Leninist party, will attack the power of capital.

Marxism-Leninism has not died, neither has it grown old, it is always revolutionary, it is young and is the motive force of the world today. The revolution, led by the proletariat, is that great force which will transform the world and not that nondescript «third world» which Mao and the Maoists are boosting. Yesterday, at the dinner which the Chinese leaders put on for Nimeri of Sudan, Li Hsien-nien said among other things, «Imperialism and social-imperialism are not a great force. Today it is we, the third world, that are the greatest force in the world». What is this «greatest force in the world» going to do? Li Hsien-nien, this «great politician», did not explain this, but with this «great force», he wanted to say, «We, the Chinese,

800 million strong, are in this third world, too, therefore we are building up to a great force and you, the Sudanese and other semi-colonial peoples, must unite with us because we shall lead you». This is what the statement meant in other words.

Hence in these conditions and situations, which are difficult for capitalism and imperialism, the anti-communist and anti-Marxist snakes are twisting and turning both in Washington and in Moscow and Peking, where the cliques in power are in difficulties. Changes have taken place everywhere, great switches of policy are being seen, and all these changes do not speak of the strength but of the decay of imperialism and its replacement with socialism.

The defeat which the international communist movement has suffered is temporary. The mountain has to be climbed, but the proletariat will climb the mountain with the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

SATURDAY
JUNE 11, 1977

CHINESE SABOTAGE OF THE ECONOMY OF OUR COUNTRY CONTINUES

We have received a radiogram from our trade attache in Peking, informing us that the people of the Ministry of Industry in China say that a series of essential items for the steel industry and Ballsh are not ready, have not been tested, and content themselves with saying, «We shall see», «we shall make them», etc. In other words, the Chinese are sabotaging us and postponing the dispatch of this machinery. Naturally, our trade attache protested officially and declared that we shall insist that these things must be looked into.

SATURDAY
JUNE 18, 1977

THE CHINESE ARE ENGAGED IN ESPIONAGE AND SABOTAGE ACTIVITY

Our ambassador in China reports that the Chinese have begun to put pressure on our students with the aim of making them their agents. This occurred with one of our students at the University of Peking to whom one of the teaching staff made such a proposition. Our student replied to him immediately with great indignation and went quickly to the embassy to report this occurrence. This is villainous hostile work. We had foreseen this and therefore had notified the comrades of the embassy to make contact with all the students, to advise them that they must be correct in their lessons, behaviour and work, but at the same time must be vigilant, defend the line of the Party and their socialist Homeland against any attempt of any nature at all, against any provocation and any effort to recruit them on the part of the Chinese.

Such is the «close», «immortal» friendship and other piffle which the Chinese say in connection with us. Since they have sunk to this level in their activity against our country, they are not only hypocrites but also enemies. But they are doing something else, too. In the course of conversation they go so far as to try to learn from our students where their parents work, how many people each has at home, what work they do. Apparently, they are building up a file on every Albanian who goes to China for study or work. But why? Of course, in order to continue their hostile work of sabotage against our country in the future, too. The Chinese are doing this here, too, in our

country. The Hsinhua correspondent is the head of their agency. We have formed the conviction that the employees of the embassy, right down to the interpreters, are not career diplomats or party cadres, but agents of the Chinese intelligence service. They, of course, maintain contacts with their specialists who work in the factories and the projects which we are building, and undoubtedly these engineers also do the work of the informer for the Chinese embassy at the same time.

In regard to the question of the construction of factories and plants, which we are building with Chinese aid, they are raising major obstacles, especially at the metallurgical combine and the plant at Ballsh. The plant at Ballsh should have been completed years ago, but it is still not in operation because of a few extremely small parts, some pumps, which sometimes they send and then take away, send them again, assemble them and dismantle them, saying, «We are not sure; we must be sure before we instal them, we are testing them», etc. Meanwhile in the construction of the metallurgical combine they are raising all sorts of obstacles. The Ministry of Mining of China presented a whole list to our delegate, saying that the equipment for this project cannot be delivered at such and such a time, it still has not been tested, that it is now being tested but the test has not given the results, that it needs further testing, etc., etc. Thus, these new revisionists want to sabotage the two main projects. The same thing is occurring at Fierza, too.

We are patient, but we are clear that the plants and factories which have been supplied to us by China will be brought into operation with great delays, if the construction does not stop half-way. It will be a great scandal for them if they leave these projects incomplete. Nevertheless, they will pay for this damage which they are causing to the economy of our country with their treacherous line and their sabotage. In the final reckoning they will pay the price.

In China, the officials: directors, deputy-ministers, and chiefs of sectors remain as cold as ice to our people. This means that the Hua Kuo-feng leadership has informed the whole Chi-

nese apparatus about the stand which must be maintained towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Meanwhile among the people there are those who are for us, who love us wholeheartedly and speak in our favour, while there are others who are afraid but do not speak against us. There are Chinese ambassadors abroad who are so brazen, so shameless as to make you vomit. They say to our ambassadors, «There is no friendship like that between China and Albania; it will be everlasting; there is no force which can break this friendship, we love Albania heart and soul», and other such rubbish. And they go even further in their hypocritical behaviour. On the one hand, they have formed such a close ideological, political, economic and every other sort of friendship with Tito, while on the other hand the Chinese ambassador, for example in Bucharest, indulges in demagogy before the Yugoslav ambassador, embracing our ambassador and saying: «We are linked closely with Albania because we are Marxist-Leninists. We love one another with sincere love and there is no force in the world which can divide us». But the Yugoslav ambassador plays his role well, too. When the Chinese was saying these things the Yugoslav ambassador made believe that his hand and his chin were trembling, posing as if he were deeply hurt by the words of the Chinese which were allegedly aimed against Yugoslavia! What a farce!

On the occasion of the departure of the Chinese ambassador from Italy, as reported from Rome, a big bunch of top Italian functionaries had been invited. The Chinese ambassador stayed in a separate room with all the heads and directors of big Italian firms and concerns such as «FIAT», «ENI», «Montedison», etc.

Apparently China has been turned into a capitalist country and is going deeper into this course; it accepts collaboration with the concerns of the capitalist world or the «second world», as it calls it. Tomorrow China will agree to do the same thing with the United States of America, whereas on the platform of the struggle against our Party and against genuine Marxist-

Leninist communist parties it has its sword drawn. It is gathering together and financing scabby elements everywhere, giving them the title of the «communist party», «workers' party», «liberation party», «Marxist-Leninist party». All these «parties» sing in harmony with China about the «third world», about unity with American imperialism and the monopolies of that country in «joint frontal struggle against Soviet social-imperialism». All this is nothing other than struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism so that China will manage to become a great capitalist world power.

China is spending large sums on receptions and farewells. Hundreds, if not thousands of delegations from all corners of the capitalist world are pouring in there. Open contracts have been signed with them, but undoubtedly they are also signing secret contracts, hostile political and military plans against the peoples of the world are being cooked up, and China is trying to disguise these things with a phraseology which is allegedly Marxist, but which in fact is ludicrous. It is trying to drown the stench of these actions with rose water, or as the French say with *eau de rose*.

The penetration of China into Africa is becoming more open day by day and it is always a «sincere», although unequal partner of the United States of America. The United States has such confidence in the actions of China that it allows it to act because the activity of the Chinese, in Zaire for example, or as is occurring now in Ethiopia and elsewhere, is of great service to the Americans.

Hence the whole world says that China has deviated from Marxism-Leninism, has become a close friend of Titoite Yugoslavia, and Tito is to go to China in order to establish friendship at state and party level and is achieving complete unity with the group of Hua Kuo-feng.

Now China is taking measures to welcome Tito. Leading articles are being published to this end, but not without Chinese tricks. The implication is: «True, I shall welcome Tito, and will do him great state honours, etc., but I shall speak well

about Stalin, saying that he has done this and that and therefore, even though I welcome Tito, I shall tell him that I have admiration for Stalin». All this is another handful of nettles mixed into the Chinese salad. But will Tito eat this Chinese salad? Of course, he will not eat such salad.

Tito's visit to Peking will not be a tourist trip. Tito's primary aim in going there is to build up his own prestige, to say to the world: «See! China, too, has fallen at my feet and recognized me as the main leader of the international communist movement; the China of Hua Kuo-feng has rejected the line of Mao Tsetung who, at one time, did launch some arrows at me, but also said good things about me. Now, with my visit to China, all the things which were said against me are cancelled out».

Of course, Tito is going to China for other ulterior motives, too, to put China even more thoroughly on the course of betrayal and exposure so that it can never pull back. Tito will lay down many conditions for this visit, political and ideological conditions, will make economic demands and speak about military matters. He will become the interpreter of American imperialism, will become the intermediary of the Soviets on various problems which have to do with China, and on many of these problems he will first get the opinion and approval of the «new great chairman» of China, Hua Kuo-feng, and then he will go to China.

Tito did his own work in declaring that he had been invited by the Chinese leaders to make a visit to China, and he would do this, but that when he would make it, is still not known. He will make this visit after he has received the endorsement of the Chinese of many of his views. We think that Tito will never accept the Chinese theory of the «third world». He insists on his formula of «non-aligned countries» and is convinced in his megalomania, because he is fiddling with this «non-aligned world» as he fiddles with that famous diamond ring he wears on his finger. «Let Hua Kuo-feng with the so-

called third world, which does not exist, join this world of ours if he wants to,» says Tito.

A Yugoslav ambassador has told one of our ambassadors: «It is clear to us why China claims the existence of a 'third world', which in fact does not exist. With this it wants to become the leadership of all the non-aligned countries. But we are the leaders of non-aligned countries. And moreover, China has become discredited in the 'third world'. The Koreans, too, who also want to take part in the non-aligned world, because they want to play a leading role with their 'Juche' theory, have similar views, but these efforts are not acceptable to us Yugoslavs».

Hence, we see a tragi-comedy being played at the expense of the peoples, at the expense of the proletariat, by a gang of traitors, revisionists and fascists, who have come to power through conspiracy and subversion, who disguise themselves as representatives of the peoples and the proletariat, and who engage in subversive activity against the peoples' liberation and the revolution.

The common characteristic of all the modern revisionists who are in power is their work of sabotage and subversion. The diplomats of revisionist countries strive with every means to weaken the resistance of peoples to their internal oppressors and the multinational capitalist trusts and concerns, in order to create that monopoly which enslaves and oppresses the proletariat. Just like the Soviets, the Chinese too, are carrying on subversive work in all states throughout the world where they have diplomatic representations.

I think that both the Soviets and the Chinese have this work of subversion even more highly developed than many capitalist states. Modern revisionism is a decadent trend amongst capitalist bourgeois trends, which has not the slightest power to convince people. The revisionist parties, like the other parties of capital, are not linked with the masses. Modern revisionism, which is the offspring of betrayal of Marxism and which fights to achieve the revision of Marxism, can no longer

have any sort of political influence because it is not in the least sincere with the broad masses of the people. The broad masses of the people who have aspired to and fought for socialism under the slogans of Marxism-Leninism, have felt and understood the correctness of this theory and they see that the betrayers of it speak differently from the way they act. Therefore, they have lost all faith in the revisionist chiefs and there is no doubt that their agitation and propaganda makes little impression.

Up till now, there has been a kind of salad which is called Russian salad. Now we have another salad — the Chinese salad. This salad is so rotten that you can smell it a thousand miles away. «Renmin Ribao» is writing editorial articles in which it «defends» Stalin, but the «defence» of Stalin is equated with the defence of Hua Kuo-feng. Hua Kuo-feng is posing as the «Stalin of China». There is a great deal of talk in China now that Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who fought against Trotskyites and Bukharinites, against Zinovyev, Kamenev and this one or that. Mao allegedly admired and praised this Stalin so much, etc., etc., and from this the conclusion emerges that «Comrade Hua Kuo-feng fights against The Four» who, they say, in this way and that, are Trotskyites, Bukharinites, etc. This is one set of ingredients of the Chinese salad. And another bitter ingredient is the friendship with Tito. **The news of the visit which Tito is to make to Peking, or to put it better, China's going over to Tito, has created a very bad impression about China among the peoples and the revolutionaries.** They all say that China has become a friend of Tito, of revisionism, therefore it has deviated from the Marxist-Leninist road, whereas in fact, it has never been properly on this road.

JUNE 20, 1977
MONDAY

CHINA IS MOVING CLOSER AND CLOSER TO THE CAPITALIST STATES

The visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, Forlani, to Peking ended «successfully». In the statements which he made, of course, he spoke warmly about the China of Hua Kuo-feng to which the Italians are getting closer, about their relations which are improving every day, about the great prospects which are open to Italy in the Chinese market to export various machinery of a high technological level. He said nothing about whether the Italians will invest in China, but it will not be surprising if they do so, despite the fact that Italy is one of the poorest of the developed countries. However, Italian capitalists are more disposed to leave the Italian workers to suffer unemployment, while they themselves draw great profits from those countries where they can make more profitable use of their capital.

Forlani's talks with Huang Hua were «very cordial», with the latter smiling and happy, because Italy is the most docile and faithful slave among the «allies» of the United States of America. **The American foot is firmly implanted in the «Italian boot», therefore for China, Italy is an admirable ally from every point of view, while the Chinese know that France shifts**, «kicks out» a little against the annoyance of the domination of the arrogant American capitalist monopolies.

China wants France to go back under the American dictate and to refrain from pursuing an independent policy and especially, to refrain from a course of conciliation with the Soviet

Union. But what can China do, because Giscard d'Estaing does not listen to it, and today he is putting on a pompous welcome for Leonid Brezhnev as President of the Supreme Soviet. Of course, **Captain Leonidas is going to France to «deepen» his friendship with Giscard, and this is not to the benefit of the United States of America, West Germany, or China.** In this way Giscard d'Estaing is trying to strengthen his position in the direction of America to some extent, but also in the direction of its most dangerous partner — the European Common Market, which China is boosting, publicizing it as an important factor for peace, for the good of the peoples of Western Europe and making appeals for all to join this European Common Market. It is also propagating that everybody, proletarians and the rich, should unite in «United Europe».

Giscard d'Estaing is manoeuvring, because elections will be held in France next year, and he wants to split the so-called communist-socialist coalition between Marchais and Mitterand. But this coalition is a utopia, because Mitterand in no way wants the «communists» to take part with full equality in the future government of the «left», as the French say. Therefore, Giscard d'Estaing has long been manoeuvring to further split this tattered unity which exists on paper, which exists over a few unimportant things and is allegedly called the unity of the left.

Thus **China is making approaches to the French revisionist party, to Marchais** and, while not liking the policy of Giscard, naturally it likes the policy of Marchais. But Carter's «new policy», also, is not to the liking of China, because it imagined that the United States of America would pursue a policy to the liking and taste of Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, or Hua Kuo-feng. How «very clever» all the Chinese leaders showed themselves to be in thinking that their weight in the international balance would be very heavy and that the United States of America would fall on its knees to them and proceed to toughen its policy towards the Soviet Union! As the imperialist state it is, the United States of America, naturally, has major

contradictions with the Soviet Union, but it makes its own calculations to keep China in hostility with the Soviet Union, to incite it, possibly even to launch attacks on the border, if not a major war, or at least to carry out a few skirmishes.

Although China does not like Carter's «new policy», it is also on China's line, because it allows the Chinese revisionists to continue the propaganda they have begun pro the United States of America, saying that it «is peaceful», «not aggressive», that it «desires the status quo», is «seeking agreements», etc., etc. Carter's speech, delivered after he went to London, indicates precisely this false line, that is, that the United States of America is allegedly for a detente on a broad scale, for aid to the developing countries, for even closer collaboration with the Soviet Union, for close friendship with China, etc., etc.

This policy of Carter's makes the Chinese worship the United States of America, except that they would like the Americans to speak differently about the Soviet Union. The Chinese dearly loved the gangster Nixon, because he said that he would work to build a great bridge which would begin from San Francisco and reach to Peking, and this would be the bridge of the friendship of the United States of America with the China of Chairman Mao Tsetung. At that time China applauded this idea of «genius», and the ardent desires of this American gangster.

Regardless of the differences which exist, Hua Kuo-feng and Carter are continuing to build the bridge which Nixon started to build with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai. Nuances may always exist, but the line and course which the Chinese are following will not change if the present Chinese leadership does not change and if the Communist Party of China is not put on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 22, 1977

FAIR CRITICISMS AND DEMANDS BY OUR WORKING CLASS

The 8th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania is being held in Korça. In his report, Comrade Rita Marko mentioned our friendship with the Chinese people in only one phrase, without mentioning their economic aid at all.

Meanwhile not only are the delegates not talking about aid from the Chinese because they are fed up to the neck with their delays and sabotage, but they are using indirect forms to express their dissatisfaction. Thus, the delegate of the working people of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan and the delegate from the oil processing plant at Ballsh, in their contributions, after speaking about the successes achieved, without mentioning China, its aid, or the Chinese specialists, threw in some gibes, criticizing the Ministry of Trade, the organs engaged in foreign trade, export and import, as well as the Ministry of Industry and Mining as the investor, for failure to bring in the necessary equipment and machinery at the time laid down. They pointed out that the failure to deliver this equipment and machinery is causing delays in completing these two important industrial projects of our country according to plan and, as a result, the economic interests of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian working class are being seriously damaged. Therefore, they demanded that the Government take the necessary measures and once again instruct the competent organs to speed up the delivery of this equipment and machinery envisaged for

delivery from abroad long ago under the state contracts. Everyone understood that these criticisms were aimed at the Chinese leadership. This means: «Knock on the lintel so the door will hear».

THURSDAY
JUNE 23, 1977

CHINA WANTS TO PLAY THE ROLE OF THE «OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN»

The representatives of the Chinese news agency in Europe and the lackeys of the Chinese, especially the Trotskyite Jurquet in France and the elements of «Rote Fahne» in Germany, are the most active in pursuing the treacherous line of Hua Kuo-feng. They are activizing people not only in their own countries, but wherever they can.

China is financing all these agents, who have created a press and put out some kind of propaganda, but their main propaganda is done with money. China gives these agents money to buy the waverers who take part in the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Europe. Comrades of fraternal parties have told us that employees of the Chinese embassies make direct contact in the streets with party comrades with whom they have no previous acquaintance, open up conversation, and then, after two or three meetings, allegedly ideological discussions, they offer them money. Some refuse it categorically and with contempt but some accept it. Such is the work carried on by the agency of Keng Piao, who is engaged in the relations between the Communist Party of China and the communist parties of the world.

The fraternal Marxist-Leninist communist parties are now in a position to make their judgements and to act, and we think that they must not hesitate to take correct actions against all these hostile attempts which are being carried out by the modern revisionists, by the Chinese and Soviet revisionists, by the

Trotskyites and all the other lumpen elements in their service.

It is the business of the Marxist-Leninist parties to think for themselves and if the situation requires this, to speak out openly. They should not take a strict view of our tactic, because they know very well what our stands and views are about this revisionist line of the Communist Party of China. We speak openly against this line and the strategy and tactics that go with it, but without mentioning the name of China or putting the finger on the Communist Party of China. Nevertheless, everybody understands this now. Perhaps, the time has come for the new Marxist-Leninist communist parties to speak out even more openly and, if the situation is ripe, they should not hesitate, because the groups and parties which China and its Hua Kuo-feng are forming are set up precisely to denigrate and fight these parties.

As I have said before, the aim of the Chinese tactic is to incite a polemic, but this polemic must be developed between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the fascist groupings with Maoist labels, while China remains outside this polemic, is not to be mentioned, and plays the role of the «God on Olympus», the role of the «Old Man of the Mountain». In history this was what the head of the Ashashin sect was called. He lived in the mountains of Syria, gathered men around him in his lair, intoxicated them with hashish, showed them beautiful gardens and houris and then sent them to the four corners of the earth to propagate his sect and to kill the enemies of the «Old Man of the Mountain». This is the medieval work that Peking is engaged in. Therefore, in order to expose and defeat it and its agents, it must be faced with the steel strength of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

DURRËS, SUNDAY
JUNE 26, 1977

A BRIEF REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN CHINA

This morning Comrade Behar Shtyila, who returned from Peking yesterday, came to Durrës. He reported to me at length on the situation in China, which is what we know. The army and the security service, at the head of which stand Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-yi and Li Hsien-nien, are in power there. Keng Piao makes the foreign policy.

The struggle is being waged against «The Four», which means against all existing opponents in China. There is a military barracks in each street in Peking. Such a flood of soldiers, police, and security men has never been seen before in the Chinese capital. Life has become difficult especially for the embassy of our country. From the diplomatic angle it is completely neglected. Naturally, the Rumanians, the Yugoslavs and others are in the forefront of the diplomatic representatives.

The course of rapprochement with the United States of America and the Western capitalist countries is developing. The Chinese continue to receive credits in various forms from the United States of America, Japan, and the other capitalist countries of Europe

Behar, who has lived there for four years, told us that the Chinese economy has declined amazingly, whereas before there was such great agricultural production that goods were stacked on the foot-paths. He told us about the great weaknesses and shortages that can be seen in the Chinese economy and the Chinese market.

They are waiting impatiently for Tito to go to China al-

though among the diplomatic corps there is hardly any talk about his visit, or as one ambassador told Behar: «I tell you, between ourselves, it is China that is going to Tito and not Tito to China». Why this silence among the diplomatic corps about the visit of Tito to China? The explanation could be that the westerners do not want this visit to be propagated at present, because it is not in favour of China. They do not want China to be completely exposed because Tito's visit, naturally, tears off the mask of China as an allegedly socialist country. The capitalist countries want to preserve its disguise, while the Chinese themselves have cast off all disguise, therefore they are awaiting Tito impatiently, and, as they say, will give him a majestic welcome.

But, of course, Tito is not going there without laying down prior conditions, either. And his going to China will be a crowning success at the end of his life which gives the impression that China, too, has fallen on its knees to him

In regard to our economic relations, over supply of the machinery and equipment for the projects we are building, the Chinese are pursuing the tactic we know, «reel in but don't break the line», delay, postpone, give all the «reasons» you could wish and do not achieve the target-dates set in the signed contracts. In the first six months of this year our trade with China has been running at 30 per cent of the normal rate, and of this 30 per cent only 70 per cent is covered by contracted goods. In regard to the delays they find plenty of reasons, 90 per cent of which are without foundation, and only 10 per cent of them may have some basis.

Hence China's general line is to boycott Albania, to boycott it within China and also outside China, as well as to boycott it economically. That same hostile revisionist policy pursued by the Soviet revisionists is being pursued against us and indeed even more savagely.

The Chinese security service now shadows the employees of our embassy relentlessly. If ever a Chinese in China meets

some Albanian in the streets or at work, the Chinese is always summoned and asked: «What did you talk about with the Albanian, what did the Albanian say?» The people of the security service have been set against our people and we even have facts that they are trying to recruit agents among them.

DURRËS, TUESDAY
JULY 5, 1977

THE CP OF CHINA IS ORGANIZING ITS SATELLITES

The Communist Party of China is organizing its satellites to hold meetings and make statements. The latest meeting was held between the allegedly Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Belgium and Holland. These parties affirmed the «militant unity and the identity of their views». In honouring the memory of Mao Tsetung, these two parties declared that he «enriched the science of the revolution to a great degree, linking it closely with the three elements of our epoch: Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tsetung thought». Now they no longer say, «Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought», but put the three elements on the same footing. They stress that in order to analyse the international situation one must proceed from Mao Tsetung's «famous» thesis of «three worlds», because, according to them, «this is the powerful motive force which carries the world and the proletariat, the peoples and the countries, forward», while not forgetting to say that the two superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism and American imperialism constitute the «first world» and both of them are sworn enemies of the peoples. Then they stress that Soviet social-imperialism is becoming a wild beast, in one word, it is arming itself more and more and endangering Europe in particular.

These two parties also say that they are against hegemonism, but at the same time are also for national defence against the dangers that are threatening their national independence. Therefore, according to them, in order to defend this independence it is essential that the independent nations of

Europe and other continents unite with the «third world», and thus develop a tactic and employ the same action against the danger of the superpower, Soviet social-imperialism and finally comes their hobby-horse: the praise for Hua Kuo-feng who is allegedly a worthy successor to Chairman Mao, who «smashed the fascist gang of four, and liberated China»; this «gang of four», is alleged to have been «a great danger to China, the world and to everybody». Such are the statements which China prepares for these corrupt or degenerate dregs, which to some degree and for a time were considered «Marxist-Leninist communist parties».

Now that the revisionist deviation is developing in China, these parties are finding their place and also the umbrella to shelter under, and from these positions they are fighting our Party and the other Marxist-Leninist communist parties which stand firm on the line of the Marxist-Leninist theory, hence at the same time they are fighting against the proletarian revolution and the peoples' liberation.

It is interesting to observe (and it is not only now that we are observing this) that the Communist Party of China does not involve itself in the work of justifying and supporting these formulations of its ideas which it is disseminating in the world. It is not trying to provide theoretical explanations for these formulations of the «third world» and those about the more powerful and the less powerful imperialism, or to prove that American imperialism has allegedly been weakened, «has become a rat, while Soviet social-imperialism has become a bear and a tiger which must not be fed».

Hence the Communist Party of China washes its hands off this polemic, backs away and keeps at a safe distance from it, because it is afraid of the arrows which will fly and which will be lethal for the Chinese revisionists. And any amount of these arrows have been and will be fired at them in the future.

The present tactic of the Communist Party of China is to urge these allegedly Marxist-Leninist parties which it has put

under Hua's domination to speak about these anti-Marxist theories. Naturally, seeing the Marxist-Leninist reaction against them in the world, according to the occasion and the need, these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties, which are beating the drum for the Chinese, resort to phrases with two or three meanings. These are phrases which Keng Piao has sent them from the centre established in Peking. This means that the present leaders are following the same tactic that Mao Tsetung and his successors have always followed, of not speaking about delicate issues, of speaking with great reservation, of speaking in such a way as to present two sides, both for and against, to take a stand at the head, in the middle and at the tail, so that in every situation they can pull something out of the bag in which they have gathered all these «jewels» and say: «See, this is what we have said, not that».

Therefore we must continue to wage the polemic from our side against this right deviation, against this dangerous variant of modern revisionism, against this betrayal of Marxism-Leninism which is being repeated this time by the Chinese leadership. We must develop the polemic making it more and more severe, making the issues very plain, so that nothing remains obscure and the comrades of our Party and our whole people understand what problems we are referring to and against whom the polemic is aimed. In this way our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist comrades abroad and their genuine parties too, will be able to understand the situation more clearly from our polemic and will be better aware of the opinions of our Party in opposition to this treacherous right deviation.

DURRËS, THURSDAY
JULY 7, 1977

AN ARTICLE WHICH EXPOSES A GREAT INTRIGUE TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE PEOPLES

I believe that our article, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution», which came out today in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», will have a great impact on the Marxist-Leninists abroad and also on other progressive bourgeois thinkers, while the Chinese and their hangers-on, against whom the article is aimed in fact, will certainly be furious. It was necessary, indeed very necessary and essential, that we should prepare and publish this article, because the Chinese revisionists were doing increasing harm, stepping up the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and especially against the Party of Labour of Albania.

As I have said at other times, this struggle has been waged in a furtive, cunning, hypocritical way and was entirely unprincipled. The Chinese did not make the slightest effort to defend their notorious theses about the revolution, because in fact there was no way in which they could defend them, because the division into three worlds and the inclusion of China in the «third world», is nothing but an effort to extinguish the proletarian revolution and make the proletariat submit to the yoke of the capitalist bourgeoisie of the industrialized countries and of American imperialism. **This absurd anti-Marxist theory allegedly combated Soviet social-imperialism which was endangering American imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism and the developed capitalist countries. The Chinese theories, which have their source in the bourgeois-revisionist views of Mao**

Tsetung, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and Chairman Hua, take no account at all of the peoples and the revolution.

The defence of American imperialism and the other imperialists of Europe and Asia by the Chinese has a major aim which the Chinese are putting into application. Now they are speaking openly about getting aid and credits from these states and capitalist firms in order to strengthen their economy and their army, in other words to make China, too, a superpower, with their assistance, of course, in order to set it on to Soviet social-imperialism.

In this great intrigue which is being hatched up at the expense of the peoples and is disguised with a pseudo-Marxist-Leninist theory, the Chinese revisionist leaders reckon that American imperialism together with Chinese social-imperialism which is building, will go into a third world war to liquidate the other superpower, the Soviet Union. Of course, the Chinese are doing this from an allegedly Marxist-Leninist platform, because a social-imperialism is being fought by a «socialist» and «Marxist-Leninist» country, while the United States of America is doing it from the position of a powerful imperialism in order to defeat another imperialism which wants to take its place.

The aid which China will get from the United States of America and the other developed capitalist countries will be such that it will not constitute any danger either to American imperialism or the other developed capitalist countries, but, in alliance with these powers, the balance will tilt to the side of American imperialism and this will assist in the weakening of Soviet social-imperialism. This means that the contradictions driving the peoples into a world war will be further deepened. Hence, anti-socialist China is fighting for the outbreak of a third world war, which is a major crime against humanity.

If China were a socialist country it would have to fight the two great imperialist powers, to exploit and deepen the contradictions between them, struggle to neutralize the efforts which the two superpowers are making for a world war and prepare its friends and comrades all over the world to cope with

the storm of another war of extermination. China is not doing this, therefore it was essential that our article, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution», should come out at these moments.

This article will be accompanied with other theoretical studies and other articles, naturally, without mentioning China. But if the situation requires it this, too, will be done. Now everybody understands that the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania is against the anti-Marxist theory of Mao Tsetung and Hua Kuo-feng. It is possible that the bourgeois press and radio might highlight this article, but they might also keep quiet about it. Both possibilities exist. Those who want to defend China so that it continues its lies and becomes thoroughly dependent on them, naturally will stay silent, while the others, who are more realistic and do not like this course China has taken, will speak.

In any case the echo of the line of the Party of Labour of Albania will be heard loudly throughout the world and this will be in favour of our Party, in favour of its correct Marxist-Leninist line.

SATURDAY
JULY 9, 1977

A BASKET OF CRABS

Between the Korea of Kim Il Sung, the Yugoslavia of Tito and the China of Hua Kuo-feng a silent, allegedly ideological, conflict has broken out. This conflict really has no aspect of an ideological conflict, but is over who is to seize the banner of false ideologies. Each of these three fighting cocks wants superiority in the groupings of «worlds» which they have invented together with the imperialists, that is, the «non-aligned world», the «third world», and the «developing world». Each is trying to protect the borders of its world, borders which in fact do not exist, and there is no way in which they can exist, because these «friends» of world capital in fact preach to the oppressed peoples who are seeking liberation that they should remain tamely in their bondage.

These three pretenders to the thrones of these «worlds» want to gain a few crumbs, most of which they will grab themselves, from American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism and the other developed capitalist countries, and to pose as if they are the leaderships of these groupings, and decide whether the times will be good or bad in the poor countries of the various continents.

… Since Korea is one of the states which cannot live without foreign aid, it now finds itself at the crossroads because its creditors are no longer providing it with loans, for the reason that it has not paid its debts. World capital is no longer interested in investing in Korea.

Despite this the Korean press demands that the world

should bend the knee to Kim Il Sung and shamelessly declares that he is the «greatest leader the world has seen up till now»! Therefore he is not only seeking aid and hand-outs for himself, but also wants the United States of America to cease any kind of aid to South Korea where the Americans have an important base which, indirectly, China defends, too. Thus Kim Il Sung wants and is trying to bring about the unification of the two Koreas under his flag.

This «great leader» of long standing has this day-dream, and in order to give himself authority he has planned welcomes and farewells to top personalities in Pyongyang, as well as all kinds of international seminars and meetings. For example, there are plans for a big meeting of the youth of the «third world» in which the youth of the «non-aligned world», the youth of the «developing world» and the devil and his son are to take part. Of course, one can guess what such a meeting, which will be a «meeting of the youth» only in name, will turn out to be, while in that «net» cast so widely there will be all kinds of fish and crabs, people of every tendency and ilk, from sold-out agents to vagabond onlookers who are ready to take «free» trips all over the world not to learn, of course, but just for pleasure.

However the Titoites do not like such a thing, therefore they are trying to sabotage it. The Yugoslav revisionists do not want Kim Il Sung to hold the leadership of the world youth. The other revisionist countries, like the Soviet Union, do not like it either, because they are not in any way interested that this person, Kim Il Sung, should pose for what he is not. The Chinese do not like this either, and it is the same with all those who are members of the «third world». It pleases none of them that their alleged world, the «third world» should send the youth to Pyongyang for the Koreans to pour whatever they like into their ears. Thus many ambassadors of different countries tell our ambassadors, «We do not agree with these, we do not agree with those, we do not agree that these should come, we do riot agree that those should come, we do not agree that they

should meet in Korea», and other such things. Naturally, there is no way that they can be in agreement, because all this is a basket of crabs in which each is working for his own interests and a mixture of ideologies prevails among them, but there is no Marxist ideology. Here we have to do with a bunch of traders in which each is trying to show himself the richest in people or countries and able to sell the goods which one or the other imperialism gives him. This whole thing is like a tragi-comic fair.

Our people, of course, explain the stand of our Party to all and tell them that we not only oppose such action, not only oppose the essence of this meeting, not only oppose the names applied to this grouping, but will not in any way take part in this masquerade which will be held in Pyongyang, because our Party is a serious party which always stands loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In this situation Tito has decided to go on a visit to the Far East and now there is talk about this visit, but nothing has been decided yet on when he will go and how he will go. There are rumours that he will go at the end of July, in August, or at the end of August. Some say he will go through the Soviet Union, while others say that the Soviet Union does not agree that Tito should pass through its territory to China. There are also those who say that China does not want him to go through the Soviet Union, either, because it will be interpreted as if he is an intermediary between the Soviet Union and China. And in fact Tito is an intermediary between the Soviet Union and China. China wants to monopolize this person for its own ends. It is trying to show Tito that it is welcoming him with great hospitality, with gongs and millions of people who will shout their admiration for him in Tien An Men, the boulevards and at the airport. The Chinese will line the streets to welcome the «champion» of anti-Marxism, the renegade from Marxism-Leninism, the agent of American imperialism and the reactionary world bourgeoisie, to their country.

But will Tito go to Korea on this occasion? Of course, the plan is for him to go, but if this is to be realized, certain things must be put in order, because Tito is not going there merely to receive some big decoration, but also to tidy up some matters that must be tidied up. What sort of matters? Business on his own account, business linked with American imperialism which wants these countries to be dependent on it, and from this deal or mediation Tito will manage to get a fat credit from his patron, because this is what has always occurred after the visits he has made in different countries. These visits have always brought him profits.

At these moments of defeats and losses for the China of Hua Kuo-feng, Tito is to go to Peking. At a time when Tito is going to China, on the other hand Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who poses as a friend of China and in fact was a friend of China, is toppled. Bhutto is a very wealthy Pakistani who had proposed and advocated the holding of a meeting of representatives of education of «third world» countries. However, this was a flop, because nobody followed his lead on this question, and then they did not allow him to make this effort, because the coup d'etat, which was organized in recent days by Pakistani reaction, and certainly also by British, American or Soviet imperialism, removed Ali Bhutto from the stage and put him in jail together with all the members of his government, and there is no doubt that the opposition will come to power in Pakistan and will certainly regard «friendship» with China as the lowest note down the scale.

Hence, this government of reaction in Pakistan will link itself in close friendship with anti-Chinese and pro-American, or pro-Soviet India. This we shall see during the development of events, but one thing we can say is that one of the friends of China has suffered a great defeat. This fact is at the same time a defeat for the «clever» policy of Hua Kuo-feng.

DUJRRËS, MONDAY
JULY 11, 1977

WHEN WILL THE PARTY CONGRESS IN CHINA MEET AND WHY?

On the basis of what is being said in the circles of friends and in the diplomatic corps, our embassy in Peking informs us that there are major contradictions in the ranks of the Chinese leadership. Contradictions are apparent between Hua Kuo-feng and Yeh Chien-yi. Yeh Chien-yi is for the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping as quickly as possible, while Hua Kuo-feng is not in favour of this. He is doing everything in his power to postpone this action, and wants to call together the Central Committee or the Congress as quickly as possible. It is said that they have appointed from above which elements will take part in the congress, and the congress must determine the functions and tasks which Teng Hsiao-ping is to take over.

Of course, there are rumours that this congress will be held today or tomorrow, but they have been talking in this way for nearly a year, and the congress is still not being held, while the squabbles go on. Meanwhile, according to information we have, we learn that the squabbles are continuing not only in the leadership, but also among the broad masses of the party and the people. Hence, the situation in China cannot fail to be turbulent, cannot fail to be unstable.

In regard to relations with us, the Chinese leaders have spread a coldness not only among the cadres of the party, but also among the people, wherever our people have occasion to come in contact with Chinese workers, students, etc. The Chi-

nese working people are hesitant, are afraid to meet and talk with our people. With the others, the Chinese officials do quite the opposite, indeed go to extremes in order to imply that, with the Albanians things are at a very low ebb, that is, relations have deteriorated, while with the Yugoslavs and Rumanians they are in order.

Last evening I read an article of the newspaper «Renmin Ribao» about the impressions of the delegation of the Chinese veterans who visited Yugoslavia. What did this article not say! The very warm and majestic welcome which the Yugoslavs put on for the Chinese is highlighted! It tells how they met a hero of the peoples of Yugoslavia who had allegedly been imprisoned in the time of King Alexander because he had written a poem about Mao Tsetung's Long March! It goes on to relate how the Chinese were welcomed in the homes of Yugoslav veterans who told them that they had followed the struggle of the Chinese people with the greatest attention. But, continues the article of «Renmim Ribao», the Chinese, for their part, allegedly followed the heroic war of the peoples of Yugoslavia step by step with the greatest attention! We, who had the peoples of Yugoslavia here close to us and had relations with them, did not know concretely how this war was being waged while the Chinese, from remote Taishan or Hunan allegedly followed the Yugoslav national liberation war «led by the hero Tito», «with the greatest attention»! Of course, all this is to show the «great unity» which exists between these two revisionist countries. Now the Chinese are preparing the triumphant welcome for the revisionist renegade Tito who has announced that he will go first to Moscow and then from Moscow will go on to Peking.

Hence, all these things, as well as the activity of the Titoites, who know how to manoeuvre, how to deceive and to flatter the Chinese for their petty-bourgeois evil habits, are intended to ensnare them, to set them firmly on the course of revisionist treachery, and to harness them to the chariot of American

imperialism. These actions are quite clear, and we are making no mistake at all in beginning such an ideological struggle against the Chinese revisionist leadership, which is implementing, practising and developing the theories of modern revisionism.

THURSDAY
JULY 28, 1977

THE COMING TO POWER OF HUA KUO-FENG AND THE REHABILITATION OF TENG HSIAO-PING IS A SCANDALOUS BUSINESS

Examining the coming to power of Hua Kuo-feng and the complete rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping to all his former functions, we see a scandalous business in regard to the application of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles on the organization of the party. It is quite clear that Hua Kuo-feng came to power through a military putsch, at the head of which were he and Yeh Chien-yi. They arrested the four persons they call rightist radicals and seized power. The clique which carried out the putsch considered Hua Kuo-feng premier of the State Council and chairman of the party, because allegedly Mao Tsetung appointed him before he died. However, such a thing must be confirmed by the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. This was not done, and the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, and every norm of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party were violated. No meeting of the Political Bureau was held, and neither did the Central Committee of the Party elect Hua Kuo-feng. He called himself chairman of the Communist Party of China, smashed «The Four» at one blow, appointed himself premier etc., etc. Hence the way in which Hua Kuo-feng came to power has all the features of a military putsch, just as in the countries of Latin America.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China was crippled because a large number of its members had long been eliminated, and therefore, it could not meet. How is it possible

for four members of the Political Bureau to be expelled without the Bureau first meeting and then putting its decision before the Central Committee of the Party? Neither of these things was done. Hence Hua Kuo-feng was not elected by the organs laid down in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, and «The Four» were not expelled by the organs of the party on the basis of the rules defined in this Constitution. All this activity which was carried out was illegal and anti-Marxist.

In regard to Teng Hsiao-ping, he is an inveterate anti-Marxist who has been the main supporter of Liu Shao-chi. The latter was accused by Mao Tsetung of being a revisionist and «the Khrushchev number one of China», while Teng Hsiao-ping was described as «the Khrushchev number two» and together with Peng Chen and many others of their followers were eliminated in the same way. Only after this were the meetings held for the exposure of these persons. In fact, Teng Hsiao-ping was a revisionist and was brought back to power not in the correct. Marxist-Leninist way but through the will of Mao Tsetung personally. Thus, Mao Tsetung had condemned him, then rehabilitated him, and rehabilitated him well, appointing him the first deputy to the Premier Chou En-lai, vice-chairman of the Communist Party of China, and at the same time chief of the General Staff of the Army. This was an anti-Marxist decision approved only by the clique of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai. Chou En-lai rehabilitated his old comrades with whom he had been in agreement, though he did not suffer at that time like Liu and Teng, because Mao Tsetung felt that he was completely isolated and protected Chou. He admitted this himself and issued the call for the Cultural Revolution.

Hence, Teng Hsiao-ping was condemned because the Cultural Revolution, inspired by Mao Tsetung, condemned him. It was the same Mao Tsetung who called on the «Red Guard» to rise and attack the headquarters and the «Red Guard» attacked the headquarters. However, by calling for the headquarters to be attacked, Mao proved that his party was completely liquidated. The trade unions and all the other organizations of

the masses were liquidated, too. This occurred because all these organizations of the masses, headed by the party, were under the influence of Teng Hsiao-ping, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen and others. Therefore, the Cultural Revolution initiated by Mao Tsetung did not have the party and the working class as its basis and leadership, but only the intellectuals, the students and especially the secondary school pupils who, exalted by the calls of Mao, created their own theories and did whatever came into their heads; in their ranks they had a series of provocateurs, pro-Maoists, anti-socialists, pro-socialists, and whatever you like. Later, Mao Tsetung rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping with the aim of taking the rightist course towards the United States of America, towards an alliance with American imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism. Later still, he again denounced this element, discharging him from the major functions with which he had entrusted him and threw him out in the street, leaving him only the party card in his pocket. This occurred after the death of Chou En-lai, when everything had been expected to go smoothly: Teng Hsiao-ping was to take the place of Chou En-lai and continue his course under the banner of Mao Tsetung. However, this is not what happened. Mao exposed Teng for the second time, and allegedly left the instruction that Hua Kuo-feng should come to power, thus violating every party norm. In other words, Hua Kuo-feng, too, in Tien An Men Square accused Teng Hsiao-ping as a rightist and a revisionist; Wu Teh, Member of the Political Bureau and Mayor of Peking, also did this. Thus for a period of ten to twelve months Teng Hsiao-ping went into obscurity again, only to return after the coup d'etat which Hua Kuo-feng and Yeh Chien-yi carried out.

Now Teng Hsiao-ping has firmly re-established himself in the state and the party. It is possible that at the 11th Congress, which is supposed to be held at the end of the year, he may become premier to await the downfall of Hua Kuo-feng and then Teng Hsiao-ping will be appointed chairman of the party, too. With the return of Teng, naturally, the policy of China will continue on the course towards revisionism, towards

unity and friendship with the United States of America, and thus capitalism will be restored in China under socialist and Marxist-Leninist slogans.

Teng Hsiao-ping is against the Cultural Revolution and all those things that are being said about this revolution, that it had 7 good points and 3 bad points, will be swept away down the Yangtze river. For Teng Hsiao-ping, the Cultural Revolution is an enemy revolution which must be liquidated from start to finish. Hence Teng Hsiao-ping will also demolish the authority of Mao Tsetung. In fact, if the authority of Mao is examined thoroughly from the theoretical and political angles, it had no basis and it is not true that it was a consistent Marxist-Leninist authority. Teng Hsiao-ping and company who have now come to power want Mao Tsetung to be left in obscurity and mentioned no longer. And this time will come, there will no longer be the myth of Mao Tsetung against the current, but the current of the Yangtze will take it and carry it to the ocean. With the line that Teng Hsiao-ping will now implement, this will occur.

POGBADEC, MONDAY
AUGUST 1, 1977

THE «MOTHER» PARTY AND ITS BASTARD «DAUGHTERS»

The Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the CP of China in Peking, which allegedly maintains the contacts with the international communist movement abroad, has in fact become a centre in which the plans are fabricated for splitting the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and for the creation of new parties and groups which follow the new Chinese revisionist line. It is self-evident that these are not genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties, but revisionist, pro-Chinese ones. This directory is run by a certain Keng Piao, former ambassador to Sweden, to Albania, and I don't know where else. It is a fact that all the «representatives» of Hsinhua in various countries of the world are linked with this directory and are elements of the Chinese intelligence service. Those who allegedly work for Hsinhua carry out many jobs, are informed about everything, about the state, economic, and social institutions, about organization and military means, about political parties and personalities, and the life of the country to which they are sent generally. In brief, they carry out the task of espionage.

The other mission of this Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, as I mentioned, is to fabricate pro-Chinese, self-styled Marxist-Leninist parties. These parties are created to give the false impression that the Communist Party of China allegedly has widespread support among the world proletariat. These «Marxist-Leninist» parties spring up like mushrooms, naturally with the yuan of China

converted into dollars, and are nothing other than self-styled Marxist-Leninist groupings blessed by the Chinese revisionist leadership.

Such groups or parties are being created everyday in different countries of the world. So far as we know there are three pro-Chinese parties in Italy, two in France, one in Belgium, one in Luxemburg, in Greece I cannot say precisely whether two or three such parties have been created, one has been created in the United States of America, one, or perhaps two, in Portugal, and likewise in Spain where Maoist groups are being created. The same thing is occurring in Latin America, too.

In the countries where there are genuine Marxist-Leninist parties China fabricates the so-called Marxist-Leninist communist parties to propagate the pro-imperialist, anti-Marxist, revisionist theses of Mao Tsetung's China against Marxism-Leninism, against our Party and all other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

This savage Chinese revisionist current is added to the other savage revisionist current, the Soviet one. In essence there is no difference between these two currents and they comprise a big, indeed a colossal force against the revolution. We Marxist-Leninists who militate in genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties have to resist and expose this furious anti-Marxist current which uses all possible means to deceive the world proletariat so that it will not fight, but will enter into a «class peace» with its rabid enemy, big world capital, which oppresses it. Such are the two social-imperialist states, the Soviet and the Chinese, the one completed and the other in the process of formation, but which will not stop on the course it has started.

We must bear in mind the fact that, in these conditions, the fight with the Chinese revisionists is inevitable and today or tomorrow it will become more open. We must counterpose our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy to the capitulationist, capitalist and social-imperialist strategy of Chinese revisionism. We must not nurture any hopes that the Chinese

revisionists might correct themselves and, likewise, there must be no hesitation in regard to our attitude towards them.

Naturally, we have to gather our forces for this struggle, must find the most appropriate moments to fire our bullets and shots so that they produce the necessary and essential effect, because we are facing two powerful states, from every point of view except that they are weak ideologically and politically. **These two powers, strong economically and militarily but weak politically and ideologically, can do nothing to us because our Marxist-Leninist ideology is unerring and therefore we shall expose and defeat the enemies.** Provided we know how to use our struggle against the enemies of the revolution, the proletariat and socialism properly and in the right place, as we have done up to now, we shall certainly win.

It is clear that the present strategy of China is counter-revolutionary and is proceeding shoulder to shoulder and in alliance with the strategy of American imperialism. Hence, the Party of Labour of Albania and all the other Marxist-Leninist communist parties must resist these two similar strategies with their revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy. Times and circumstances will indicate to us the method and forms of struggle. We must and will find the most appropriate tactics, while recognizing that the more time goes by and the fiercer the struggle between us and the enemy becomes, these tactics will lose that prudence which they are maintaining at present. This prudence in some of our tactics is logical and necessary because with our struggle we are pursuing two aims: first, to expose American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the Chinese modern revisionists and all their supporters, and second, to make the peoples, the proletariat, the communists and the good communists of the parties which have betrayed, as clear as passible, with the objective that they should follow the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road. We must not forget this.

Naturally, our revolutionary opinions and views will not find the dissemination that we desire in all these countries because, especially in the revisionist states, a strict and vil-

lainous fascist censorship will be imposed on our ideas, but the triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism cannot be imprisoned within four walls. Despite severe censorship, they will penetrate, not only because we defend them, but because of the internal contradictions in these countries between the proletariat in unity with the freedom-loving people on the one hand, and the fascist gang of revisionist leaders which has taken power and is trying to establish capitalism and has eliminated the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other hand. In all these countries there are revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces, people who understand what is going on and are putting up passive resistance, but this passive method of opposition will be changed into active forms, will be multiplied and the decisive moments will come when the proletariat and the peoples rise in revolt. The peoples will oppose American imperialism and world capitalism.

Therefore it is our duty, the duty of the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties, to coordinate our activities especially on the general lines of our policy and ideology; we must strive to avoid vacillations in our ranks. Every party of the Leninist type must function in conformity with its internal conditions, but it must judge these conditions with great care, must make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of them and, on the basis of this realistic and concrete analysis, must determine the correct tactics which will lead us from victory to victory.

None of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties should think that they have to receive directives from somewhere. Each of them must learn from the directives of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. For all of us, Marxism-Leninism is the guiding light. It is absolutely essential that joint activities are carried out on the basis of this ideology, without any party being dependent on the other. We are against the thesis that there must be mother and daughter parties. We are for parties with equal rights, as Marx teaches us, but this presupposes that these parties have a clear ideology by which to guide themselves and this clear ideology cannot be other than Marxism-Leninism.

Therefore, in order to be able to fight the enemies, to understand their tricks, lies and attempts to split and fight us, we must thoroughly master Marxism-Leninism.

The mastery of Marxism-Leninism has great importance and this in no way excludes, but absolutely demands close collaboration and the exchange of experience between us. We must take the experience of the sister parties and they must also take our experience. This essential collaboration does not in any way mean that we are dependent on one another. We implement the platform of Marxism-Leninism, are closely linked with this platform and speak about one another's successes because they rejoice us. It is very necessary and absolutely essential that we speak about one another and do not remain silent, under the pretext that we will be called dependent and it will be said that this party is dependent on that party, etc. No, this accusation of enemies, who are envious of our collaboration, must not hinder us in any way in the course of our joint action and joint struggle against the main enemy. We are in alliance, but not in a formal bourgeois alliance. Our alliance is a sound and internationalist one, it has a single, outstanding, unerring leadership: Marxism-Leninism, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We must know how to apply this theory and, in order to apply it properly, it is necessary that we master it ever better. It is necessary that we define the tasks at the given time, for the given moments and about given problems in the light of this theory.

In practice, China is doing what it has allegedly fought in theory. The parties which it is organizing and which have sprung up like mushrooms after the rain, it keeps under tight control and runs itself. These parties await the directives of Keng Piao in order to adopt the stand which pleases the Chinese revisionists. This occurs first of all because they are not parties of the working class, but groups of people who are paid for the services they perform. These people, who call themselves «Marxists» are paid minions, not communists. They are provided with means and funds to bring out a newspaper. In these papers

they publish some international news, but their particular aim is to support the revisionist theories of the Chinese.

The Chinese revisionist party has turned, in practice, into a «mother» party and these others are its «daughters», its bastard offspring. Like «mother» like «daughter», therefore both «mother» and «daughters» must be exposed, must be routed, because all of them are united with the capitalist bourgeoisie of each individual country and the international bourgeoisie with which they hatch up villainous joint plans against the peoples, against the revolution, and in this way cause great damage.

Our Party acts and will continue to act according to the example of our great teacher, Lenin, who never hesitated to attack the parties of the bourgeoisie of every description in different countries, or to attack renegades, those who at first adopted Marxist-Leninist stands and then betrayed. Our Party always bears in mind the example and the activity of the great Lenin, who was never an opportunist, but always had regard for the major interest of the revolution throughout the world.

POGRADEC, WEDNESDAY
AUGUST 3, 1977

THE ECHO OF OUR ARTICLE «THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION»

Nearly a month has passed since the day our article «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution» was published and its echo is still very powerful. Now not only is it being given by all the news agencies of the world and commented on by various circles, but it is being dealt with extensively by major world newspapers and the comments are in our favour. China is keeping quiet, or more precisely Yeh Chien-yi, in the speech which he delivered on the occasion of the anniversary of the Chinse army, said only, «We shall support the 'third world'.» Tanjug immediately described this as **a «powerful reply» given to our article.** Why? Because Yeh Chien-yi said it.

Among the so-called Marxist-Leninist communist parties tailing behind China, different stands are still being maintained towards our article of July 7. Some of these parties are maintaining complete silence in their press. Naturally, they have not published our article, but neither are they commenting on it, apart from the fact that the members of these parties speak here and there with certain baseless arguments borrowed from the Chinese. In this way, instead of defending themselves they are exposing themselves. This is the stand of some of these parties. The remainder openly defend the Chinese theses. For example, a Greek Maoist party, which I have pointed out at other times that it is revisionist, has made a long commentary in an article with these same baseless «arguments». Its article defends China, defends Hua Kuo-feng, defends Teng Hsiao-

ping etc., and indirectly attacks our article. If I am not mistaken, an American «mushroom» which has recently emerged, organized by the Chinese, has done a similar thing. One or two other parties have maintained the same stand.

The pro-Chinese party of Belgium and other parties of this nature have sent telegrams of congratulation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on its **«great masterpiece», the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party which confirmed Hua Kuo-feng as chairman and Teng Hsiao-ping as vice-chairman, etc. In these telegrams they mention and exalt the internal and foreign policy of China and the «third world».** Some other parties, which are very wobbly and opportunist, are trying to sit on two stools: they are keeping quiet, speaking neither for nor against our article and, at the same time, have ceased maintaining an open pro-Chinese stand for the moment.

Recently, the newspaper of one such party published an article signed by its chief editor who had just returned from China. What does this article contain? Piffle! It defends the thesis that allegedly when the «third world» is mentioned **it is not stated that this world leads, but that it is a motive force.** But we ask the question: Since this «third world» is allegedly a motive force, how is it proceeding against imperialism and in favour of the revolution? Spontaneously? If this is how they think, they are not judging in a Marxist-Leninist way. If they accept that the so-called third world is not guided by certain principles, then these people cannot call themselves Marxists and make a correct Marxist analysis of the situation, because in the leaderships of these states of the «third world» there are bourgeois, feudal and capitalist elements. Although the people who lead these states are said to fight against imperialism, when in fact it is known that they are not fighting against it, this means that there must be another great force which leads, guides and carries this «third world», this «great power», towards the struggle against imperialism, and then let it be said openly that «this great power is China», because it has joined

the «third world». Hence, China is leading this «third world» as a «great, powerful, socialist state». However, they do not say these things and do not analyse them at all, because if they do so they trip themselves up. Even if China leads these countries and allegedly inspires them with the ideas of the revolution, no one in this «third world» listens to it. Therefore all this theorizing is without foundation.

Another «theory» is that which preaches that **we must not open up a polemic at this time because this damages the international communist movement.** A fine argument! Precisely like those of the time of Khrushchev. **This means that we should have ceased the polemic against Soviet revisionism and modern revisionism, because with this we split the international communist movement; hence we should have left Khrushchev in peace to go on with his work. By analogy, now, when we see a similar deviation of the Chinese, according to these Chinese agents, we should not make this a world issue and should not engage in open polemics.** We are not engaging in open polemics, but it is understandable that by attacking revisionist theories we expose those who develop them.

There are some comrades of other Marxist-Leninist parties who are good, but unclear. For example, now a comrade from a Marxist-Leninist communist party who expresses full agreement with our views, but says only that **there are certain things which must be explained because they are not all that clear about them**, has come to Albania. First of all, we must explain our stands on international questions and our political and ideological line on all the acute problems to such comrades. **Then if the question is raised of why our Party has not informed them, we must explain the correct behaviour of our Party and convince them that, when this has been essential, it has informed the sister parties for which it has great respect.**

In the first place, we could not inform the sister parties **that in 1956 Mao Tsetung openly defended Khrushchev, because these things were declared in the Chinese press after the 8th**

Congress of the CP of China and every Marxist-Leninist communist party could judge for itself.

Even later the Communist Party of China, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai were not convinced that the polemic should be continued with Khrushchevite revisionism, while we were in opposition to them on this issue and we acted as we had to for the exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism. They claimed that we should enter into discussion for reconciliation with the Khrushchevites, while we said that we should not hold talks, insisting that the Khrushchevites must openly acknowledge their mistakes and withdraw the false accusations which they have made against us publicly. **Later, the Chinese understood that we were correct, and seeing that their tactic of holding talks with the Khrushchevites had no success, they, too, began to attack the Khrushchevites along with us (indeed Mao Tsetung, in a talk with Kosygin, said that this polemic would continue for ten thousand years).** We made every effort to ensure that China would come out openly in polemics with Khrushchevite revisionism; but this was an internal question between two parties. We could not inform all the parties about these efforts and debates.

The Chinese openly announced their border claims against the Soviet Union. In connection with this question we sent a secret letter to the Communist Party of China in which we said in a comradely spirit that **it was not opportune for such a question to be raised for the reason that it weakened the struggle against Soviet revisionists and encouraged great-Russian chauvinism.** We could not make this known to the other Marxist-Leninist parties, either.

When Khrushchev fell, Chou En-lai sought to impose on us the idea that we should go to Moscow, should forget all that had occurred and talk with the new leaders, because they were allegedly positive. We told Chou En-lai, «They are not positive but are enemies, are Khrushchevites and worse than Khrushchev; therefore we shall not go to Moscow». Chou En-lai went himself. There he ate, drank, talked, and in the end

Malinovski said to him: «Why do you stick to that old galosh?» With this he was referring to Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai swallowed this dreadful insult and even stayed on in Moscow as if there were nothing wrong in this. Nevertheless, this visit failed, too. Once again it would not have been in order for us to make such a thing known to all the sister Marxist-Leninist parties.

In regard to American imperialism, everybody knows that our Party has continued its struggle against it from the start to this very day and will continue it until communism triumphs. In regard to Nixon's going to China, in the conditions in which it was done, our Party wrote an internal letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in which it condemned this act. This step of ours, too, we could not make known to all the sister parties, but we took a stand.

The question of Nixon's going to Peking is an event known world-wide and all should have taken a stand at that time, as our Party did. Nixon's going to China **further strengthened our suspicions that the Communist Party of China was slipping into the mire of opportunism, the mire of collaboration with American imperialism.**

There are many other obvious things that we saw in the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, because we have had relations with them and have always tried, on every issue over which we have had contradictions, to raise these with them, either in writing, as I said, or by word of mouth, in talks. **The Chinese have not replied to our opinions and proposals.**

Finally we asked that a top level delegation of our Party and Government should go to Peking to talk over all these problems which had occurred in the world and between our two parties. Nearly four years have gone by since we made this request, we have repeated it four times, and we have never received a positive reply. Our request has been put off. **We must stress to these comrades that at that time Mao Tsetung was alive, in full health, and our requests were made at a time**

when kings and queens, princes and princesses, fascists and bourgeois capitalists, representatives of the American Senate, the Nixons, and anyone you like, were being welcomed to China. We alone were not welcome. And we could not inform the whole international communist movement about the question that we had sought to send a delegation to China and to clear matters up with the Chinese. It was our duty as a Marxist-Leninist party to clear things up in talks between ourselves alone, between the two sides, but the Chinese did not want bilateral talks, although in theory they are allegedly in favour of such talks.

All the communist comrades know that, beginning from the 6th Congress of our Party, the Chinese refused to send their delegations, for the reason, they said, that they do not take part in the congresses of other sister parties. This practice has continued for all the congresses of mass organizations as well.

Hence, this shows that the Communist Party of China does not want to discuss its stands and opinions in a comradely way with the sister parties and, in particular, does not wish to discuss them with the Party of Labour of Albania, while it welcomes certain other parties which it knows will not oppose its views. Indeed this has become more marked in recent times, when the Chinese have maintained contact not only with genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world but also with any other group which has called itself «Marxist-Leninist» or Maoist, irrespective of the fact that it might also be fascist. The Chinese maintained contacts with them. **But we had another stand. The sister parties saw that our contacts were only with their Marxist-Leninist parties.**

The theory of «three worlds», which we criticized at the 7th Congress, was not new. In building a «new, pro-American strategy», the Chinese needed to adopt this creation of others, the «three worlds». Mao Tsetung did not create this theory, as the Chinese claim, and neither did Teng Hsiao-ping, who spoke at the UNO in 1974 and placed China within this world. This is an old term coined by American imperialism and

Soviet social-imperialism and the Khrushchevites. **Our Party publicly opposed this thesis long ago and there are open documents about this in existence. If someone has not read them that is not our fault, but the fact is that we have opposed the theory of «three worlds».** However, seeing and considering that the aim, the repeated actions and strategy of China had taken an anti-Marxist course, at our 7th Congress we adopted a more open stand about these political-ideological views which were concerning the world and the communists.

Now we must explain all these things to the comrades of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties and convince them that our Party has always maintained a consistent, sincere, Marxist-Leninist stand, especially with all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. And with the Communist Party of China, also, our Party has maintained a Marxist-Leninist stand.

DURRËS, THURSDAY
AUGUST 11, 1977

POLITICS IS NO BED-TIME STORY

I am not going to dwell at length on the great effect which the article «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution» has had in the world, on the political circles of different countries. World opinion is in favour of the correct and realistic ideas which were expressed in this article. Now everybody knows that this article is aimed against the Chinese theory of «three worlds» and against China's moving towards alliance with the United States of America and the other developed capitalist countries of the world.

Now China has mobilized all its hangers-on, the pseudo-Marxist parties which it finances, which are concocting muddled articles to defend the Chinese theses which cannot be defended. The Chinese have sunk so low as to wind up a lackey in support of their anti-Marxist stands, using a certain Hill from Australia, a person with two faces (or better to say, with many faces, because we do not know whom else he serves...) who posed as a friend of our Party. In an article which we read yesterday, **Mr. Hill calls Mao Tsetung «the greatest culmination of history»! And Hill's article is the culmination of his villany.**

As to the «reasoning» in support of the Chinese theses, it makes one weep, like some of the lamentable articles in the newspaper «Renmin Ribao», about which I have spoken earlier.

But the problem about the various hostile tactics which the Chinese are now practising does not lie only here. The

enemies and traitors, Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi and company, who were condemned by the court, admitted that Chou En-lai had advised them that «Albania should unite in friendship and alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania». Chou En-lai failed in this attempt of his. Now we have information, which is believable because of the hostile stand of the Chinese leaders towards us, that, while on the one hand, for the sake of appearances, they say that they will maintain the friendship and economic relations with Albania, on the other hand, they tell some ambassadors of capitalist and revisionist states that in the present conditions it will be difficult to assist Albania. They are spreading rumours that Albania «is demanding» to develop on its own.

The capitalist world, which regards socialist Albania as a thorn in its flesh, because it is resisting all enemies, including the new enemy — Chinese revisionism, has begun to propagate that the economic relations of Albania with China (let alone political and ideological relations) are virtually broken off and hanging by a thread, that Albania is an isolated country, and according to them, cannot exist without support from someone, although the Chinese themselves have said nothing.

At present all of them are taking up this problem. They are lamenting for Albania! They are «pitying the rider because his legs hang down»! Those far away give «advice», those close at hand make various attempts to exert pressure. The Yugoslavs take the side of China, praise its policy and its development. China is doing a similar thing. It is publicizing the development of Yugoslavia and in the newspaper «Renmin Ribao» reports even such things as: Yugoslavia is producing vegetables! All this is preparing the ground for a triumphant welcome to Tito in China. We want them to give Tito a triumphant welcome because then the world will see that the Chinese are making up to the revisionists and the agent of imperialism, Tito.

The Yugoslavs are well aware of our stand, therefore they do not approach us to make unacceptable proposals and exert

blackmail, but they say that the relations between our two countries must be strengthened.

Realistic circles in Greece want to develop friendship, to develop commercial and cultural relations with us. In fact, we are developing these relations, not because the Chinese are not helping us as before, but because our common interests require this.

With Italy, too, we carry on trade exchanges, but we do not forget that there are individuals and circles in Italy that nurture old illusions in new circumstances. Thus a vice-director of a main Italian newspaper talked with an employee of our embassy in Rome and told him that Albania was a country which pursued an independent policy, and such like things to butter him up. Then he said that now Albania had been left on its own, therefore it needed aid. This Italian «dandy» hinted in the talk that Italy was predisposed to accord aid to Albania, which must bear in mind that standing alone, it could be attacked by the Soviets or a coalition of states, thus endangering the Adriatic and the Mediterranean about which NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are concerned. This fascist thinks that «isolated» Albania might invite the Soviets to «occupy» Vlora and its other ports, therefore he considered it in order, after some flattery, to threaten Albania so that it is frightened and links up with the West. He said openly that, for its own good, Albania should link up with the West. Naturally the employee of our embassy gave him the proper reply.

In Italy, as well as in a number of other Western countries, there are journalists, who in the presence of employees of our embassy, praise the valour of Albania, its courage, etc., etc., but there are also such people of the parties of reaction who say that now Albania must not remain isolated, that it must make approaches to the West. A number of journalists, some with good aims and some with bad, ask to come to Albania in order to study the very interesting situation and write about it. «Give me a visa because I want to do an article which will be an atomic bomb in favour of Albania,» said the provocateur Italian jour-

nalist who talked with the employee of our embassy in Rome.

Our Foreign Ministry must carefully analyse the reports which it receives from the embassies in order to see the tactics of the actual moment which the enemy and reaction are using against us. Our embassies must not keep up the old refrain, that is, stick to outdated instructions under which they must reply to questions about our relations with China that it is not true that they have been damaged and that we have good relations with China. That situation is now past, another problem has emerged which we must face up to and expose. We must burst the «balloon» which the Western reaction is launching and which the Chinese are ready to inflate.

The Chinese wanted and still want to compromise Albania by any means, want Albania to take a wrong step which then turns into a wrong line. But socialist Albania, guided by its Party of Labour, is not taking any wrong step. It will remain firmly on the Marxist-Leninist road, therefore we must work, first of all, not only to temper the unity of the people with the Party, but also to expose every attempt and manoeuvre of the enemy with facts and arguments. Vigilance is required in this matter, therefore, world opinion about China, about Albania, and about other ideas which are expressed on international policy in general, must be followed closely.

Now Albania has become a state whose correct ideas are listened to in the world, and which is watched in its correct activities. Our actions must always be prudent and correct. This situation must serve us to rally many friends around us and around the Marxist-Leninists of the world, but at the same time we must know how to unmask the enemies of the revolution and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. All their slanders and efforts we must nip in the bud. Therefore our people must work intelligently.

Politics is no bed-time story, and we must not in any way allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by euphoria or by the praises which reaction and imperialism, and even social-imperialism, heap on us, because even the latter has begun to do such a thing

for its own interests. We must keep this well in mind, because this business has its good aspect — world opinion is kept informed, but the enemy has other aims, which it displays after it has made the necessary preparation to put them into practice. After making its preparations, the enemy makes other efforts in order to weaken us; therefore the policy of our Party must continue to be dynamic, and must not stagnate in routine.

DURRËS, MONDAY
AUGUST 15, 1977

A DOCUMENT WHICH DEMONSTRATES OUR UNWAVERING STAND

Today, AFP gave a first flash, the first spark about my conversation with Chou En-lai, held in March 1965, and published yesterday in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit». It was a page and a half, but it covered the main questions. The above agency stressed that the Party of Labour of Albania remains resolutely in defence of Marxism-Leninism, that it and the Albanian state are, and will be, in friendship with China and its party only on the Marxist-Leninist road.

Below, this agency points out: «Enver Hoxha says that the main enemies of the world, the peoples and communism are: American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Titoism, and all the reactionaries of the world, who must be fought mercilessly

AFP also stressed that I told Chou En-lai that we must build a common fighting strategy, and that we were in complete accord on this question.

It also mentions the question which I put forward to Chou En-lai in connection with the talks we held, that «the exchange of opinions, such as we are doing, is a very good thing, that «the Chinese leaders hold talks and exchange opinions with the communist parties of Asia, and this is a very good thing, but the possibility has not been given to us to do such a thing».

Now, whether or not the bourgeois press will publicize this conversation which I had with Chou En-lai is its affair, this

we shall see, but our interest is that this talk should be publicized because in this way world opinion will know about the independent political and ideological stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and, at the same time, will understand who has shifted from sound positions — we or the Chinese. The conversation which I had with Chou En-lai brings this out clearly, bearing in mind the current situation. It is said there that our parties were agreed that they should build a common fighting strategy.

However, it is very important to us that the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties should be acquainted with this talk, because they will see the continuity of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party even more clearly.

On the other hand, the false Marxist-Leninist parties and all the Maoist, Trotskyite, and anarchist groupings, which have now sprung up like mushrooms on the different continents of the world, will be split and routed, while many misled people in these parties and groupings will unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties of their own countries. This has great importance for our Party and for the proletarian state of socialist Albania.

The talk with Chou En-lai clears up the ideas of genuine revolutionaries just as our 7th Congress and the article in «Zëri i popullit» on the 7th of July did and as all those things which our Party has said previously have done, because, from the time it was founded to this day, our Party has had and will have in the future the same correct, unwavering, Marxist-Leninist view on the international problems and the internal problems of our country.

DURRËS, MONDAY
AUGUST 15, 1977

ARTICLES WITH STALE «THEORIZING»

I have been reading four or five Chinese articles which, taken together, make up a single article entitled, «The Division into Three Worlds by Chairman Mao Is a Marxist-Leninist Definition». This series is allegedly intended for the units of the army, but in fact, it is the only allegedly theoretical article which the «great» Communist Party of China is publishing about the theory of «three worlds» and is a reply to the «Zëri i popullit» article, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution». It is truly an article to be derided and laughed at, because, in this exposé or analysis, if we can describe it as such, there is absolutely no ideological argument, nothing but a line-up of some general political statements.

According to this article, in 1947, after the Second World War when China was still not liberated and had not been proclaimed a republic, Chairman Mao formerly divided this world into two: on one side he put the United States of America as the most powerful imperialism, and on the other side — Britain and France (he did not mention Germany because it was an imperialist state which came out of the war weakened). Later he inserted the intermediate world, which included the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which formed the socialist camp. This, then, is how the «great helmsman» divided the world until a period when he was quite unable to reach agreement with Khrushchev for his own objectives. Later, since Khrushchev had betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, Mao

made another division: he put the social-imperialist Soviet Union alongside the United States of America and called this the «first world»; in the «second world» he put the developed capitalist states which had recovered, while in the «third world» he put all the intermediate world together with China. Naturally, in his own mind, he also put Albania in this «third world», but since he did not have that right, he spoke in general terms.

This is all this «great thinker» said in connection with this problem and he did not give any theoretical explanation of why he made such a division of the world. Likewise, he did not make any analysis of the four main contradictions of the epoch, which Lenin defined (let alone Stalin, because he condemned Stalin and did not rate him in any way a leader of the world proletariat). He did not make this analysis, because this would not have served the cause of the Chinese revisionists, their objectives. This is the «explanation» which the Communist Party of China gives of this «wise» and «brilliant» theory of «the great helmsman»!! **In this way Mao left the «third world» hanging in the air. He is the adoptive father of this «world», this illegitimate offspring left in the middle of the road.**

Following these «explanations», the article continues its stale political «theorizing» according to which the United States of America is a superpower, but in decline, whereas Soviet social-imperialism is a superpower on the up and up; the former is allegedly less aggressive, the latter more aggressive, therefore they must be combated. But, according to the Chinese, in order to fight them the «third world» must enter into alliance with the «second world», but the latter, too, has subdivisions: included in it are those states which continue to oppress the peoples mercilessly, and those which do not continue to oppress them in this way; the «second world» and the «third world» must unite with the first part of the «first world», that is with the Americans, and all of them together should fight Soviet social-imperialism.

Further on the boasting begins. The article lists a series of Marxist-Leninist parties in the world (these are

«Marxist-Leninist communist» parties which tail behind the Communist Party of China), which, when the «Zëri i popullit» article, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution», was published, or even earlier, when the report delivered at the 7th Congress of our Party in which our views about the division into «three worlds» were put forward, was published, began to write articles praising to the skies the «genius» of Mao who divided the world into three parts. According to Mao, the «third world», is allegedly the main motive force of the world in the struggle against imperialism, hence it is for the revolution and socialism! Thus, these «theoreticians» with a few soap bubbles want to wipe out the whole Marxist-Leninist theory, want to reject the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as «outdated dogmas».

In order to convince the soldiers, this material reproduces the words of Hill, the praises of Jurquet, the glorification by a certain American who has just created a «Marxist-Leninist» group, the palaver of a Greek Trotskyite, who has formed a new «Marxist-Leninist» group, the prattle of a number of unimportant Trotskyite groups in the world, one after another. And in this way, they think that they «have provided argument» to substantiate this famous «Marxist-Leninist» thesis of the «great theoretician» Mao Tsetung.

Of course, this article is not written merely to convince the units of soldiers, as is claimed, but is intended for the whole Communist Party of China. This article is published also for those parties of revisionist and Trotskyite hangers-on that call themselves Marxist-Leninist.

It is hard to know whether one should weep or laugh over this material, which is entirely lacking in scientific basis, which not only does not make the slightest dent in our Marxist-Leninist article, which is unassailable like a granite fortress, but by contrast, raises the prestige of our Party even higher, raises even higher the Marxist-Leninist thought of our Party, which really makes sound analyses of international situations, the

social situation, of the struggle, the revolution and its motive forces, and all the means which are used to achieve these objectives.

It is clear to us that the Communist Party of China, on its present anti-Marxist course, is bound to commit further asininities of this type and sink more deeply into the revisionist mire.

SUNDAY
AUGUST 21, 1977

THE MAIN IDEAS OF THE 11th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Yesterday Hsinhua announced that the proceedings of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China had come to an end. The Congress went on for six or seven days, which is a record time for China, because usually the congresses of the Communist Party of China and its meetings of any sort go on for weeks, if not for whole months. This Congress was held quickly, in order and with discipline. Naturally, as they imply, «this time» the delegates had been chosen in the -«most democratic way by the group of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping. Briefly, the delegates were appointed, were passed through a «beautiful» «democratic» sorting-out process and the discussions went off, as the French say, *tambour battant**. The clique of Hua Kuo-feng was welcomed with stormy applause, said the communique, and those elected to the presidium were: Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and some others whose names were not mentioned.

The themes which were dealt with at the Congress are more or less those which I had foreseen in an earlier note, but according to the Hsinhua communique which ran to 17 pages — because we have not yet received the full text — two reports were delivered there: the political report which Hua Kuo-feng read, and the report on the new Constitution which Yeh Chien-yi delivered; while the Congress was closed by Teng Hsiao-ping, who was described by Mao Tsetung as «the Khrushchev number

* With haste (French in the original).

two» of China. The revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping was later rehabilitated and raised in rank, then was again described as a revisionist by the same Mao Tsetung, and thus, after the death of Chou En-lai, was overthrown again and went into obscurity. However, after the coup d'etat which Hua Kuo-feng and company carried out, Teng Hsiao-ping returned to power as one of «the most glorious communists» of the Communist Party of China.

What does Hua Kuo-feng's political speech contain? In regard to foreign policy, he declared that China would not budge in the slightest from its stands, that the Chinese are allegedly against the two superpowers which want war, and especially against the Soviet Union which is the more ferocious. Hence, the prospect is of the orientation of China towards the United States of America.

He indulged in great demagogy about China's support for the «third world». This was the last question dealt with, but he explained it earlier, saying that China would assist all the peoples who are seeking liberation, etc., etc., and which are led by the proletariat. Thus, this is how the China of Hua Kuo-feng explains the «third world», and further on he stresses that he defends the «famous» theory of Mao Tsetung.

Just by chance, I read in a French encyclopedia that Roosevelt mentioned the term «third world» as early as 1945 and declared that the United States of America ought to assist the countries of that world. For their part, however, the Chinese claim that Mao Tsetung invented this theory in 1974. But this is of no great importance. The important thing is that the Chinese explain nothing in this direction and there is no way they can explain it, because the line of the Communist Party of China and its congress is not Marxist-Leninist. Only this can explain everything correctly.

The other question which is raised with force is the struggle against «The Four». In Hua Kuo-feng's report to this congress the Great Cultural Revolution is brought to a full stop. He says openly that the Cultural Revolution is over. According to him,

this revolution marks a major event in the history of the Communist Party of China. But why does this person describe the Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung in this way, when it ended in frustration? In order to show that only Mao Tsetung did not make mistakes in this Cultural Revolution, while all the other apostles of the «Christ» Mao were liquidated. They have arrested the elements of «The Four» who played a major role in the Cultural Revolution, and it is said that they have killed Mao's nephew and put tens of thousands of others in jail, and now only those whom the Great Cultural Revolution branded as traitors are in power, with the exception of Chou En-lai who died. Hence, these traitors, together with some who made so much fuss about the Cultural Revolution, put an end to it, carried out a putsch, seized power, and now they hold the 11th Congress which liquidates this Cultural Revolution.

The new gang which have now come on the scene in China, of course, do not attack Mao directly, but in the way they are acting, in fact they have discredited Mao. This gang pose as if they were the purest part of the Cultural Revolution, as if they were the ones who allegedly resisted the injustices and terror of «The Four» and now that they have seized power, they are waging a stern struggle allegedly against the negative aspect of the Cultural Revolution. Teng Hsiao-ping, who was a revisionist and a close friend of Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen, has now returned to power and put an end to this revolution. However, for the sake of demagogy, Hua Kuo-feng declared that the class struggle continues. Of course, it continues, because China is not calm, because there are Marxist-Leninists in China and they cannot be deceived by such demagogy. That is why Hua Kuo-feng demanded, not just once but three or four times, as far as I read in this communique, that internal order and discipline must be re-established everywhere.

Naturally, Hua Kuo-feng also spoke about the economic development of China. He said that great importance would be placed on the technical-scientific revolution, education, culture,

and above all, the strengthening of the defence. In order to achieve this aim, he pointed out that the instructions of Chairman Mao, presented at the 10th Congress by «the honoured Premier» Chou En-lai, would be implemented so that at the beginning of the 21st century China would become «a great socialist power». This is what Hua Kuo-feng says in his political report.

Meanwhile Yeh Chien-yi, the representative of the army, which brought to power the clique of Hua Kuo-feng, of Teng Hsiao-ping, himself and Chou En-lai, praised Hua Kuo-feng. Indeed he said explicitly that «now China is advancing towards brilliant victories under the banner of Mao Tsetung; Hua Kuo-feng is the man who will lead us until the beginning of the 21st century», etc.

What does such a declaration show? It shows the dishonesty of what Yeh Chien-yi said earlier, namely, that the coming of Hua Kuo-feng to the head of the party was done in complete order, as had been foreseen. Hence, his statement that Hua Kuo-feng would stay at the head of the party for another 30 or 40 years, means that there will be no democratic elections in the Communist Party of China, means that Hua Kuo-feng was appointed by Yeh Chien-yi and the army, and it is in their hands whether he stays in power. Even Tito, when he decided that he would be president of the Republic for life, did not do this in an arbitrary way, but defined this «right» with a law approved by the Skupshtina, observing the established laws, although he was convinced that he would be elected. Yeh Chien-yi, however, made no mention at all either of election by the representative organs, or anything else. Thus, this Hua Kuo-feng is to be the main leader of the Communist Party of China until the beginning of the 21st century. Of course, these Chinese leaders, like Mao, Yeh Chien-yi or Hua Kuo-feng live to a great age, like the cardinals of the Vatican who die about ninety because they have nothing much to worry them and take

things easy. Mao's «theory» contained in a letter (**1**) advocates that each seven years there will be a revolution and a counter-revolution, but in his speech Yeh Chien-yi swept away this «theory» and declared to the Congress that there would be no more revolutions. Hence, Hua Kuo-feng is to remain at the head.

However, the development of events in China does not depend either on this desire of Yeh Chien-yi or anyone else. On the contrary, putsches will take place in China one after the other, and this Mao Tsetung has not foreseen badly. Perhaps he was mistaken in the periodicity of putsches, but he foresaw them on the basis of his own eclectic opportunist views, on the basis of two or more lines which have existed and still exist in the Communist Party of China. The issue depends on the fact that whoever is more powerful will carry out the putsch and seize power.

Briefly, these were the ideas of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China which we shall see *in extenso** in the reports which were delivered at the Congress and which we believe the Chinese will publish. Meanwhile, in China mass meetings are being held, the people have come out in the streets, fireworks are going off, people are cheering for the god Hua Kuo-feng, welcoming the Secretary of the American Department of State, Vance, and after ten or twelve days, the Yugoslav arch-revisionist Tito, whose visit will be the crowning point of this dirty line of the Communist Party of China.

But the main thing about the Congress was its closing session in the form of a deification. The histories we have read about ancient Rome and Byzantium say that the emperor Constantine, while going to war against Maxentius, saw in the sky a cross on which these words were written: *«In hoc signo vinces»* («Under this sign you will triumph») and he emblazoned this sign on his banner, or as the historians call it, *labarum*. **At this congress, Hua Kuo-feng had arranged his hair**

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1 See p. 46 of this volume.

* Extensively (Latin in the original).

like that of Mao Tsetung; he had allowed that thick black hair of his, as straight as a porcupine's quills, to grow, had cut it and combed it cunningly and given his head the form of Mao Tsetung's with his forehead uncovered like Mao's. Hence, for this, too, we could say: *«In hoc signo vinces».* **With his haircut, Hua Kuo-feng assumed the appearance of Mao Tsetung, and with this sign «he will triumph».**

MONDAY
AUGUST 22, 1977

THE ARMYMEN ARE LEADING CHINA

Last evening Hsinhua published the communique saying that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has met and elected Hua Kuo-feng chairman of the party, with Yeh Chien-yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, and another (whose name I don't remember, but I know that he was commander of Mao's guard) as vice-chairmen. According to the communique, the Political Bureau, comprised of twenty-three members and three candidate members, as well as the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, has been elected. If I am not mistaken, in the composition of the Political Bureau there are ten career officers, who are at present commanding the troops. If we count Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping and the one who commanded Mao's guard, then the number of armymen is further increased. The overwhelming majority of the Political Bureau, of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, and of the Central Committee of the Party are armymen. Hence, the armymen are now leading China. They have also put the «famous» Keng Piao, who runs the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee and leads the ideological struggle against our Party, on the Political Bureau.

Naturally, on the occasion of the conclusion of the proceedings of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, it is up to me to send a telegram of congratulations to Hua Kuo-feng who was elected chairman of the Party. The rules require this, and this is what we did for the 10th Congress, too, when Mao Tsetung was elected chairman of the Party. We shall

proceed in this way over their 11th Congress, too, because they sent us a telegram of greetings for our 7th Congress which we announced publicly. Since they had not informed us that they were going to summon the congress, I have thought that in the text of the telegram we should mention: «We heard your Congress was held», and «we wish that our friendship on the Marxist-Leninist road will grow stronger», etc., etc. However, we must examine how we can formulate the telegram we shall send, which we can send to the press today or tomorrow.

SATURDAY
AUGUST 27, 1977

TAIWAN IS FORGOTTEN

Cyrus Vance, the Secretary of the Department of State of the United States of America, has ended his visit to China. I read all the reports by foreign news agencies about this visit. Naturally, they did not speak about the matters which were discussed, because they do not know what they were, but they wrote that Vance held a press conference there and said that he was very pleased at the cordial reception and that important problems were discussed in the spirit of mutual understanding, and that he would report to Carter on these. Vance said that he received a cordial reception from both Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, that China and the United States of America have many things which unite them, and many other good words. Hua Kuo-feng sent his greetings to Carter through Vance and, of course, they talked together about many matters, just as Teng Hsiao-ping did, too.

In other words, both sides, the Americans and the Chinese, described Vance's visit as a fruitful one which, as the AFP underlines, «will yield satisfactory results in regard to the course which China will follow».

This time the question of Taiwan was not mentioned, apart from what Hua Kuo-feng said at the 11th Congress. But these oft-repeated phrases we have long known by heart. We also know that they have violated the conditions they themselves have set for the establishment of diplomatic links with all the states of the world. Hence, the question of Taiwan proved no barrier to the establishment of close, friendly, commercial, cul-

tural and possibly even military relations with the United States of America. We must not be surprised if there are secret agreements between them, not only over Taiwan, but also over other questions.

In this situation, and with these views, which China has, it is in its interest for Taiwan to remain under the existing status quo and for the American forces to remain there, to remain in Japan, and everywhere else they are stationed, because China needs them. There is no doubt that China is in alliance with the United States of America. Our theses have been and still are correct, life has confirmed them. China is relying on one ferocious imperialism to fight another imperialism. It is doing this, not to serve the revolution, but in order to become a superpower itself, another social-imperialist power. All the ambitions of China are directed to this end, and this is also the aim of the Sino-American agreement which has been established and will grow stronger.

TUESDAY
AUGUST 30, 1977

THE WELCOMING OF TITO WITH GREAT HONOURS IS UTTERLY DISGRACEFUL

The first news from Peking says that Tito arrived there by special aircraft. At the airport he was welcomed by Hua Kuo-feng, Ten Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and many other «outstanding» Chinese leaders, as well as by thousands and thousands of citizens of Peking, singing and beating gongs. Along the whole 30 kilometres from the airport to the city the road was packed with people who cheered for the «hero» Tito, while in Tien An Men Square, a hundred thousand dancers, dressed in national costumes and carrying all sorts of flowers, placards and what have you, had been assembled.

In the morning news, the Italian radio said that up till now there had never been such a reception for any head of state. However, we hear that in Korea, too, apart from the equally magnificent and pompous welcome, which was given him in the streets of Pyongyang, and in the great square, where Tito was cheered with indescribable enthusiasm, after a trip around the lakes, after many lunches and dinners which were put on in palaces and voyages on yachts, Kim Il Sung awarded Tito the «Order of Hero of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea», gave him the jubilee sculpture of the «Fighter Against Imperialism», made him an Honoured Citizen of Pyongyang, and even awarded him the Silver Dagger which, according to their custom, symbolizes the «defender of happiness and security»!

Those who are turning on such a resounding welcome for

this renegade from Marxism-Leninism are such pseudo-Marxists that they have made themselves door-mats for him. The bourgeois leaders never demean themselves the way these revisionists do. They are making themselves a laughing stock by displaying such lack of dignity.

TUESDAY
AUGUST 30, 1977

TITO «MEETS» MAO IN THE MAUSOLEUM

Last evening I saw the Italian and Yugoslav television broadcasts in connection with Tito's visit to Peking. Italy did not give this visit any importance. It showed just a few sequences and nothing more, while Yugoslavia was very interested and gave a longer broadcast. I noticed great confusion at the airport, one could not make out where Tito and Hua Kuo-feng were. They both appeared a couple of times, then all that could be seen were the flowers of the people and the school pupils that had gathered at the airport. A great confusion of people, police, Hsinhua correspondents, rushing around, pushing one another, and not allowing the main personages to appear, struck the eye. Tito appeared briefly with Hua Kuo-feng tagging along behind. The great nervousness of the Chinese was obvious. Apparently they were afraid that something might happen to Tito, therefore they had filled the airport with plainclothesmen. Even when the limousine drove into Tien An Men, a lack of order and discipline was apparent. The scene was quite different in Korea, where nobody moved from the footpaths and the squares. They danced, pranced and waved their flowers and every movement was done in an orderly way.

Even the dinner which the Chinese gave in honour of Tito looked as if it were a private dinner, whereas in reality it was put on in magnificent fashion, in the Great Hall of the People's Assembly, where Hua Kuo-feng and Tito delivered speeches. Hua Kuo-feng spoke about the warm friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia and about the heroism of the Yugoslav peo-

ples in the fight for their common aims, etc., but did not mention the construction of socialism in Yugoslavia. Contrary to Tito, who said that war could be avoided, he expressed the opinion that war was inevitable. Hua Kuo-feng also spoke about the great role of Tito in the leadership of the «non-aligned world» and did not fail to say that Tito was the outstanding leader of this «world». Meanwhile Tito, without making explicit mention of the «third world», to which Hua Kuo-feng remains loyal, called this an artificial division and delivered a long tirade in defence of the «non-aligned countries», which, as he put it, «are the only force which can resist imperialism and demand from it that it should not interfere but should help», etc., etc. It is very clear that their friendship is warm. Hua Kuo-feng said that Mao Tsetung spoke very well of Tito in 1975, saying that he had a steel will. This morning Tito went to lay a wreath in the Mausoleum of Mao Tsetung. Tito, the modern revisionist, was the first of all the leaders who have visited Peking to lay a wreath in the mausoleum.

From the speech which Hua Kuo-feng delivered, it is clear that he is trying to sit on two stools, proclaiming himself with both the «third world» and the «non-aligned world». This has a definite aim. Hua hopes that after the death of Tito, China will lump together Tito's pseudo-world of the «non-aligned» and the «third world», bring about their unification and be the sole leader of these two so-called worlds which, in reality, are the same thing.

I have written somewhere in one of my notes that at present Tito's pseudo-theory of «non-alignment» is to the advantage of American imperialism and the Soviets, because it puts itself in the service of neo-colonialism. Tito who defends such a theory does not deny the contradictions that exist between states, nor those between «non-aligned» states and the imperialism of other capitalist powers. But Tito does not assert this, because he does not want to defend such an evident and important thesis of Marxism-Leninism which no force in the world can oppose. With the term «non-aligned countries», Tito

is superior to Mao Tsetung who has divided the world in three because, as I stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, and as is brought out in the article, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution», and in all my writings, the «third world» of Mao Tsetung eliminates the fundamental contradictions which exist between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that is, between labour and capital, the contradictions between these dependent states and imperialist powers, and the contradictions between capitalist countries themselves, in a word, the four main contradictions of our epoch. Hence, from this point of view, the «world» of Mao Tsetung and Hua Kuo-feng is inferior to Tito's «non-aligned world».

Tito calls his «theory» a universal theory, around which all these «non-aligned» states, with their contradictions, with governments of every different type, with different regimes, should rally, because they have to unite to cope with acute political problems and to create a new economic situation in the world. In other words, they must live in peace, in peaceful coexistence, and according to Tito, a more appropriate division of the world's wealth must be made.

In dividing the world in three, Mao Tsetung and Hua Kuo-feng have their own aims. They wipe out the contradictions and preach alliances amongst these «three worlds» in order to fight Soviet social-imperialism, which according to them, is the only aggressive superpower. The Chinese have said that the Soviet Union is still unexposed as an imperialist, or social-imperialist revisionist state. Therefore, the Chinese, while considering themselves genuine Marxist-Leninists with this theory, while fighting social-imperialism as the main danger, want to continue the ideological exposure of it with their anti-Marxist Chinese ideology, so that they become the banner-bearers, are considered to be the main Marxist-Leninist leaders who allegedly defeated one superpower — the Soviet Union, and after they have gathered strength from every possible source, will then turn on the other superpower — American imperialism! When? In the sweet by and by. Thus, the Chinese will «regulate» the

situation in the world in peaceful ways without wars, without classes, without the exploitation of man by man! In fact, all this is a fable, which some people believe at present, but which, day by day, will be shown to be a lie. I say a lie, and not utopia, as the revisionist Carrillo says about his «socialist» views when he says that, if Marx, in his time, had heard of these views, he would have said that these were utopian.

AUGUST 30, 1977
TUESDAY

THE CHINESE, TOO, WILL TRY TO MAINTAIN THEIR «MARXIST» DISGUISE

China with its theory of the «third world», Tito with his theory of the «non-aligned world», and Carrillo and company with «Eurocommunism» have marked tendencies towards an alleged re-examination of the analysis of the situation in the world. They want to form another revisionist ideological bloc, separate from Soviet modern revisionism. As to Marxism-Leninism, this does not come into the question at all, and is disregarded by both the new revisionist bloc and the old Soviet bloc.

The Soviet bloc, with all its satellites, the modern revisionists, who are members of the Warsaw Treaty, disguise themselves under the slogans of Marxism-Leninism. Tito, likewise, disguises himself under the slogans of Marxism-Leninism, although, as is known, he is in no way a Marxist, but a pseudo-Marxist of the same order as the pseudo-Marxists of «Eurocommunism». He is of the same category of renegades as those of the «Communist» Party of Italy, the «Communist» Party of France, the «Communist» Party of Spain, the «Communist» Party of Great Britain, and all those parties which, in fact, fight the ideas of Marxism-Leninism with their revisionist theories and activity. They want to be united in pluralism, that is, to be free to build «socialism» in the way which pleases each of them. The Communist Party of China, which, from the ideological aspect, is very similar to Titoism and the parties of «Eurocommunism», must be counted among them.

With this false front it presents, the Communist Party of China is aiming to create a new grouping under its leadership, just as Soviet modern revisionism has created its own grouping which it is trying to keep together. That is to say, under an hypocritical disguise, it is allegedly building socialism in diversity, and disguising itself with the term Marxism-Leninism, but its theory and activity are not based on Marxism-Leninism and moreover it is against Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party of China poses as if it desires the independence of each pseudo-Marxist party and accepts that each of them should carry on its activity as it pleases, regardless of the «obsolete dogmas» of Marxism-Leninism, as Carrillo describes them. In reality, the Communist Party of China dreams of becoming the leader of this grouping if not today, tomorrow, when it becomes a great power. It thinks that its pseudo-Marxist theory will predominate through multilateral alliances with the other revisionist parties and the new dependent parties that it is creating all round the world.

Tito, too, is striving to create his own hegemony. In its plans, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has always had the aim of exerting an influence on the whole international communist movement with its ways and forms. In this case, when we say «communist», it is anti-communist that must be inferred, because what Tito wants is not a communist movement.

All this stagnation, all this confusion, is created to prolong the existence of capital and to combat the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In other words, the revisionists are striving in various ways to ensure that the communist parties, the world proletariat and the proletariat of each country abandon the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, abandon the true science of the revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, which lead to socialism. They are also striving to create certain pseudo-Marxist, pseudo-socialist and pseudo-democratic views, allegedly suitable for the period through which mankind is passing. To all these anti-Marxists, the phenomena of the

present period are not like the phenomena of the period in which Marx, Engels and Lenin lived and wrote, and allegedly the forecasts and discoveries of the laws of the revolution and society on their part are not being confirmed in the development of human society today. This is the general essence of the anti-Marxist theory. Thus, on the basis of this pseudo-Marxist theory, it is possible that a hundred and one different theories can be built up, and the aim of each of them will be to fight against the proletarian revolution, while at the same time, posing as if it is proletarian ideology.

This is the aim of all these anti-Marxist groupings that call themselves communist, from Titoism, Khrushchevite revisionism, «Eurocommunism» down to Chinese revisionism. A name may even be found for the «communism» of Asia which corresponds to «Eurocommunism». But the Chinese are not satisfied with finding a name suitable for Asiatic «communism». They want to put themselves forward as the leaders of world Marxism-Leninism. But this disguise has become tattered and will certainly become even more so, although, like the Soviets, they will make every possible effort to patch up their disguise with «Marxist» paint for as long as possible.

ON THE CAPITAL QUESTIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE CHINESE LEADERS ARE OUT-AND-OUT REVISIONISTS

The Chinese view which defends the European Common Market and «United Europe» is very clearly revisionist, because the European Common Market is nothing but a form of the export of public (no longer private) capital in the framework of neo-colonialism and the feature of this organization is the development of different imperialist integrations. According to the Chinese theory, state monopoly capital is a transformation within the highest stage of imperialism which gives the state the possibility to control the private capitalist monopolies or the private trusts and concerns to some extent. The Chinese base this theory on the fact that the capitalist state finances private production by providing it with subsidies and cheap loans, while also financing the consumer enterprises or public services, such as the parasitic costs for the army and the police, social expenditure, or for social insurance, housing, etc., etc. **Hence, since the capitalist state carries out some sort of public planning, the revisionists think that, by relying on this theory of state monopoly capital, by taking part in the capitalist state, they can exert an influence on and dominate the capitalist economy without fighting, without violence, but with parliamentary reforms.**

It is known that the revisionist theory about state monopoly capital is not in any way a continuation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism; on the contrary, it is a deviation from the

Marxist-Leninist theory. Lenin touched on this matter only in passing, at the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in 1917, while Stalin does not mention it at all. The revisionist theory about state monopoly capital has been developed especially since the Second World War.

The revisionists have never been able to apply their theory about state monopoly capital. They have merely made a summary of the new means of intervention which the state possesses at a particular stage of economic development, which comprise the economic weapon of the new-type capitalism, and say that this weapon gives the democratic and revolutionary forces the possibility to turn this market of the state monopoly capital against the monopolies by taking the state under their control. But this is only a dream.

Hence, the Chinese, like all the other revisionists, especially the Western ones, who vigorously support the view that «United Europe» must be a strong union and that the European Common Market must be strengthened, make no effort to explain this question thoroughly, because they have no arguments, do not have the theoretical possibilities, therefore they have avoided trying to explain it theoretically. They have defined their aim merely in the explanation which they make, that such a grouping in a «United Europe» and the strengthening of the European Common Market will withstand the imminent attack of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. **With this they are telling the proletarians to forget the contradictions which exist between them and capital; they are telling them to allow the capitalist state to assist the monopolies and the private interests of capital; not to rise in revolt, not to draw revolutionary, theoretical and practical conclusions from the grave and continuous crisis of monopoly capital; they are telling them not to take measures to fight unemployment, starvation and social oppression inflicted on them by world monopoly capital and local capital in close alliance with each other.**

Hence, the Chinese are acting as out-and-out revisionists on

this capital question of our Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the revolution.

The Chinese are well aware that the classics of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the materialist methodology divide capitalism into two phases (or stages): pre-monopoly capitalism, and monopoly capitalism, or imperialism. They have called the latter phase, imperialism, the highest and final phase, after which socialism comes inevitably through the proletarian revolution. That is why Lenin called imperialism the eve of the proletarian revolution.

The renegades from Marxism-Leninism have always striven to divide state monopoly capitalism from imperialism as a separate phase with entirely new features, even presenting it as «state socialism». The Chinese revisionists, too, accept the revisionist theses that state monopoly capitalism is a separate phase and, moreover, proclaim it as an essential phase which every country must go through before socialism is achieved. In other words, like the other modern revisionists, they are seeking to prolong the existence of capitalism, while they tell the proletariat and the peoples that they must wait until this essential phase has been achieved and that when this has come about, the road to socialism does not go through the proletarian revolution, but this transition should be made with peaceful parliamentary means, by reaching agreement with other parties; that is, they advocate pluralism, in total opposition to the teaching of Lenin who said that only by means of the revolution and «...in revolution state monopoly capitalism passes directly into socialism». The Chinese do not state this frankly, but their thesis of the unity and alliance of the «third world» with the «second world», eliminating the differences with the formerly powerful capitalist countries and imperialist countries, and of the alliance of these two worlds with American imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism, shows nothing but the Trotskyite course which the Chinese revisionist leaders have taken.

The links which China is creating with the world capitalist economy constitute a support which it is giving neo-colonialism

and the development of world monopoly finance capital. China supports the export of foreign capital and tries to profit from it.

Therefore, the Chinese question is by no means simple. With their great-state megalomania, the Chinese think that others can be sucked in by them, can be deceived by their demagogy, but the disguise they have adopted is very clumsy.

Leninism teaches us that capitalism must be defeated for socialism to triumph and for socialist society to be established. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that the working masses of a country, led by the proletariat with the Marxist-Leninist communist party at their head, must fight consistently and in struggle build up their class consciousness and the unshakeable conviction that capitalism can be overthrown and capitalist society transformed into socialist society only through struggle. The consciousness of the class is created and built up in the struggle against capitalism.

Both the theory of «three worlds» and the Titoite theory of «non-aligned countries» are the offspring of the absurd theory about the seizure of power by the proletariat on the parliamentary road. To speak about the seizure of power on this road (a thing which is impossible in present-day conditions) means to make an artificial division between the political struggle and the economic struggle and to channel and immerse this struggle in a series of laws, organisms and regulations which the bourgeoisie has established in the past. Hence, parliamentarianism does not impel the proletariat towards the revolution, but assists capitalism, protecting it so that it can proceed in peace. In a word, these theories assist the capitalist order, which has long been established in Yugoslavia and is now being established in China, to develop in a normal way and proceed peacefully. According to these two theories, in the countries of the so-called third world and the non-aligned world, the workers' strikes should have only an economic character, or sometimes only a political character, provided they conform to the parliamentary road. This means that the strikes must be dispersed, limited, i.e., held in one, two or three factories only, but must

not be general nation-wide strikes of a militant revolutionary character. This means also that the working class should be led in these strikes by the trade-union movements, run, naturally, by the socialist, social-democratic and other parties, which talk about the peaceful development of capitalism and think that through these strikes they will achieve some reforms or secure some means to educate the working class so that it will allegedly take power and build socialism on the peaceful parliamentary road.

At present we see that the contradictions of the capitalist system are fueling the militancy of the proletariat, which has hurled itself into truly revolutionary struggle in a fighting spirit. An irresistible general strike, such great opposition from the working class and the working masses over fundamental economic and political issues, shakes the rotten bourgeois state. The struggle of the proletariat in such a form involves the masses who follow it and who want to change their way of life and the society in conscious revolution. When the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party are in the forefront of this struggle, they lead it towards the objective of destroying the capitalist state and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat and the oppressed and exploited classes learn a great deal in such strikes and battles. **If such a revolutionary situation continues for several months, this is equivalent to many years of schooling for the masses.**

That is why we see that the modern revisionists, especially the Titoites, the Spaniards, the French, the Italians and the Chinese, no longer talk about the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, no longer talk about the hegemony of the working class, but speak about peaceful and normal development of strikes of either an economic or a political character, in the context of a normal development of the bourgeois society. This aspect is especially pronounced among the Titoites and the Chinese. Their claim that they are against the two superpowers is just a catchcry to cover their real aims, because otherwise they would be utterly unmasked. **In fact, however, both of**

them and the Chinese especially, with their theory of «three worlds», not only do not advocate revolutionary movement, the general strike movement of a political and economic character against the ruling capitalist powers, but call on the proletariat of these countries and the oppressed masses to unite with everybody, hence to become one even with their bourgeois capitalist leaders.

The Chinese say that the Soviet Union, which is seeking expansion, will attack Europe. We, too, have said this at other times and it is possible that it will do such a thing, but the problem is that the Chinese, themselves, are afraid that the Soviets might attack China, too, and in order to divert this attack from themselves, have built up the thesis that the Soviets are endangering Europe, with the aim of urging the Soviet Union towards Europe and thus pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Chinese. But if the Soviet Union is going to declare war, I think it will do this first against China, because as a great social-imperialist state, it will attack in that direction where it thinks «the front» is weakest and it can make gains, and because it thinks that China is threatening the borders of the Soviet Union. China is seeking alterations to those borders, therefore it is very probable that in order to avoid a Chinese attack, the Soviets might attack China first. Therefore, if the question is raised of which will be attacked first, China or Europe, the Soviet Union could attack China first. (Naturally if the Soviet Union is not attacked first from Europe by one state (like Germany), or more likely by a coalition of states, in a word, by NATO, with the United States of America at the head.)

But the problem is that, in order to conceal its fear and to realize its dreams, China is trying to stir up the contradictions in the other countries of the world, especially in Africa, by hatching up intrigues between the Americans and the Soviets. The three of them want to warm themselves under the African sun, therefore they are sharpening the contradictions

amongst themselves, seeking allies among the bourgeois capitalist leaders of the African countries and hindering the peoples and the proletariat of these countries from carrying out the revolution. This is the basis of the rabid anti-Marxism of the Chinese.

FRIDAY
SEPTEMBER 2, 1977

HUA KUO-FENG AND TITO FALSIFY HISTORY

I am reading the reports of foreign news agencies which say that the talks between Tito and Hua Kuo-feng are continuing with great warmth and cordiality. Moreover, now they are saying openly that «Hua Kuo-feng, the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, is continuing the talks with Tito, the Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia», a thing which has not been said up till now. This means, apart from anything else, that the talks resulted in party relations. This is very clear to us.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug gives a general outline of the matters discussed with the Chinese. The Chinese are in agreement over almost everything that Tito says. What is said? Not a word against American imperialism, not a word against Soviet social-imperialism, not a word against imperialists of other developed capitalist countries, hence, nothing against these three big groupings which exploit the peoples to the bone. They say only that there is a crisis in Africa, that there are disagreements between various states of this continent, but without mentioning concretely who has caused these quarrels, these disagreements and hot wars, without mentioning that they have reached agreement, that these states should solve their disagreements between themselves in a peaceful way. On the other hand, they say that the Middle East, likewise, is in crisis and that this must be resolved in a peace in which the Palestinians are given their rights. That is all in regard to international

policy. Had there been anything else Tanjug would certainly have said so.

Hence, the whole problem has been reduced to two crises and thus the situation is «excellent», according to Tanjug, which stresses that the «non-aligned countries» (without mentioning the countries of the «third world» at all) will play a major role in this issue.

It seems as if the Hsinhua news agency is not speaking against American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism because the feelings of the friend of the Chinese, Tito, must not be hurt. But what does this show? This speaks of the complete unity of the Chinese leaders with this «fine» friend whom they welcome with such great pomp. This is not a matter of simply pleasing their guest but this stand is a reflection of the Chinese line, which is pro-American, and which up till now is anti-Soviet in words, but which could be softened tomorrow and become likewise pro-Soviet, and as a result China could take the same position as Tito has at present in the world and in the international communist movement. Tito represents revisionism in the international communist movement and is the sworn enemy of this movement. China, which is showing itself to be in unity with Tito, has taken this position, too. Therefore the international communist movement is one thing, while Titoite, Chinese, Soviet and other modern revisionism is something else. They are on opposite sides of the barricade, in stern and irreconcilable struggle with each other.

These two, Tito and Hua Kuo-feng, falsifiers of history, falsifiers and distorters of the international situation, friends of imperialism and social-imperialism, who are well-wishers of world capitalism and assist it, have nothing at all to say about the great, insoluble and continuous contradictions which exist amongst the imperialists themselves, between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples, between the oppressed peoples and the regimes oppressing them, and between imperialist countries and other developed countries. In one word, for this pair of

leaders of the same type who are holding talks in Peking, antagonistic contradictions do not exist in the world.

For a long time now China has not been talking about the great strikes of the proletariat or about the great crisis which has world capitalism in its grip. There is a reason for this. If it were to speak about these things, in that case it would hurt the feelings of imperialism, the regimes of the developed capitalist countries, and those of the so-called third world, with which China is in agreement. It does not want to hurt the feelings of the leaders of the «third world», regardless of the fact that many of them are in great opposition to the peoples whom they oppress, are in great opposition to the proletariat, and hence there is the irreconcilable contradiction in those countries between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In general, the Chinese do not speak about these things because they consider the state the pivot around which the revisionist parties, revolutionary and democratic elements and the proletariat should rally, and by means of votes turn this state of capitalism, which, according to them, need not be altered, against the capitalist monopolies, trusts and concerns. Hence, they are to go to socialism through reforms, by means of this capitalist state which they must infiltrate into and support! With this ideology that China has, it cannot speak about, cannot incite and encourage the proletariat to turn the big strikes which it is organizing against its age-old oppressors into a great force against capital.

How can China, Yugoslavia and the Soviet revisionists speak against the kings and emirs of Arabia and other countries of the Middle East where the main resources of oil are centered? Tito and Hua Kuo-feng laid stress on the oil crisis but did not explain it properly, because they are not with the true interests of the proletariat. This oil crisis, naturally, represents a weakening of imperialism and social-imperialism and a strengthening of capitalism in those countries where reactionary regimes exist, which have large resources of oil under their domination and exploitation. Part of the profits from raising the price of oil went into the treasuries of the feudal monarchs of Iran and

Saudi Arabia and the emirs of the Persian Gulf. What did this cause? It caused a great crisis, both in the United States of America and in Europe, hence it sharpened the contradictions between imperialists, social-imperialists and other capitalists of the developed countries; it also sharpened the contradictions between the proletariat and the working masses of these countries, on the one hand, and the capitalist state and the capitalist bourgeoisie, on the other hand. In such a situation, the capitalist state was obliged to increase taxes, unemployment and inflation. The monetary crisis resulted from this, and hence this state, which represents state monopoly capitalism, launched itself into the struggle against the interests of the proletariat and the working people. It could not have acted differently because it is a capitalist state, which must be fought with all one's might and must be overthrown with violence, and there must be no thought that it can be captured through «reforms of the structure and the superstructure», as the revisionists preach. According to the revisionists, the state in the capitalist countries today has allegedly become the centre-point of the socialization of the productive forces to such a degree that these states have been transformed into essential factors of social production!

SUNDAY
SEPTEMBER 4, 1977

HUA KUO-FENG, ALSO, KNEELING BEFORE TITO

Tito, Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping and others have ended their political talks in Peking. Together with Li Hsien-nien, the inveterate traitor to Marxism-Leninism, Tito, left by special aircraft for Hangchow where he was welcomed by hundreds of thousands of people with flowers and cymbals.

It emerged as a conclusion from the talks that the unity of the Chinese with the Yugoslav revisionists in thought and deed is virtually complete. This is stressed by almost all the news agencies and especially by the Tanjug agency which speaks in detail about all the successes which were achieved in the talks. If full agreement was not reached on something, «this is because of the different conditions of the two countries». The French news agency calls this meeting «historic» and «positive». Hence, according to what we hear and read, their agreement is complete on state relations, economic relations, political relations and cultural relations. Party relations have been established, also, because now in the final communiques which Hsinhua is transmitting, Tito's title in the party is given first, «Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia» and then «President of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia». This means that **the Hua Kuo-fengs have recognized Tito as a communist and have made common cause with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The thesis of our Party that China is now a country headed by a revisionist party, in the leadership of which are renegades from Marxism-Leninism, has been confirmed.**

One surprising thing! We heard that Tito criticized Hua Kuo-feng because the matters under discussion between them immediately spread abroad, a thing which shows a lack of a serious attitude! Hua Kuo-feng, however, replied that it was necessary to consult the party over some matters they were discussing. We heard later what had occurred. Tito had raised the question that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should be recognized by the Communist Party of China, because as he put it, it would be an absurdity if it were not recognized. And the hypocritical Chinese leaders were in agreement on this matter, but in order to avoid bearing the responsibility themselves, the chiefs played an unpleasant game. They issued an order that the party organizations of Peking should be gathered together for the whole night, and the Yugoslav request put to them. After they had put the question, «What do you think?», the discussion began. This is not the first such farce that these Chinese traitors have engaged in. They organized a similar farce over the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping. They had rehabilitated Teng but said that, first, meetings were allegedly held here and there, and thus they gave this activity the appearance as if it were the masses, the party and the army, which had insisted on the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping.

The Chinese leaders are very bad, very hypocritical, they are branded revisionists. Thus the things we said fourteen years ago against Khrushchev, in the article, «The Results of Khrushchev's Visit to Yugoslavia» or the article «Khrushchev Kneeling Before Tito», have been confirmed point by point in China, too. Hua Kuo-feng fell on his knees before Tito and everything which was written in that article fourteen years ago has been confirmed *tale quale** in Peking, too, even down to the failure to publish a communique. They did not issue a communique because they had reasons not to issue it. However, the correspondents of Tanjug, with great skill and clarity, stres-

* Exactly (Italian in the original).

sed the achievements, one by one, and in every branch, from the economy down to policy, from the «non-aligned world», which the Chinese adopted, to the recognition of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Tito as its chairman. **Of course, China had recognized the League of Communists of Yugoslavia earlier but now it has recognized officially that «socialism is being built in Yugoslavia».**

We sought to prove this whole slide of the Chinese into revisionism, but they have confirmed it themselves in the talks which they held with Tito. All the Marxist-Leninists in the world, all progressives, will see that China has altered its ideological and political line, will see that it has lined up with the anti-Marxists, with the agents of American imperialism, and is pursuing a pro-American policy, that is, is relying on the United States of America to combat the Soviet Union and to incite a world war. The disagreement or opposition in words, which allegedly appeared between Tito and Hua Kuo-feng, as if Tito was of the view that war could be avoided, while Hua Kuo-feng with his «authority» and «his great wisdom» affirmed that war was imminent, are of no importance. These statements gave the press the possibility to find «a contradiction» between these two revisionist states with the aim of giving a little «authority» to China, too, in this slipping and sliding into the mire of revisionist treachery.

During these talks there was no mention either of American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, but the only discussion was about Africa, where disturbances are occurring, which must be settled by the African peoples themselves; the Middle East was talked about, and they said that the Palestinian people must be given their rights and nothing else. So What does this amount to? Nothing at all! These were the main issues.

China also accepted the thesis defended by Tito, Ceausescu and others about a «new world economic order».

Hence, both for us and for the Western news agencies, although we look at the matter from different viewpoints, this visit was positive. For us it was good because it exposed Hua

Kuo-feng and Tito; for them it was good because China united with Titoite Yugoslavia and the United States of America. The contradictions between us and all these are deepened. We are on the opposite course to them, are in struggle with them, and naturally, they are in struggle with us. We shall continue the struggle without hesitation, unceasingly against the two superpowers and the third superpower which is rising, which is pseudo-socialist China.

TUESDAY
SEPTEMBER 6, 1977

TITO TIGHTENS THE BOLTS OF THE SINO-AMERICAN BRIDGE

Tito is continuing his triumphal tour of China. In Hangchow and especially in Shanghai, he received a majestic welcome from hundreds of thousands of people, including the acrobats who gave performances in the streets at the time he was passing.

Just like Khrushchev, Hua Kuo-feng was in complete agreement with the line of Tito, with his political, ideological and organizational line. They did not speak openly about the organizational line, but in reality they reached agreement. Thus, Hua Kuo-feng proved that he, with his group and Teng Hsiao-ping have deviated completely from Marxism-Leninism, are on the revisionist road, are in alliance with American imperialism and are trying to gather all the parties dissenting from the Soviet revisionist party under their revisionist leadership.

Hence, the revisionist Communist Party of China, in alliance with Tito, will establish links with all the other revisionist parties of the world, besides the links it has established with its hangers-on which exist or which it has created itself in Europe and other continents. These hangers-on are small groups of 20, 30, or 100 people, which perform certain services for China, whose duty it is to send telegrams of congratulation on its congress or on some other event, which China will publish, one by one, in the newspaper «Renmin Ribao», to create the effect among internal Chinese opinion and international opinion that China is allegedly a Marxist-Leninist country, a socialist country and the leader of the whole world communist move-

ment, with the exception, of course, of the revisionist and social-imperialist Soviet Union, on the one hand, and socialist Albania, on the other. China does not count the Party of Labour of Albania as part of the world communist movement, and according to the Chinese, it is also «revisionist and Trotskyite»!

They have begun to talk about our article, «Khrushchev Kneeling Before Tito» in diplomatic circles. Likewise, the world press has taken it up, published it and is commenting on it favourably, has discovered the aim of the article, and is making correct comparisons between Hua Kuo-feng and Khrushchev.

Hua Kuo-feng reached agreement with Tito that they should not publish a communique, just as at the time when Khrushchev and Tito reached agreement and we originally published our article, but the Tanjug news agency let the cat out of the bag. It reported in detail all the decisions which were taken in the joint talks and on their identity of outlook on the major world problems and on relations between them.

Thus, the «Zëri i popullit» article, «Khrushchev Kneeling Before Tito», fits Hua Kuo-feng, who also fell on his knees to Tito, as neatly as a glove. Of course, this article has infuriated the Chinese and the Yugoslavs, because it burst upon them like a bombshell — they did not expect such a thing. However, so far we have seen no reaction either from the Chinese or from the Yugoslavs. The reaction which comes only from the diplomats and from the newspapers of different countries of the world, is in favour of the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world and their parties fully approve this article, which exposes a new betrayal, which, in fact, is causing colossal damage to the world revolution and international communism as well as to the peoples' liberation struggle.

As always, this time, too, Tito, an agent of American imperialism, is continuing the work of Nixon and Kissinger and tightening the bolts of the bridge between China and the United States of America.

WEDNESDAY
SEPTEMBER 7, 1977

WHAT IS THE GENERAL OFFICE IN CHINA?

The Hsinhua agency transmitted the article entitled, «Forever Bear Chairman Mao's Teachings in Mind and Persevere in Continuing the Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat», which the newspaper «Renmin Ribao» will publish on the 8th of September. This article was written by the «theoretical study» group at the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in order to commemorate the 1st anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

I stress that this is an article of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This is the first time we have heard that such an office exists in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, although with quite different functions from those which these general offices have in the apparatuses of the communist and workers' parties constructed according to the Leninist type and the Marxist-Leninist theory.

First of all, this article points out that **«Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist of our time»**, which means that Mao Tsetung is allegedly greater than Stalin (whom the Chinese have never held in high esteem) as well as Lenin, and indeed Marx and Engels!

Apart from this, the article goes on to say, **«In carrying out his behest, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the successor Mao selected himself, has led the whole party in smashing the anti-party 'gang of four', Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang**

Ching, and Yao Wen-yuan, at one blow, thus saving the revolution and the party. Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, our wise leader Chairman Hua has carried forward the revolutionary tradition», etc., etc. As we shall see below, these two quotations at the start of this article deserve great attention. They are not accidental and not simply paeans of praise, but are linked with questions of the organization and leadership of the so-called Communist Party of China. **Hence, as we shall see shortly, on the basis of this article, the sole decisive leader of this party, the army and the people was Chairman Mao Tsetung and now, succeeding him, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. All the others are at their feet and must obey the thoughts and orders of the chairman.**

Speaking about the work of Mao, the article says, «His monumental contributions will live as long as the universe and shine as brightly as the sun. The great banner of Mao Tsetung thought is the banner of victory, both of the Chinese people's revolution and of the revolution of the peoples of the world».

Now let us come to the essence of matters. **The General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is comprised of a personnel, the number of which is not known because it is not stated, and it is simply explained that in the personnel of this General Office there are commanders and fighters of unit 8341 of the People's Liberation Army.**

What is this unit 8341? We cannot define this at all because no explanation is given, but as the Chinese themselves have said, this is the detachment of the security guards which protected Mao Tsetung, and when they talk of the detachment of Mao's bodyguards it is implied that this must have been a large unit with all the means. **The personnel of this General Office was under the sole direction of Chairman Mao, and hence this personnel «was happy to support and protect Mao Tsetung», who imbued this staff with his own ideas.**

The article says, **«We wish to recall the fighting course we took under his leadership and his heart-warming advice, which will encourage us all the more to advance victoriously along his proletarian revolutionary line».**

Reading on in the article, it becomes plain that its content is not something simple, is not how a party committee or the management of an enterprise might express itself: «We were guided to victory by the advice of Chairman Mao». No. On the basis of the following analyses of this article **it turns out that Mao Tsetung exercised sole leadership through this personnel of the General Office; that this Office was omnipotent over the Political Bureau, over the Secretariat, over the Central Committee, and over the vice-chairmen of the Central Committee; it turns out also that this Office is virtually identical with the National Security Council which is created above the government and above his party by the American president, who takes measures, acts, and imposes his policy, discussed and approved in the National Security Council alone, on ministers or other organs. Hence, Mao made the policy through the personnel of his General Office of the Central Committee of the Party.**

On what do we base this conclusion? Precisely on what is said in this article, that, being an important sector of the Central Committee of the Party, «The General Office had the duty to guard Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party and to handle top secrets of the party and other important tasks. It was a matter of practical importance to the fundamental interests of the whole party, the whole army and the whole people throughout the country, whether leadership of the General Office was kept in the hands of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and whether the security of Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Party and the Party's top secrets was fully ensured». Hence, the competences of this Office are made very clear in the article. In a few words, if this General Office existed, then the whole country, the whole party and the whole state were run by it, and it received orders and directives from Mao.

According to this article, the Liu Shao-chi group, the Lin Piao group and the group of «The Four», all tried to put this General Office of the CC of the Party under their leadership.

It emerges from this article that Liu Shao-chi tried to introduce his men, i.e., the bourgeois headquarters, into this office, and engaged in anti-party plots; that the Liu Shao-chi group had seized control of the General Office, because it is now clear that Mao Tsetung no longer had his former power in this Office; that Liu Shao-chi had taken over the whole leadership, while Chairman Mao was left biting his fingers. Hence it is clear why he aroused the red guards.

At that time we thought that Mao Tsetung was making a mistake in that he did not rely on the party and did not settle this question by means of the party, while now it is very clear: he aroused the red guards because the party had slipped from his grasp. Everything there was in the hands of the General Office, which Liu Shao-chi had firmly in his grip. Hence, Mao Tsetung was obliged to arouse the non-party elements in revolution. This explains why he set up the «Red Guard» and gave the order to «attack the headquarters». The call, «attack the headquarters», is now readily explained, and means, first of all, that the General Office must be captured, because this office ran the whole country, while everything else — the party, the trade unions were only a facade and served this office. Therefore, the Cultural Revolution was to recapture the leadership of the General Office, which Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping etc., had seized from Mao. This article confirms this, too, when it says: **«Chairman Mao led us in exposing the anti-party crimes they** (that is, the Liu Shao-chi gang) **had committed in the General Office, stripping them of their power and placing the General Office once again in the hands of the proletarian headquarters».**

This is like the time of the warlords, who did what they liked in the provinces where they ruled; irrespective of the fact that there was a sort of administration over all territories where they ruled, they had their men in certain key positions and exercised their domination through them.

The article about this Office, which did everything, does not dwell at length on this question, but takes us to April 1966

and says, **«We compiled a selection of quotations from Chairman Mao, in line with the needs of the struggle and sent it to Chairman Mao for approval».** Hence, the little red book of Mao Tsetung's quotations was apparently not the work of Lin Piao but of this General Office, while Lin Piao, who naturally was a man of influence, ranking second only to Mao, gave great publicity to this book of quotations.

The functions which this office has are astounding. The article says: **«Chairman Mao also instructed us that we should conduct the movement in a way that befitted the nature and characteristics of the work of the General Office and refrain from establishing contacts with society at large, so as to ensure the normal functioning of the Office in all the work serving the Central Committee of the Party».** Is this not a very clear explanation which makes further explanation unnecessary in regard to the great and astounding competences of the General Office? This Office led the Great Cultural Revolution, but everything did not go smoothly because, according to the people of the General Office, «Lin Piao colluded with the 'gang of four' and flagrantly acted in contravention of Chairman Mao's instructions». The article continues, «Many times they sent their lackeys to the General Office to fan up evil winds, stirred up trouble, organized secret attacks, spread reactionary fallacies such as 'suspecting all', attacked leading revolutionary cadres, incited people to gang up with outsiders, and in a vain attempt to usurp power in the General Office, clamoured that 'Chungnanhai must be thrown into disorder'».

What do all these things mean? They mean that neither Lin Piao, nor Chou En-lai, nor the other members of the Bureau, or anybody else, had the right to meddle in the affairs of the General Office. Headed by Mao, this Office was all-powerful to act, to run all China, all sectors of life in China. The members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee did not have the right to propose cadres suitable for this Office. If somebody proposed and managed to have more suitable

people in this Office, he was considered a conspirator and, according to them, the conspiracy naturally went from quantitative to qualitative, as occurred in the end with the group of «The Four», who allegedly wanted to seize power by force.

Chairman Mao allegedly saw all these things, allegedly saw also that Chiang Ching had united with Lin Piao and was plotting, and, says the article, «Basing himself on the situation in the struggle, Chairman Mao gave special instructions in connection with the movement in the General Office. The movement went on in varied forms as required by changing circumstances and effective measures were taken to avoid interference. This educated the masses and enabled the movement to proceed soundly

According to the article, the contradictions became more acute, because, after the incident of the 13th of September 1971, when Lin Piao disappeared, Chiang Ching, allegedly impelled by her counterrevolutionary motives, «viciously slandered unit 8341», in a futile attempt to defeat the General Office of the Central Committee and the unit.

Hence we must draw the conclusion that the other leaders of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, were not listened to and, as a result, wanted this situation changed. We suppose that they tried to establish new norms of organization and leadership and to liquidate such a situation which was a hindrance, because only Mao Tsetung was listened to there and he acted through the cadres of the General Office and this unit.

According to the article, «in order to achieve their sinister goal», «The Four», like Liu Shao-chi, «worked painstakingly to seize power of leadership in the General Office of the Central Committee». From this it emerges that with the coups d'etat, whether of Liu Shao-chi or Mao, of Lin Piao or the so-called group of four, or that of Hua Kuo-feng, all have striven to seize control of this General Office, and putsch after putsch was organized.

The article says, «On many occasions the 'gang of four',

behind Chairman Mao's back, wanted to distribute the documents, speeches and recordings they made throughout the country», without adhering to the instruction of Chairman Mao that, «All documents and telegrams sent out in the name of the Central Committee of the Party can be dispatched only after I have gone over them, *otherwise, they are invalid».* The article stresses: «We reported their attempts to Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao censured the 'gang of four' for their vicious schemes and exposed their sinister motives».

Hence it is quite clear that Mao Tsetung, like a dictator, did not allow any of his collaborators, members of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, or the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, to give directives to the Central Committee, the Party, military units, the administration, etc. Any action of theirs carried out without Mao's knowledge was considered sinister.

Naturally, faced with such a situation, the «gang of four» tried to change this state of affairs and the authors of the article call their action a conspiracy intended to seize control of the General Office and of the political commissars of unit 8341. Thus their effort failed. The article written by the staff of this office says, «Chairman Mao always gave us encouragement and protection. Chairman Mao always encouraged his working staff to stand up against Chiang Ching». After Hua Kuo-feng came to power he took over the General Office, too. «It is clear,» continues the article about «The Four», that now «their attempt was to sever the ties of Chairman Hua and the Central Committee with the localities and take over the authority to issue orders to the whole country. They stole party secrets, purposely evaded our guards and conducted clandestine activities everywhere.»

It is clear what great power and authority this Office and this special unit had. **Hence, Chairman Hua decided to undertake immediate action against «The Four» and thus unit 8341, under the leadership of Chairman Hua and under the direct command of him and the Vice-Chairman Yeh, resolutely car-**

ried out the alleged order of the Central Committee and arrested the «gang of four». This exceptionally great power, I am quoting the article, «enabled our Office and unit to go on making progress amidst a fierce class struggle in the course of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensured the normal functioning of all branches of its work, such as guarding and serving Chairman Mao», and now Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, these two rare «jewels».

The article gives examples of Mao's leadership of the work. To acquaint himself better with the concrete details of the movements for agricultural co-operation and the state purchase and marketing of grain, Mao ordered that one man from each prefecture should be selected to work in his bodyguard unit. He regarded investigation by these members of his bodyguard in the peasant zones as an important means of checking up on the situation there. Therefore, according to the article, Mao gathered the staff of the General Office of the Central Committee and unit 8341, and explained to them «the benefit of making investigations, what to investigate and how to do it», and explained in detail to his guards «the benefit of making investigations in their home villages». «When they finally came back and reported to him,» according to the article, «Mao said to them, 'It took only three hours to learn the conditions of sixty million people in the two provinces. This is indeed an excellent method. You have served as a link between me and the peasant masses'.» The article goes on: «Holding up three fingers Chairman Mao said: 'You have seen the peasants and I have seen you, thus I have seen the peasants indirectly within this distance. You are peasants with arms and class consciousness'».

Can genuine Marxist-Leninists imagine such work reduced to the efforts of the personal security guards or a few bureaucratic officials of an administrative office, who are sent to investigate how 60 million or 800 million peasants live and work? And Mao considers these guards people with class consciousness, entirely disregarding that for such a major problem as this, i.e., the fate of the movement for agricultural co-operation in China,

the Whole party must be set in motion and charged with the responsibility of check-up! Now we understand the meaning of Mao's words to our comrades in 1966: «How can you rely on the secretaries of the party who sell themselves out for a kilo of pork?» This is precisely what Mao Tsetung said to the comrades of our delegation, Mehmet and Hysni, and this shows the contempt Mao Tsetung had for the party, or his opinion that it did not exist at all. He based himself only on his personal guards and on the selected people of this office, who were nothing but lickspittles who ingratiated themselves with Mao Tsetung.

The article contains other stupid things, too. However, these stupid things are raised to theory as though Mao Tsetung produced great jewels of wisdom! Here are some of them: «If you each (i.e. the guards) write a letter every two months, or four or five letters every year, to ask whether the peasants have enough food to eat, and about production and the cooperatives, and show me the replies from home, I shall be well-informed». «Through various channels and methods,» the article continues, «our great leader, Chairman Mao, made constant efforts to learn the latest developments in society, to investigate and draw on the experience of the masses, to learn their views and aspirations as the basis for policy making so as to guide the movements of the masses forward victoriously in the correct direction.» So much for the «genius» of Mao Tsetung who based himself on these bureaucrats and the elements of this unit to formulate in his own «brilliant» mind the party policy and the general line which was necessary to lead the movement of the masses forward! This won't do at all! This is anti-Marxist, to say the least of it.

The article proves that Mao Tsetung did not rely on the party in anything, although he said that he relied on it; he dictated everything to the members of his staff, gave them orders and directives. This article stresses that Mao said to them, «Come back later and tell me what you have seen», and asks: «Isn't this a good idea?». My reply is that this is a crazy idea

of Chairman Mao, who takes no heed at all of the party and the people's state power and then accuses Liu Shao-chi of having surrounded himself with certain trusted people through secret contacts. But what did the «great helmsman», Mao, do with this staff of his? The same thing as Liu Shao-chi did. Mao Tsetung told these people: «Go and see what the conspirators have done», and instructed them: «Kill none and make few arrests except for murderers, arsonists and poisoners. By poisoners,» Mao Tsetung said, «I mean those who poison food rather than those who spread poison politically». Thus, in regard to those who spread poison politically, in regard to reactionaries, Mao Tsetung naturally recommended that they should not be condemned, should not be killed, but should be educated!

The article referred to is very long, 41 pages, and these pages contain an endless series of histories and tales about how this all-powerful office under Mao's direction waged a stern struggle in defence of the allegedly revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung and «saved» the Communist Party of China and China itself from catastrophe. This office is not like those offices which the central committees of communist parties have, especially those parties which are in power. In our country these offices do not and cannot have those competences which this «famous» office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, supported by a security detachment, has.

The Leninist organization of the communist party, which our Party applies, clearly defines the functions. The administrative offices, whose duty is **merely to transmit** the directives of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, must not in any way overshadow the competences of the supreme organs of the party in the slightest degree. Only the plenary meetings of these forums and then each member of them, who has his competences defined by the competent organ, can and must give orders and directives which are not personal and subjective, but based on the directives of the congress, on the orientations of the Central Committee and on the analysis of problems which the Political Bureau and the Secretariat put forward.

In other words, this whole method of work of the Chinese is anti-Marxist in content and form and is not based on the party at all, and that is why we have never been able to understand how the party functioned in China. They did not make such a thing known to us, did not agree to send a party delegation, which would receive or give experience. What experience could they give? They knew that their party did not function like our Party; their party did not have those competences which our Party has.

Now it is obvious who dominated and ran things in the Chinese party. In our Party, however, the leadership has been and is collective; its forums, from the congress down to the basic organization, have their rights, duties and competences defined.

As it turns out then, a struggle for personal power has been waged in China. The power of Mao had become unassailable, Mao had been turned into a god, and it is easily understood why his cult was developed and built up so high. Mao Tsetung ran things on his own, surrounded with a group of people made up of those who flattered him and carried out his ideas. Those who did not carry out Mao Tsetung thought he called «conspirators», «revisionists», called them whatever he liked and eliminated them. This does not mean that there were no revisionists and conspirators among those who were eliminated, but the method of work and leadership, a method which, of course, is anti-party, anti-Leninist, gives rise to doubts about the validity of all the actions which were carried out by a person surrounded by a personnel, gathered in a General Office and a security unit. This is anti-Marxist, personal leadership.

Irrespective of who Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were, apparently this form of organization had become a hindrance. They and their revisionist gang could not tolerate such a state of affairs, therefore they worked over a long period, created the terrain to strengthen their positions, prepared

their people, seized power and did not liquidate Mao Tsetung, but pushed him to one side for a time.

It is a fact that Mao Tsetung based himself on the army and Lin Piao, thanks to whom he regained power in this General Office and the security unit. But after this, no doubt, when Mao Tsetung saw that Lin Piao and the so-called gang of four wanted to make changes in the method of leadership and organization, a thing which naturally required changes in political and ideological views, when he saw that they intended to choose trusted people, with broader revolutionary democratic views, to enter this office and this detachment, then Mao Tsetung, with the despotic views that characterized him, together with his men in this office, allegedly discovered the conspiracy of Lin Piao. According to the article, Lin Piao's conspiracy was not only the matter of placing a mine, but Lin Piao had organized the fleet, the bombers, etc., etc., in a word, all the military forces, to seize power. From whom would they have seized this power, when Mao Tsetung and his men were at the head of the army, of this office and this famous detachment?

The Maoists and the men of Hua who arrested «The Four», raised the question that their plot, too, was directed against Mao Tsetung in order to liquidate him physically and that, allegedly, all their combinations had been achieved in different meetings, in different speeches, in different quotations and many other such things, none of which can be believed. One fact emerges clearly: these four who were liquidated by Hua Kuo-feng wanted to bring another wind into the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In regard to how capable and organized they were, how correct their principles and actions were, here it is difficult to state anything accurately. In the opportunist, revisionist positions of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, it is difficult to believe that these four and their associates had truly clear, revolutionary Leninist views on ideological and organizational questions, and questions of leadership. It is a fact that Mao

Tsetung liquidated the personal power of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen with the aid of the red guards and the leaders of the Cultural Revolution, amongst whom were Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Lin Piao, Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen, Yao Wen-yuan, and Chou En-lai. Hence, it was they who restored Mao to power. Mao, as a vacillating person, but also a despot, relied sometimes on one faction, sometimes on another. He was not confident of his political stands and neither was he confident of his bases in the party, the army, or the state. Of course, in the Cultural Revolution, the Liu Shao-chi faction was smashed, but many of his men remained in the state. One of them was Chou En-lai.

We have seen that Chou En-lai was criticized in the Cultural Revolution, but Mao saved him. Chou En-lai made an opportunist of himself towards Mao and Lin Piao, and flattered and praised Chiang Ching, too, with the objective of gaining time in order to regroup his forces and consolidate his positions so that he could liquidate all his opponents at the proper moment.

The fact is that the position of Chou En-lai, supported by Mao Tsetung, was strengthened after the liquidation of Lin Piao, who must have opposed the internal and foreign policy of China, although for what objectives we do not know. After his liquidation, the Chinese strategy turned towards the revisionist course, turned towards agreement with the United States of America and Titoism, towards agreement with all the capitalist countries. «The Four» were not in agreement with this line, either, but Chou triumphed because he rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping, the «Khrushchev number two of China», brought him to power and made him his first deputy in the state, the first deputy to Mao in the party, and chief of the General Staff of the army.

Chou En-lai knew that he was going to die and that is why he rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping. Mao imposed this on «The Four» and Chou, together with Teng Hsiao-ping, who was and is vice-chairman of the party, strengthened their positions in the General Office of the Central Committee and in unit 8341.

After Mao's death, Hua Kuo-feng seized power. As we know, he came to power in an anti-Marxist way and was the person whom Mao appointed as his successor. This person had the support of Yeh Chien-yi, chief of Mao's guard, the vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the party, who ran the General Office, that is, Mao's main personnel, and thus «at one blow» he routed «The Four», who, after the death of Chou En-lai and Mao, had thought the time had come for them to take power. However, the group of Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping and Yeh Chien-yi was better prepared and liquidated «The Four».

Judging the question in the light this article throws on it, it is clear that the group of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, who have come to power, and are making all this deafening propaganda, as if «The Four» had wrought havoc and damaged all the vital sectors and activities of China, in fact, are aiming all their criticism at Mao Tsetung and his one-man personal leadership, regardless of the fact that Hua Kuo-feng's leadership is a personal leadership and has nothing at all to do with party leadership. Everything which is said as a party, a central committee, a congress, etc., is a facade, or a line decided by a small group which is supported by a junta and which ensures that these views and this policy are approved by some allegedly elected and appointed party or state organs. When Hua Kuo-feng and company say, «We shall be guided by the banner of Mao Tsetung», we must understand that they mean this leadership, i.e., their personal leadership; thus, that Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping must be considered just as all-powerful as Mao was in the leadership of the party and the People's Republic of China.

At present, Hua Kuo-feng is chairman of the party and premier, but the «famous» General Office of the Central Committee, with unit 8341, is not as fully in the hands of Hua Kuo-feng as it was in the hands of Mao Tsetung. Indeed, at some moments, it was swinging and was not in the hands of Mao, either, but passed from one set of hands to another. In

this office and in this unit now there are men of Hua Kuo-feng, of Teng Hsiao-ping and Yeh Chien-yi, that is, in this office and in this unit there are different factions which are struggling and will continue to struggle for superiority. This will be a continuous struggle, and nobody knows who will win. This depends not only on the ability of one or the other, of Hua Kuo-feng or Teng Hsiao-ping, or someone else to regroup mainly the security forces and the forces of the army, but depends also on the internal circumstances, the division, the «balance» of forces, on the sympathizers of the one or the other. Thus the West might need Teng Hsiao-ping, but the «moderate» internal forces might need a Hua Kuo-feng, as he is «appointed by Mao» and may be better able to play the role of the «centrist». In regard to the forces of the state economic administration, it is indisputable that Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Fang Yi, etc., are those who will lead the transformation of «Chinese socialism» into capitalism.

It is clear that things will be run in close economic and political collaboration with American imperialism, with the capitalist bourgeoisie of different countries of Europe and Asia, and why not, even with Soviet social-imperialism. The time will come when Teng Hsiao-ping will consolidate his position and will either leave Hua Kuo-feng as a figurehead, as chairman of the so-called Communist Party of China, or will hatch up some sort of attempt at a plot against him, which will blow him into obscurity. This is how things will go in the People's Republic of China in the future, and Mao Tsetung determined this fate for it with his anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, anarchist ideas, with his ideas of a leader who exercised personal power; who preached modesty but who was not modest; who preached the line of the masses, but did not apply this line in practice; who preached Marxism-Leninism but did not apply it; who preached struggle against the great state and the big people tendencies, but whose views and actions were that China, under his leadership, should dominate the world. The theory of «three worlds» leads precisely to great state chauvinism.

«The great wide-ranging world policy» of Mao, as the article of the «outstanding» theoretical group of the General Office describes it, was «a sun and an everlasting monument»! In fact, it shows Mao's megalomania, his anti-Marxist ideas, his personal organization of the alleged Communist Party of China and the alleged socialist Chinese state.

Now, with the advent of Hua Kuo-feng to power, the whole structure of the party and state will continue as before, because these people, both Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, are of the school of Mao Tsetung, although they were against him. They took control of the famous General Office of the Central Committee, i.e., they have the army and the security force in their hands, and now they will make the law, will run things as they were run before, but cunningly exposing Mao Tsetung. In fact, the article written by this office reveals that all the putrefaction which has existed and will contiune to exist in the leading head has been the work of Mao Tsetung. Teng Hsiao-ping wants to bring this out, but on the other hand he wants to create some other forms of personal leadership together with Hua Kuo-feng, or by eliminating him, so that this new Chinese empire will be better adapted to the modern forms of management of a capitalist country.

The Chinese welcomed Tito, hence they are in agreement with him, in policy, ideology, organization, and will borrow from his experience. But we can be certain that the Chinese, with their conceit and megalomania of a great state with a population of eight hundred million, will create new organizational forms for their capitalist state in which they will have something from Titoite revisionism, something from Soviet revisionism, but more from the imperialism of the United States of America.

The China of Teng Hsiao-ping wants to become an imperialist superpower. It is being sucked into the whirlpool of all the capitalist-imperialist states, adopting political, ideological and

organizational forms and directions that will enable it to become a great social-imperialist power.

Hua Kuo-feng or Teng Hsiao-ping and their administration in which party, state and army are confounded, will be such that for a long time they will always disguise themselves with Marxist terms and will pretend that their country is a socialist country. They are required to do this in the interests of deceiving the people internally and world opinion, and when I speak of world opinion, one should have in mind not the capitalist states and the capitalist leadership, but mainly the world proletariat. The China of Hua Kuo-feng is using such trickery and frauds on the pseudo-Marxist-Leninist parties which have been reduced to a deplorable state, like that of Australia, headed by Hill, which has been turned into a counter-espionage agency of the Australian government. Yesterday I read a Hsinhua article which reported that «Vanguard», the newspaper of the party which Hill leads, has written an article to expose the Soviet KGB in Australia, whereas Hill ought to be thinking not only about the struggle against the Soviet KGB, but also about the struggle against the Chinese «KGB» and the Australian «KGB».

Hence, the present regime in China will continue in the future, too, to disguise itself under the cloak of Marxism until the revolution breaks out there. We shall fight to tear this mask from them.

It has been, is and will be greatly in the interests of the revolution, the world proletariat, socialism and Albania that great China should be a socialist country. But, unfortunately, the many facts indicate and prove to us that this is not the case. The facts show us, and the future will confirm the bitter reality, that China is going rapidly down the opposite road to socialism; it is being turned into a powerful capitalist state, a bourgeois-democratic state, which will struggle to assume new bourgeois forms and features in order to enrich the bourgeoisie, to deceive the proletariat and the peoples, and prevent the revolution from triumphing.

WEDNESDAY
SEPTEMBER 7, 1977

SOME INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE GROUP OF OIL WORKERS WHICH IS TO GO TO CHINA

The Chinese have given their approval for a group of our oil workers to go to Taching to gain experience. They have even defined what experience they can give us.

I recommended to Comrade Prokop Murra that the group of oil workers which is to go to China should maintain a correct and friendly stand towards those they will meet, should show friendship for the oil workers, speak, as we have always done, about the close friendship which links our two countries, listen attentively to their experience in the technique of oil extraction, ask questions, and if the Chinese give replies, so much the better; but if they are not replied to, our people should not persist in the political speeches which they might deliver at the lunches and dinners which will be put on for them. The main theme of the conversation of our oil workers should be the friendship between our two peoples and the exchange of experience between our two countries. If the Chinese raise political questions, like that of the struggle against Soviet imperialism only, or that of the «third world», our people should speak on the basis of the line of our Party, that is, that there are two main enemies in the world, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, that, as well as these two enemies, the peoples of every country, also have internal enemies; but they should not enter into such discussions and debates because they are not a political delegation but only a delegation of oil technicians.

THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 8, 1977

THE REVISIONIST WIND OF TITO IS BLOWING TOWARDS THE EAST

This evening I saw the return of Tito from the Soviet Union, Korea and China, on Belgrade television. A triumphal welcome in Yugoslavia. Tens of thousands of people had turned out at the airport, the red carpet stretched for hundreds of metres, while the car into which Tito climbed, was encircled by ten or fifteen motocyelists and followed by a column of countless cars. The whole cortege, with Tito at the head, passed through a multitude of people, placed on both sides of the road, who stirred up and excited, cheered their welcome for Tito. The welcome in Belgrade was the crowning of the pompous welcomes put on for this renegade by Brezhnev, Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, and by Kim Il Sung, who brought out the whole population to greet this renegade from Marxism-Leninism, who forms and dissolves agreements between traitors, between revisionists and between imperialists, at the expense of the revolution.

The Chinese and the Koreans brought out the people like a mob of sheep which bleated and gambolled. The Chinese think that they can throw dust in the eyes of the peoples with the theory that allegedly «Soviet imperialism must be unmasked because it is still disguised under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism». There is no reason for this, because the Soviet revisionists are being badly exposed and everyone knows that they are not Marxist-Leninists, but revisionists, social-imperialists, renegades from Marxism-Leninism. Even if, for the moment,

we accept this «theory» of the Chinese, it cannot be justified that these same Chinese put on a triumphant welcome for Tito, a renegade, a go-between of world capitalism, a saboteur of the revolution, and welcome him with such a fuss and give him such publicity that they raise his reputation and his work to the skies. Is he not exposed? Yes, he is exposed, and moreover, the Chinese themselves have exposed him. Then, what can be said about these activities? **We criticized Khrushchev. All the water of the Volga river cannot cleanse him of his sins; and it is the same with Tito. Now that Tito has gone to China not just the Amur but even the Yangtze cannot wash him clean, or the new Khrushchev of China, either.** On the contrary, the whole of China is becoming aware of the stench of Hua and Teng. The Titoite wind of the West is blowing towards the East.

At the same time as Tito landed in Belgrade, the minister of agriculture of China, who was going to Belgrade to gain experience from the development of capitalist agriculture in Yugoslavia, landed from another aircraft. They will do the same thing in regard to «self-administration», too. The Chinese will send tens, or even hundreds of delegations to gain experience in everything, with the intention of applying this revisionist anarcho-syndicalist Titoite experience in China to the best of their ability, while maintaining the disguise that they are allegedly building socialism, just as Tito is doing, but a Chinese «specific socialism» like Yugoslav «specific socialism». The Chinese will do this because they are partners with Tito, and they will act in complete unity together with this renegade in the internal arena and in the international arena.

THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 8, 1977

REVISIONIST MANOEUVRES. ANTI-MARXIST STRUCTURE

In my notes I have written from time to time about many questions, some of them in harsh terms. Judging from the Marxist-Leninist angle, from the theoretical and practical experience and the Leninist organization of our Party, many political, ideological or organizational matters of the Communist Party of China, Mao Tsetung, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese revolution, and the various blows against deviationists, have seemed to me far from clear, and I have stressed this, indeed many times I have used harsh terms about them. This I have done because my communist consciousness, the experience of the Party, and study of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism did not allow me to use gentler terms in the face of many confused and dubious situations. Then, frequently, filled with anger when I saw and read all these things which were being done to the detriment of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the proletariat, I have poured out my feelings in this diary of mine, perhaps more strongly than I should have done.

Many times in the notes on these matters, I have expressed the belief that we might be able to influence the Communist Party of China with our views. In our public speeches, neither the comrades nor I have failed to speak well and even very well about China, although we have known the Chinese reality and had doubts about many different issues and problems in China. Our public stands were not co-ordinated with the true

views which the leadership of our Party had formed when we analysed each political stand of China. In the contacts which we have had with the various Chinese delegations, too, naturally we have said good things about China and, of course, about Mao Tsetung, but in a comradely and diplomatic way, that is, in an indirect way by stressing our experience, we have also aimed to influence the Chinese comrades in the Marxist-Leninist direction, and we considered our expose as a critical stand towards many of their actions. There have also been occasions when we have clashed directly with Chou En-lai and Li Hsien-nien and have made open criticisms on important problems on which they sought to impose their mistaken views on us. We have been in open opposition to the Chinese comrades over political matters of first-rate importance, especially over the question of Stalin, whom we defended, while they criticized him harshly, and over the question of the class struggle, which they claimed that we did not wage properly and they carried out «well», whereas, in fact, the reality spoke and speaks of the complete opposite.

We have struggled over all these contradictions which we have had, as well as over the contradictions in regard to the stands towards the Soviets in which the Chinese have shown extreme vacillations at various stages, from Bucharest on. The Chinese leaders, not only Liu Shao-chi, but also Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Li Hsien-nien, with the exception of Kang Sheng, were in favour of ceasing the polemics with the Soviets. On this question, we have had not only theoretical discussions, but also practical opposition, because they wanted us not just to cease the polemics, but also to develop friendly contacts with the Soviets, after such a bitter struggle which we waged against them. The Chinese had great hopes in «the Soviet comrades», as they called them after the fall of Khrushchev, and told us that we should not be so severe on them because they would correct their mistakes. We told the Chinese openly that the new Soviet leaders were revisionists, that they were not

changing their views and would follow the road of the traitor Khrushchev without Khrushchev.

The Chinese did not agree with our views, and were not convinced of what we told them. They were not convinced, and I have written about this earlier, because, by ceasing the polemic with the Soviets, they sought to gain time to become a great power. However, the Soviets thought differently. They thought that China should become a revisionist country which would proceed under their direction and dictate. When the Chinese understood the aims of the Soviets, the split came about, and for a time the polemic was waged between them. This continued while, at the same time, a change was made in the strategy of China, which turned towards the United States of America. This strategy liquidated Lin Piao and «The Four».

I have written about all these things, and time is confirming them. Time will confirm many things yet, showing us even more clearly the great decay, the great fraud which Mao Tse-tung and his supporters have perpetrated, showing us how they have exploited the favourable revolutionary situations in China to throw it into chaos. Now the clique of Hua Kuo-feng is accusing «The Four» and millions of rank-and-file people, who wanted and still want socialism, of allegedly struggling to establish capitalism in China, to create chaos, to link up with the Soviet Union, and many other charges. But the reality stands otherwise: the clique in power is an anti-Marxist gang, a gang of capitalists who are proceeding rapidly on the capitalist course, towards rapprochement and collaboration with the United States of America in order to counter-balance Soviet social-imperialism, to become a superpower, a country developed economically and militarily on the capitalist road, and not a great socialist state, as these renegades pretend. Even those positive aspects which can be found in the sayings of Mao, which he himself did not apply in practice, are disappearing.

The Chinese revisionist leaders gave Tito a triumphant welcome. This means that they are in agreement with his political, ideological, military and economic line, in agreement

with the state organization of the economy and with Yugoslav «self-administration», in agreement with the anti-Marxist theories of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Now, the Chinese leadership will apply these anti-Marxist theories and practices in China, too, because these serve their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, serve American imperialism, and the capitalist countries of the world, which will now invest capital, create banks and multinational companies in China, so that China falls into their imperialist lap.

Regardless of the temporary defeats we have suffered, we must fight against this situation with the greatest severity, must defend Marxism-Leninism, defend the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which always remains strong, pure, and triumphant. The peoples and the world proletariat have lost neither their courage nor their hope in victory. They are fighting and will fight harder yet. They will recognize the betrayal of these pseudo-communists more and more clearly each day, and will see that this betrayal makes the yoke of world capital and internal capital even heavier on their backs. Thus, they will come to the conclusion that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin reached, that the peoples and the proletariat must create those revolutionary situations, must create those Marxist-Leninist parties, which will carry out the revolution and seize power in order to build a socialist society, their own society, through a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The question of Chinese communism has been an enigma to me. I am not saying this only now, but have expressed my doubt years ago in my notes. This doubt arose in my mind immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, and it was aroused because of the timorous stand the Chinese adopted there. From the Chinese side, the first to speak at Bucharest was Peng Chen. Teng Hsiao-ping came from China to the Moscow Meeting with a report very conciliatory towards the Khrushchevites. But Khrushchev's activity compelled Teng to change this report and make it somewhat more severe, because Khrushchev issued a document in which China was attacked, and distributed it before

the meeting. Teng was also compelled by the resolute stand of our Party, but that is a long story. The later stands of the Chinese, I am speaking about their political and ideological stands, have shown continuous vacillation, and this was precisely the basis of the enigma and my doubt about them. There were periods When they demanded strongly that the polemic between us and the Khrushchevite revisionists should be stopped, and there were moments when the polemic between them flared up. With the fall of Khrushchev, the marked tendency to cease the polemic and unite with the Khrushchevites, allegedly against American imperialism, revived again. After a time, their strategy altered again. The Chinese began to criticize the Soviet revisionists through the publication of our speeches and articles. Later still, they continued the criticism by publishing their own articles, but again they vacillated.

Then came the period of the fierce struggle between Mao Tsetung and Liu Shao-chi and the period of the Cultural Revolution. During the Cultural Revolution an anti-Soviet stand, one against revisionism, against internal reaction and capitalism, against Liu Shao-chi and American imperialism was taken.

To us, all these vacillating political stands were suspect. But although these stands were enigmatic, we, our Party, still thought that China, as a big socialist state and with a great Marxist-Leninist leader, was pursuing a very wide-ranging policy with perspective, regardless of the fact that this policy, as I said before, did not come within the main principles of our immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This was the basis of the puzzle, but now we can say that this policy of China was a great fraud, a major manoeuvre of the Chinese revisionists to disguise themselves.

The structure of the Chinese party seemed to be and was publicized as if it were the same as that of the former Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, that of the Party of Labour of Albania and all the Marxist-Leninist parties. The events show us that this propaganda was false. In appearance the Communist Party of China had an organizational structure such that it could

carry out a correct Marxist-Leninist line, but in reality this was not so. About the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, too, the Chinese propaganda said that it was based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, as in Albania. On this question we have had doubts. We have had doubts not because we have had a verification of the organizational structure of the party and the state organs in China, as the doors to the experience of this sister party were closed to us, but because we did not like many of their stands and the actions which were carried out. We asked the question: Why a friendly country such as socialist Albania, and a sister party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, which had stood beside the Communist Party of China in the most difficult moments for it, was not given the possibility of acquainting itself with the experience of the party, etc.?

I want to re-emphasize here that when party delegations have gone to China, the Chinese covered up everything with a great deal of propaganda, with mass meetings, with applause, with cymbals and a number of fruitless rallies. All the meetings were just for show and all the visits were trips here and there. The Chinese comrades replied to the questions of our comrades with vague answers or only with some slogans and quotations learned by heart, to the extent that nothing could be learned from them, or they would say that this or that was just about the same as ours. The fact is that they frequently practised political, ideological and organizational deception.

In China there were basic organizations of the party, party committees of districts, communes and provinces and the Central Committee. Allegedly all these organs and organizations acted according to the norms of a Leninist party. Communists were elected «democratically» to these forums, which met regularly and made decisions. It was said that the party led the state, the administration and the economy, that the party was allegedly above the army, and it commanded the gun, not the gun the party. Hence, it was claimed there that the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Standing Committee

of the Political Bureau ran things. In fact these organs existed, but only formally, because the entire organizational structure of the party consisted in the personal leadership of Mao Tsetung, which was disguised with a so-called collective leadership which did not function. Hence, Mao acted, supported by the General Office and his personal guard, about which I have written earlier. The state, the factories, and the communes worked on this basis. There were certain directions, certain rules, certain laws, that all had to apply wherever they worked, etc., etc.

It is said that the Liu Shao-chi group had a charter with who knows how many points, about the organization of enterprises according to the example of the Soviet Magnitogorsk, while at the same time Mao formulated another «charter» which was called the Anshan charter, but as the Chinese themselves admit, this «work» of Mao's was kept locked up in a drawer for 10 years. By whom? Why? How could this occur when the chairman of the party, officially at least, was Mao himself?! An astounding struggle of factions and lines! In other words, it turns out that the structure of the Communist Party of China was not a structure of the type of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin. Now we understand this structure and this line clearly, but we have had doubts about it before. We have written that, in reality, Mao Tsetung did not accept the Leninist structure for building the party, he «accepted» this merely to disguise his non-Marxist or, at the most, eclectic views.

Mao needed the revolution in China in order to organize and conceal his personal power and that of a big clique around him. As it now appears, there were many cliques and many lines there. Each province was like a kingdom on its own, and each provincial chief was a warlord. We know that the leader of the so-called party committee and the executive committee had control of all the key positions of the province; he also performed the duties of commander of the armycorps of that province, etc.

In reality, it seems to me that, after the revolution, this

organization in China was modernized. Changes appropriate to the time were made in the apparatus of the old regime of the empire and later of Chiang Kai-shek and these changes were decked out in allegedly Marxist-Leninist garb. In fact the structure of the party in China was not a structure of the Leninist type, not only because the General Office and its chairman, the leader of the party, were all-powerful there, but also for the other reason that in this party (and the Chinese themselves recognize this) there were at least two lines, because Mao advocated «let a hundred flowers blossom» and that many lines should be allowed to develop. As I have stressed at other times, this is nothing but pluralism in order to go to socialism, but to a socialism which is not like the scientific socialism defined in the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We have always had doubts, also, in regard to the question of their state organization. They told us, that, apart from the supreme organs of state power and the state administration of the centre, there were also local organs of state power and the state administration of the provinces. These provinces in China are big, with tens of millions of residents, as many as a whole state such as France, Japan, or the Republic of the Ukraine, etc. How were these provinces run? Each was run by a relatively extensive so-called party committee which might have up to a hundred members, by a political bureau comprised of 10-12 members, and an executive committee which was more or less similar to the district executive committees in Albania. This administrative division for China, for such a large territory, for that very large population and for that country with different nationalities, was astonishing.

We put the question: How was it possible that, through these forms of organization and with such great problems, the correct linking of the centre with all this territory and with these millions of inhabitants was achieved? This was a mystery to us and at the same time a basis of our doubts. But, as is now clear, these provinces were run in a personal way, through a concentration of power and bureaucratic centralism; the orders

and directives came from Mao, and the premier and the ministers took them from this source to carry them out. Hence, Mao sent out his orders directly from this General Office to the secretaries of the provinces and the masses carried them out. Were meetings and congresses held? Of course, they were held, indeed many were held and went on for whole days in order to explain this or that so-called great directive and allegedly to implant it in people's heads so that they would carry it out precisely. It was pretended that these were directives of the party, but in fact, this was not the case, these were personal directives. From this the conclusion is reached that in the so-called socialist regime of China it was not the party which led and ran things, there was no collective leadership, but only bureaucratic, personal leadership. This kind of organization in personal forms is reflected in the provinces, too, about which, whenever the struggle of groups and factions was being waged, it was said this province was with Teng Hsiao-ping, the other with «The Four», etc. Thus, Shanghai, a very big city, with about 10 million inhabitants, which for a long time was considered the «fortress» of the group of four: Chang, Chiang, Yao and Wang, later was brought up as an example for the millions of people that were brought out in the streets to demonstrate in order to condemn the «gang of four». The great differences in the treatment of cadres in comparison with the masses in regard to pay and privileges are also reflected here. The people lived a simple life, and it must be said that they were satisfied because the revolution had brought a certain change in the economic situation, and at least assured them work and food (rice).

There is deception, also, in the use of the Marxist terminology with which Mao Tsetung and the clique around him disguised their capitalist and revisionist bourgeois activity. When we read the four volumes of the works of Mao Tsetung we drew some conclusions and these conclusions were positive. Indeed, I have written that it is not easy to find there any problem treated theoretically in an incorrect way. Mao issued many slogans which appeared simple but also seemed vague, philo-

sophical, Marxist. In fact, the reality of the development of Chinese society was completely different. Then, what was occurring? **Why were Mao's writings not in accord with the actions of this all-powerful man? This is the question, the unknown factor of this problem, and there is no other way to explain this enigma except with the fact that when these four volumes of the works of Mao were compiled and prepared for publication they were, of course, edited by competent people who understood Marxism and who must have given a Marxist-Leninist colour to Mao's revisionist aberrations.**

This situation which was created in China, with these great ideological and political upheavals cannot be understood in any other way. This instability in the political line of the party and this continuous altering of the strategy of the Chinese party and Chinese state, let alone of their tactics, cannot be understood in any other way, either. Now it is clear why Mao Tse-tung was so enthusiastic when mud was thrown at Stalin, why he was so enthusiastic about Khrushchev, whom he described as the «Lenin of our times», and this we heard ourselves. The cause of this enthusiasm is that Mao was against Marxism-Leninism, against the socialist state constructed by Lenin and strengthened by Stalin, was against the Leninist norms of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, was for a personal dictatorship, and in Khrushchev he saw a new revisionist dictator, an enemy of the Leninist-Stalinist principles and norms.

THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 15, 1977

THE SLANDERS OF THE BOURGEOISIE AGAINST US ARE PUBLISHED FOR THE CADRES IN CHINA

Every day our embassy sends us from Peking the summary of the Hsinhua materials which are prepared for the Chinese cadres. These materials are full of articles slandering our country, which have been taken from the bourgeois press of imperialist America and other imperialist countries. Every slander concocted by these newspapers is published by the Chinese propaganda office in order to discredit the socialist state in Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. This office is run by the Director of the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee for Relations with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world.

Apart from the slanders made by these newspapers, alleging that Albania is writing this and that openly against China, and these are duplicated in the news bulletins prepared for the Chinese cadres, it is also alleged that in our country hundreds of pro-Chinese are being arrested, are being tortured, etc. They write as if the Albanian students in China have been recalled to Albania and will not return to China. They are also spreading the slander that the Albanians are behaving badly with the Chinese specialists and are expelling them from Albania.

All these and many other slanders of the Western reactionary press are reprinted by the Chinese and distributed to their cadres. The aim of Keng Piao and the Chinese leadership is easily understood. These things are being done not only to

discredit the policy of our Marxist-Leninist Party and the friendly policy of our state towards the People's Republic of China, but with these things the Chinese want to cover up the arrests and crimes which they themselves are committing, want to conceal their capitalist line which they are developing in all directions and which they are trying to disguise with the articles of «Renmin Ribao» and other newspapers, written by pseudo-Marxists who have been recruited and paid by the Chinese in the four corners of the earth. Hence, it seems that in their official press, **the Chinese publish everything which praises China, Hua Kuo-feng, the 11th Congress, the theory of «three worlds», Mao Tsetung, Teng Hsiao-ping, etc., etc., while to the cadres they serve up the slanders of bourgeois newspapers against our Party and our country.**

Even the most reactionary press has not pursued such a policy and carried out such activity. The bourgeoisie itself has not used and does not use such a diabolical tactic. No bourgeois capitalist state, which is in contradiction and hostility with another state, uses such slanders and methods. Let us take Greece and Turkey for example. They have deep, major political and territorial differences, indeed they are threatening each other with war, but they speak openly, criticize openly, abuse each other openly, and publish these things in their newspapers, while the Chinese publish the slanders of the bourgeoisie about us for their cadres, and do not make any effort to publish our real views, the real views of those Marxist-Leninist parties which express themselves on the major political problems, in these internal newspapers. The Chinese are unable to do this, because if they lay our views before their cadres then an intolerable situation would be created for the traitors who have come to power in the Chinese state and the Communist Party of China.

In the past, at the time when Mao Tsetung and Khrushchev were alive, the Chinese defended the tactic of publishing all Khrushchev's speeches in their newspapers, not only those speeches in which he praised imperialist relations, not only the

speeches in which he discredited Stalin, but also those in which he attacked China. We said to them: Why are you publishing them? Mao, with his «great» philosophy, replied: «We are publishing them so that the Chinese learn from the mistakes of the Soviets». The Khrushchevs of China, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping without excluding Chou En-lai, benefited from all this, from this «outstanding» philosophy of Mao. They went on publishing these things, and when Mao saw that the result was extremely dangerous for him, he stopped their publication.

The stand of the Chinese towards the new Marxist-Leninist parties is another issue. The Chinese had not a shred of belief in the organization of these parties; therefore they not only underrated them, but their principle was: «We Chinese will maintain contacts with all the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that may be created, without distinction as to which is right and which is wrong, and we shall see how things develop later». A certain time went by in this way. When the Chinese changed their strategy and tactics and made major mistakes of principle, when they set out on an anti-Marxist road, they adopted another stand towards the new parties. Those parties which praised the CP of China were its friends while the others were its enemies, and, according to the Chinese, these enemies were headed by the Party of Labour of Albania. Such are these renegades, these revisionists, these enemies of communism, who are leading China today. But this tactic and these actions of theirs will not last for long, because whatever they do, the truth will out, **the word and thought of the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties will get about and reach the ears of the Chinese people**, of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, who even today are differentiating between the correct line of our Party and the anti-Marxist revisionist line of the Chinese leadership, because the writings of our Party are spreading everywhere. This process of differentiation will develop even further. The spread of these writings will be greater, although a strict censorship will be imposed by the Chinese leadership. But it seems that it will be difficult to

achieve a strict censorship in China because they are not so highly organized as the Soviet revisionists who preserved the old apparatus that served the construction of socialism, but turned it in favour of their fascist dictatorship. In China, however, there is chaos, and if I am not mistaken, this chaos will steadily increase.

We observe that there is no tranquility in China, there is no unity, we observe that even in the leadership, let alone at the base, everyone does not think the same way, and this does not give the Chinese revisionists the possibility of operating in the same way as the Khrushchevites.

FRIDAY
SEPTEMBER 16, 1977

WE MUST JUDGE EVERYTHING WITH A COOL HEAD

Ever since Tito's visit the Chinese propaganda has been keeping quiet about Soviet social-imperialism. It has been completely silent about American imperialism for a long time. Likewise, this propaganda is not even speaking about the «third world», on which Tito opposed China and called it an artificial division of the world. He defended and stressed his views according to which there are the camps, in which a series of states take part, and the system of «non-aligned countries».

As I have written at other times, the Chinese put on a pompous welcome for Tito in Shanghai, too, where he did not fail to indulge in typical Tito demagogy about Yugoslavia, about «self-administration», and about the «very advanced» economic and technological relations which Yugoslavia could establish with this great industrial metropolis of China. This could mean, in other words, that the United States of America will provide China with advanced technology through Yugoslavia and China will save face, will avoid being badly compromised in its alliance with American imperialism. In this way the United States of America, Tito and China, all benefit. Only the revolution loses from this revisionist activity.

Thus, China has set out on the course of betraying Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, and will go even further down this road. Now we shall follow this process with the greatest care, because it has an impact on the world, in the first place, and on us, in particular. **What stands will the Chinese maintain**

towards us? It is clear that their ideological and political stands will be in opposition to ours. At present the opposition and attacks on each other are carried out indirectly. Our opposition is well-founded, substantial and incontestable, while theirs is baseless, without foundation and anti-Marxist.

Will an indirect development of the polemic be of interest to the Chinese now, or will they want it to be waged openly? According to the experience we have with China, we know it has always practised a sort of indirect polemic. It fought Tito to avoid mentioning Khrushchev, for two or three years on end it attacked the «Khrushchev number one» in order to avoid mentioning Liu Shao-chi, against whom Mao Tsetung proclaimed the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. For a long time it called Teng Hsiao-ping the «Khrushchev number two» of China, etc., etc. Such a tactic exists in the practice of China.

The Chinese say: «Let the others attack us first, and then we attack». But until the cup is full, we, too, should adopt their tactic. Then there is the question that in order to hide their dirty linen, to hide their anti-Marxist ideas and political stands, the Chinese might carry on normal trade relations and respect their contractual obligations towards us, of course, with some delay. It is also possible that they will not respect these obligations, or may delay them greatly, so that they compel us to send them note after note. And we shall do this. Whatever happens, we must pursue this matter in the direction of making the Chinese carry out their obligations towards us. It is in our interest that these obligations should be carried out on their part without our making any political or ideological concession. When the time comes to expose their anti-Marxist activities, we must find the forms and means, which everyone will understand, of exposing them, without putting the finger directly on the sore spot and the person responsible. This must be our current tactic which we must pursue so long as the anti-Marxist activities of the Chinese against us are not obviously precipitated. These tactics cannot always be the same, cannot always

have the same intensity, this depends on the moments, the circumstances and the mistakes which the Chinese will make. We must judge everything with cool heads, in the interest of the world revolution, the purity of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and our socialist Homeland.

THURSDAY
OCTOBER 6, 1977

THIS IS MADNESS

The speech of the Chinese foreign minister at the UNO was a fiasco. It was not a political speech, not even an ordinary article, but it seemed as if Huang Hua were speaking to a revolutionary committee of some people's commune of China. At the United Nations Organization is it possible to say such things as: «Hua Kuo-feng is the wise leader and it was Mao Tsetung personally who appointed him as his successor»? Even the Queen of England, irrespective of the fact that a law of succession in the dynasty exists there, cannot leave the throne to her son to make him the King of the country without first calling together the Council of the Crown and then the House of Commons, etc., etc. Whereas in China, a country which calls itself socialist and Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tsetung personally allegedly has the right to appoint the chairman of the party and the premier, as he did with Hua Kuo-feng. Can one say at a meeting of the United Nations Organization that the Chairman of the Party, Hua Kuo-feng, «smashed the gang of four at one blow»? This is madness. What impression must such a speech make on the countries of the so-called third world, which China wants to take under its wing?

SUNDAY
OCTOBER 9, 1977

OUR STANDS UNMASK THE PLANS OF THE REVISIONISTS

The speech of the representative of Albania at the United Nations Organization has left a good impression, and this is what we aimed to achieve, especially among the small countries of the so-called third world, which the Chinese have invented, and the «non-aligned countries», which the Titoites allegedly lead. We exposed all these «theories», a thing which has really ruined their plans. **The Chinese plan of the «third world» is a major diabolical plan, with the aim that China should become another superpower, precisely by placing itself at the head of the «third world» and the «non-aligned world».** This explains the aim of Tito's visit to Peking and the result of the talks between Hua Kuo-feng and Tito. But our stands, our raising of problems ideologically and politically at the 7th Congress, and then the article of the 7th of July, etc., exposed these plans prepared by Mao Tsetung and later by his successors.

Now this work must be continued from our side, because we have to triumph and implant in the world the correct Marxist-Leninist principles, which bring genuine freedom, independence and sovereignty to all peoples of the world and which assist in the defeat and in routing of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese modern revisionism which also aspires to become a superpower.

FRIDAY
OCTOBER 14, 1977

GRAFTED REVISIONISM

Last evening I read the leading article of «Renmin Ribao» about «Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend», the old theory of Mao Tsetung, dating back to the time of the domination of the clique of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, etc., against whom the «Great Cultural» and what is more, «Proletarian Revolution» was carried out.

Mao Tsetung launched this idea of «genius», as you might say, which was in conformity with his opportunist views because such an idea meant that all the bourgeois, capitalist, Marxist, pseudo-Marxist, revisionist, Trotskyite, and anarchist views in every field should be allowed to develop freely, and there should be discussion about them. This line stemmed from his opportunist views, because, as is apparent from his own writings, he did not guide «socialism» in China on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, but on the basis of a «theory» which he developed by grafting and which they call «Mao Tsetung thought». **It is not the Communist Party of China, alone, which leads this «socialism» in China, and Mao admits this from his own mouth. Other parties of the bourgeoisie, which are united in a common front with the Communist Party of China, also lead it.** According to Mao Tsetung, these parties, too, must govern China, together with the Communist Party. It is clear that, according to this «theory», these parties not only have the right to have their say in the construction of a new China, but also to express their philosophical views about art, culture, the structure of the state, the army, etc., etc.

The orientation of the theory of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend» did not deviate from the philosophical line of Mao Tsetung, but was merely described as the idea for a model mass struggle, that is to say, a policy in force that the masses should engage in debates. However, what occurred when this «theory» of Chairman Mao was put into practice? All the reactionary bourgeois in China began to write thousands of political, theoretical, cultural and other articles in flagrant opposition to Marxism-Leninism. Through these articles efforts were made to revive among the broad masses of the people the idea that the socialism built in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin was not suitable for them, therefore China had to develop on another course, on the bourgeois-capitalist course. All the violent campaign which was building up was supported by the reactionary clique of Liu and Teng.

Immediately this situation was recognized, that is, when Mao Tsetung and his group saw that the outburst caused by these «genii», which they themselves had let out of the bottle, was extremely dangerous, measures were taken to halt it. This outburst went further than Mao Tsetung intended, because he and his group really liked such a development of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend», but not in the form it took. Such a thing showed that the development of this idea of «genius» of Mao's had come to an end.

After this, however, as we know, Mao Tsetung aroused the «Great Cultural» and what is more, «Proletarian Revolution», with the students, the «Red Guard» and the army, liquidating the party and the organizations of the masses, and in this way he liquidated the headquarters of Liu Shao-chi. In fact, Mao liquidated Liu Shao-chi as well as Peng Chen and some other reactionary chiefs, but not Teng, who was the number two Liu Shao-chi, and some other inveterate revisionists like him.

Let us be brief. The Cultural Revolution was an attempt, a lame one, of course, because Mao Tsetung at the head of it was not in the genuine Marxist-Leninist position to lead such

a revolution, that is, a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, through to the end. **In this revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat did not come to power and function; on the contrary, this revolution, which was called «proletarian» and operating «under the dictatorship of the proletariat», as Mao said, did not operate under the leadership of this dictatorship, but was guided by unclear, non-revolutionary ideas.** During the Great Cultural Revolution, good and bad measures were taken until Mao Tsetung became afraid of it, and after liquidating Liu Shao-chi, he, together with Chou En-lai, put the brakes on the movement, and tried to put China in the positions which Mao himself intended, in non-revolutionary, non-Marxist-Leninist, opportunist and liberal positions, and Mao achieved this aim. He rehabilitated Teng and appointed him deputy-premier and vice-chairman of the party.

However, after the death of Chou En-lai, in the Political Bureau there existed a certain «gang of four», as Hua Kuo-feng and company call them, whom they accused of being reactionary, radical, pseudo-leftist, but who, in fact were described as rightist and being against everything. As Hua Kuo-feng and company say, the «gang of four» wanted to «bring the bourgeoisie to power, to liquidate socialism», etc., etc. Thus, after the death of Chou En-lai and Mao, Hua Kuo-feng and the army liquidated «The Four» «at one blow», that is, stabilized the situation with a putsch.

Now let us come to the «hundred flowers and the hundred schools». The line of the putschists is clear. This old «theory» of Mao Tsetung was necessary to them, but according to the leading article published in «Renmin Ribao», «The Four» were an obstacle to its development on a broad scale. If «The Four» hindered this they did very well, but Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping and company accuse «The Four» of having committed a great crime with this, and that is why they have now published this leading article, in which they advocate the development of the «theory» of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend». This means that all the

Confucian and bourgeois-capitalist philosophical currents should flourish and this pragmatic, capitalist, idealist ideology, this «Mao Tsetung thought», is covered with the Marxist-Leninist cloak. «This new development of Chinese progressive thinking is the continuation and precise implementation of the ideas of Mao Tsetung,» says the article. And so it is in fact: the development of the non-Marxist ideas of Mao Tsetung.

This is necessary to the revisionist outfit which has come to power there for the transformation of socialist China into a capitalist country; it is necessary to prepare the terrain for big capitalist investments from multinational companies and for the creation of big concerns in China, which will enter into co-operation with the big American concerns and those of other economically developed capitalist countries, that is, countries of the «second world». This world and the big concerns which exist in it want to invest in China, because they have colossal interests there. The Chinese market is endless, the wealth of China is great. To this end, these countries require that the state power in China should have stability, that the revolution must be avoided there, and to achieve this not only must the counterrevolutionaries be in power, but the organization, structure and superstructure of the Chinese state must be capitalist, that is, the development of its economic, political and ideological relations with the big imperialist powers must proceed in harmony. Therefore, the «theory» of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend», which is a typically revisionist theory, is suitable to them.

The day before yesterday I read an article in the French newspaper «Le Monde», a correspondent of which deals with certain views of the French revisionist Garaudy, who amongst other things, expresses the same views as the Chinese about the development of art and culture, without using the expression «a hundred flowers and a hundred schools». The author of this article, voicing the ideas of Garaudy, says that the arts, culture and philosophy must be allowed to develop freely, according to the opinions and beliefs of all, and in par-

ticular, must not in any way be guided by the outdated dogmas, but their confrontation must be permitted so that the future is invented and not predicted, hence, it must be revealed by the thinkers, who must be left free to develop their heterogenous views. In other words, it turns out from this article that Garaudy advocates those same views that Mao advocates. The correspondent of the newspaper «Le Monde» says somewhere that he greatly regrets that when he learnt philosophy at the University of Paris, he did not learn about Indian philosophy, Chinese philosophy, Arabian philosophy, etc.

Ideologically, the Chinese are united with and in the same positions as all the revisionist currents in the world, to which they will add the specific characteristics of Chinese revisionism, which will emerge because of the terrain of Chinese society itself, the aspirations of the revisionist clique, and the old Chinese philosophy. In other words, **Chinese revisionism will be a very complicated, mystical and cunning grafting, because the Chinese will steadily advance in the defence of their eclectic revisionist theories.** A characteristic of the Chinese revisionist ideology will be the creation of great confusion on a national scale, not merely to extinguish the revolutionary movements and to discredit Marxism-Leninism, but, at the same time, this eclecticism will also cause confusion in the ideology of other revisionists, especially those who support Soviet revisionism.

The Chinese will cause ideological confusion not only because they are impelled by the desire to unmask Soviet revisionism, but also because of the whole psychology and the Confucian Asiatic mentality of China and Asiatic idealist philosophy in general. When we speak about philosophy, we cannot exclude the influence of religion on it, the influence of Buddhism, Brahmanism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, these latter to the degree that they make themselves felt on the Asiatic continent and the Chinese subcontinent.

Apart from this, the policy of China will be characterized also by great and continuing instability. For a long time it will be characterized by hypocrisy, by smiles and blows at the same

time, by unprincipled attacks and counter-attacks. The whole trend of this policy will be characterized by efforts to create an atmosphere of confusion in other continents, too, especially in Asia and Africa, where China will try to have its own dominating influence, in other words, to create those markets and spheres of influence which are necessary for it to become a superpower.

The struggle against Chinese revisionism must be waged from this angle. **The «great» policy of China will clash directly not only with the resolute struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and all the other Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties of the world, but, at the same time, also with the opposition of the peoples of the so-called third world,** with whom China thinks it can pursue a two-faced policy of deception, with many flags. It will come into contradiction with one people or the other because contradictions are inherent in revisionism. Likewise, the imperialist aims of China will create contradictions, too, not only between itself and the imperialists, not only between itself and the big industrialized states, that is, other imperialists smaller than the American and Soviet imperialists, but also amongst states and peoples which it calls of the «third world».

China assisted Mobutu, took the side opposed to the Congolese people. Now, in the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, we see that China has begun to retreat because it saw that it discredited itself in Africa with the stands it adopted previously. It seems that at present it is taking the side of Somalia which is fighting against Ethiopia. The war between these two African countries has been caused by the superpowers, by the strategic and economic interests of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Soviet social-imperialism is assisting Ethiopia, while the United States of America is assisting Somalia. China was obliged to assist Somalia against Ethiopia, and this is what it is doing, but with great prudence. However, this again creates a contradiction and exposes China's «major» pretention that it is allegedly the champion of the small

peoples. If its inclination is to assist the small peoples, then it should define what aid must be given to them. But China is not in a position to define such a correct policy of aid, because its policy is not Marxist-Leninist, but a pragmatic policy, an eclectic capitalist policy. It must support one capitalist grouping and fight the other. It has no other alternative. If China had a Marxist-Leninist policy, it would attack all those who organize these wars between peoples, while showing the peoples of these two countries the right road, that is, the road of genuine independence, freedom and sovereignty by averting the influence and interference of imperialists and revisionists. This China cannot do, therefore its policy will always be determined by the current circumstances, a capitalist policy, which will be characterized by continual contradictions, which will discredit it from the political and ideological aspect.

China's real aim is to get large credits from the United States of America, first of all, as well as from Japan, West Germany, France, etc., to strengthen its army and its economy. These are the two objectives of China in policy and ideology. There is nothing Marxist-Leninist in this orientation, on the contrary, this is a bourgeois policy and ideology which will turn China into a state with great economic and military potential, but with a capitalist structure and superstructure.

As the days and months go by, the Marxist-Leninists will see this anti-Marxist policy of China even more clearly. The poor peoples of the world, too, who are demanding genuine freedom and independence, want to be liberated from the shackles of capital. They, too, will see and understand more and more clearly each day that the policy of China is just as much an enslaving policy as that of American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, and will understand that China is pursuing its policy with the reactionary leaders of those countries, but not with the peoples.

Naturally, we Marxist-Leninists, especially the Party of Labour of Albania, have to wage a great, stern and unequal struggle with all the imperialist and revisionist powers. The

struggle which we are waging against Chinese revisionism, naturally, is a stern one, and it will gradually build up, regardless of the temporary tactics which we shall stick to for the reasons which we have stated. But the problem is that all the other genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties must understand that we have to do with a big enemy, and our struggle is a very severe and complicated one, in the course of which we shall encounter major obstacles and difficulties, but will also have victories.

The Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world must work intensively and make clear to the masses of workers, and all the working people of their countries the aims of the party, its minimum and maximum programs. It is important that this work should be concretized, and it will be concretized gradually, but the concretization must be done in depth, and not superficially, because superficial concretization does not create that sound solidity which makes it possible to overcome the critical phases and difficult moments which the Marxist-Leninist movement, socialism, communism, and the revolution will encounter in the world.

MONDAY
OCTOBER 24, 1977

TENG HSIAO-PING'S INTERVIEW IS A FASCIST INTERVIEW

Last week Teng Hsiao-ping gave AFP (the French news agency) an interview on many problems and replied to a series of questions put to him by the correspondents of this agency. In general, the aim of the questions was to enable the AFP to see the various views of the Chinese leaders, especially those of Teng Hsiao-ping, and he openly and bluntly expressed the views of the Chinese government.

The main problem that he took up was that the world tension against Soviet social-imperialism, which according to the Chinese revisionists, is the main enemy, must be raised even higher. Teng Hsiao-ping said openly that the whole world must be mobilized and united in a common front to put down the Soviet Union and foil its plans for war. «The general plan for war prepared by the Soviet Union must be defeated,» he said, «and I hope that this effort will include the whole world, the third world, the second world and even the first world, that is, the USA.» Teng Hsiao-ping went on to say that «this mobilization must be all-sided, political, ideological, economic and military», and he called on the United States of America and the other big imperialist states to stop supplying technology and other things to the Soviet Union.

Teng Hsiao-ping declared, «We are going to get every kind of foreign equipment and technology, will strengthen our economy, strengthen our army and our defence, and will be ready for war against the Soviet Union». From Teng's replies, it is

clear that China expects major aid from the imperialists. Teng Hsiao-ping said, «We shall continue the policy of Chairman Mao in the field of foreign policy questions, and precisely the theory of three worlds, which will be the basis of our foreign policy in the future... I was the first to present this theory in the United Nations Organization in 1974». And turning to the AFP correspondents, he added: «The first to applaud was your former foreign minister, Michel Jobert».

Asked about our Party's criticism of the theory of «three worlds», Teng Hsiao-ping replied: «This criticism has no importance at all for us... In regard to those who do not want to accept this theory, that is their affair. The most fanatical opponent of the theory of three worlds is the Soviet Union». In other words, according to Teng Hsiao-ping, we Albanians are allegedly the spokesmen of the Soviet Union.

This Chinese fascist comes into contradiction with the theory of the Chinese leadership and with himself because, after he says that the main and the most dangerous enemy is the Soviet Union, he defends the thesis that the Soviet Union is weak, is short of grain, short of bread, lacks technology, and that it is untrue that the Soviet Union is superior in atomic weapons of extermination, etc. Up till now, a personality who poses as a Marxist-Leninist, but is such a ferocious fascist as to preach bloody imperialist war on a world scale, had never been seen before. This is Teng Hsiao-ping behind whom stands the clique of the Chinese fascist army and certainly Hua Kuo-feng, too.

However, **in this interview Teng Hsiao-ping never even mentioned the famous Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. He spoke as chairman of the party, as premier, as dictator of China**, spoke with unlimited authority and with challenging arrogance about his aggressive aims and about open, all-round collaboration with the United States of America and the developed capitalist countries of the world.

In this interview of Teng Hsiao-ping's neither the word «socialist» nor the terms «socialist country» or «Marxism-

Leninism» can be found. They have all disappeared from the vocabulary of this fascist.

Asked what he thought about «Eurocommunism», Teng Hsiao-ping said that he did not sympathize with those parties because he feared and suspected that they wanted to get into the governments of their countries in order to reduce the tension with the Soviet Union, whereas he expressed himself openly as against reduction of the tension. He stressed that everything possible should be done to increase the tension, i.e., to increase the psychosis of the new imperialist war. Speaking about those parties, he said also that China «values the independent stand which they have maintained towards the Soviet Union..., but we must wait a little yet to see whether the reality will confirm it». However, to round the matter off, he added, «we are not very well acquainted with these matters, because those parties are far from China, in Europe». Teng Hsiao-ping pursues not merely a European or Asiatic policy, but a «big» world policy, therefore in declaring that allegedly he is not well-acquainted with the question of «Eurocommunism» because the «Eurocommunists» are in Europe, he demonstrates his fascist views by implying openly that nothing interests him, that he sees nothing from the class angle, but looks at everything from the angle of the outburst of a bloody atomic war on a world scale.

This was the essence of the interview that Teng Hsiao-ping gave. At the end of the interview, the AFP did not fail to say that when he spoke about the question of our country, he said that Albania is a country which has attacked China over the theory of the «three worlds» and over its friendship and rapprochement with the United States of America.

How terrible for the fate of mankind and the revolution is this policy which China is following now, how dangerous this man is, how dangerous the clique which is ruling in China is!

We try to prove the rapprochement of China with the United States of America and the big capitalist bourgeoisie of the world with facts and documents, but in reality it doesn't

require much brain to grasp this, because Teng Hsiao-ping and his clique themselves speak quite openly not merely of rapprochement but of alliance with the United States of America and with all the world's warmongers. It doesn't worry Teng Hsiao-ping that the actions he proposes will involve the peoples and the proletariat of all countries in a bloodbath. The peoples' liberation struggle, which is being waged against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism of every shade, and the local reactionary bourgeoisie, means nothing to this fascist. Teng Hsiao-ping and the Chinese ruling clique are opposed to these liberation struggles, therefore they make appeals that these should stop and the peoples should submit to the Chinese fascist dictate.

These are truly the ideas of a maniac inflamed with the scent of blood. The leftist elements in China were quite right when they condemned the action of Mao Tsetung who rehabilitated this beast that was brought down again later. But when the counter-revolution led by Hua Kuo-feng seized power in China, he liquidated «The Four», rehabilitated Teng Hsiao-ping, whom Hua himself, had accused of being a dangerous revisionist and rightist. Now, however, Teng Hsiao-ping has taken the bit between his teeth. This shows also that there must be deep contradictions and splits in the Chinese leadership.

Reports say that Wu Teh and Chen Hsi-lien are being pushed aside. They were two elements in the Political Bureau who, together with Hua Kuo-feng, attacked Teng Hsiao-ping. Now they are being accused with dazibaos of not having made self-criticism, which, in one word, means that they have not kowtowed to Teng Hsiao-ping. But, obviously, Hua Kuo-feng cannot be completely in agreement with Teng Hsiao-ping, either, and undoubtedly, he and his own group are manoeuvring to push aside Teng and his group.

The history of the state of China is nothing but a process of development of putsches, which are repeated one after another, over which group will seize power and pursue its own

policy. Therefore in this direction we shall see that many things will happen in China because the group of Teng Hsiao-ping wants to become all-powerful.

It is not accidental that Teng Hsiao-ping proclaimed this policy so openly before world opinion. Of course, among world opinion, not only the Marxist-Leninists but also the imperialist big bourgeoisie and even American imperialism, do not accept such a brutal policy and dictate of Teng Hsiao-ping. They understand what the aims of China are: to get big credits from the imperialist and capitalist countries, to strengthen its army and economy, to become a superpower and counter-balance the power of the two biggest states, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Of course, the Americans and all the international companies, which are financing China, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and one another, are not so crazy as to follow the course which Teng Hsiao-ping advises. There is no doubt that war breaks out when the contradictions are exarcerbated to the limit. And these contradictions are truly becoming exacerbated. In the world there are main elements in connection with the outbreak of war, and also investing companies which are like a catalyzer which cannot be neglected in this direction, and it is precisely these multinational companies, these colossal trusts, which dictate the policy of governments.

I am reminded of a brutal saying of Khrushchev, published in a newspaper. When an Italian delegation went to the Soviet Union to reach agreement over Italian investments there, Khrushchev immediately ignored the two Italian ministers and pointed to Agneli, the President of FIAT, to whom he said: «I want to talk to you, because these others are in power today but may not be in power tomorrow, while you will always be in power, because you are the state and not they». This is one statement of Nikita Khrushchev's which is not without foundation. As a conclusion we can say that it is not Teng Hsiao-ping with all his talk who decides the fate of the world.

MONDAY
OCTOBER 31, 1977

AN ANTI-MARXIST DOCUMENT

Some preliminary comments on the editorial of the newspaper «Renmin Ribao» about the division into «three worlds»

This long, allegedly theoretical article is pseudo-Marxist from start to finish. I shall return again in greater detail to its content and aim, but today I want to point out in advance that **this article was written to oppose the theses and main ideas of our 7th Congress and the development of these ideas in the different articles we have published.**

I think that the Chinese published this article after a very long delay, because first, they had to test the pulse of international communist opinion and world opinion, in general, about the theses of our Congress and the further development of them in the articles which we published later. They saw that there was a great world reaction in favour of the theses of our Party. The world understood that we were attacking the pseudo-Marxist theses of Mao Tsetung's theory of «three worlds» and the advance of China to friendship and alliance with American imperialism.

At first the tactic of the Chinese revisionists was to gather all those pseudo-Marxist-Leninist parties which follow them, such as the «Communist» Parties (Marxist-Leninist) of France, Belgium, Holland, etc., and egg them on to attack us. This tactic which they practised yielded no result because no one took any notice of the actions of the Chinese and their lackeys. In these

conditions, China was obliged to publish this article, the main aim of which is to prove that, allegedly, the Party of Labour of Albania does not make a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, that it is incapable of making a true Marxist-Leninist interpretation of events. Hence, **with this article the Chinese want first of all to «prove» Mao Tsetung's theory of «three worlds», to present it as if it were based completely on the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.** This is the aim of the use of the very large number of distorted and abridged quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. With these quotations the Chinese try to «prove» that the main danger in the present situation is Soviet revisionism, therefore the need has allegedly arisen to achieve an alliance of the «third world» with the «second world» and with the United States of America to destroy Soviet social-imperialism.

In this article the Chinese try to «argue» the need for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples to unite and form alliances with their oppressors! They try to demonstrate that, on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, it turns out that we, Albanians, allegedly do not understand the moments, the alliances, where the main danger lies, and that, finally we do not understand the role which must be played by the states of the «third world», which, according to them, constitute the main force of the revolution!

One aim of the Chinese with this article is that in all countries, especially those of the «third world», it should wipe out the impression of the theses of the 7th Congress of our Party on international opinion and the great echo of the «Zëri i popullit» article, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution». The theory of «three worlds» is the key problem for China, which, having placed itself in this so-called third world, is trying to justify its hegemony ideologically. The anti-Marxist Chinese strategy of the «three worlds», dressed up in Marxist robes, is intended to secure the economic, military and political aid of the United States of America, to spread its own anti-Marxist ideology in the countries of the «third world», to carefully and

continuously prepare its own markets in this world, and at the same time, to prevent Soviet revisionism from capturing new markets. In this way China wants to kill several birds with one stone.

We have exposed these counterrevolutionary strategic aims and practices of China and must continue to expose them in the future. **This new article of «Renmin Ribao» does not speak about the revolution, because for the Chinese, Lenin's theses which say that imperialism is the final phase of capitalism and the eve of the proletarian revolution, are outdated. The proletarian revolution has been eliminated from the Chinese plan because for them, their alliance with the bourgeoisie, world capitalism, American imperialism, has been put in first place.** Apart from the fact that this Chinese variant of modern revisionism has placed itself at the service of American imperialism, it also displays the tendency to draw around itself all the other revisionist cliques which have state power in their hands, from the Titoites to the Polish revisionists.

Another aim of the Chinese is that the revisionist cliques of the countries of Eastern Europe should break away from the Soviet Union and form alliances with China and American imperialism, in the framework of the so-called third world and second world. **China is trying to create a unity of various revisionists in the world who, together, will be able to break the «baton of the conductor», Soviet revisionism, which still has influence in the world by posing as the successor to Lenin and which, at present, has the countries of Eastern Europe in bondage. Hence Chinese revisionism is that variant of modern revisionism which aims to bring about the linking of the various forms of revisionism everywhere in the world and to establish its own hegemony. Chinese revisionism is collaborating with imperialism so that socialism will triumph in the «peaceful way», through «democratic» and «parliamentary» forms, without violent revolution, without the hegemony of the proletariat, hence through a social revolution led by many parties, through pluralism.** As Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the «Communist»

Party of Spain, has put it, the question presents itself that the present capitalist state must be transformed in «democratic», «parliamentary» ways, and not smashed to its foundations. In this state, a la Carrillo, even the bourgeois parties must be included. Carrillo advocates that this «socialist» transformation should be made not through revolution, but quietly, gently and gradually.

Naturally, neither the American imperialists nor the developed countries of the West are going to travel on the road which China or Carrillo advocates, but without listening to them, they will fight for their own interests, for hegemony. At present the imperialists and capitalists are interested in drawing big profits from the investments which they have made and are making in the Soviet Union and the former countries of people's democracy and are likewise interested in making investments in China, too. The American imperialists and the other imperialists can never forget this aim, because its realization strengthens not only their economic positions, but also their political and military positions, and in this way, places all these countries in some sort of dependence on them. The Soviet Union and China cannot fail to see such a thing; however neither of them is interested in making a mountain out of a molehill.

The Soviet Union, in particular, is not interested in declaring a war in Europe, because this will have grave consequences for it. If war is to be declared by the Soviet Union, it will take this step towards the weakest link of capitalism and at present this is China which is just building up as such and also has great assets which can be exploited. Like any other imperialism, Soviet imperialism will attack where it can make the greatest gains and not where there is no chance of gain, as for example in Europe. What it could gain in that zone is the creation of its complete hegemony, but that is impossible, because even if Soviet social-imperialism managed to gobble up Europe militarily it would find itself facing a colossal obstacle from the European peoples, whom it would not have the possibility of exploiting and keeping in slavery for long.

Having American imperialism beside them, the Chinese revisionists are trying, through deception and pseudo-Marxist slogans, to penetrate ideologically and economically into the countries of the «third world», to establish their hegemony there. **Hence, in aiming to become a superpower, China is working, first, to prepare the terrain politically and ideologically and then to act in these countries by pouring in its own capital, when it manages to create this, and later to act with military threats, too, as the United States of America and the Soviet Union are doing today.**

Now the leadership of the Communist Party of China thinks that the contradictions which have emerged in its relations with the Party of Labour of Albania, and which will steadily increase, are based only on the respective views of international problems. It is true that one of the main contradictions between us is precisely the handling of these problems, but the source of our contradictions lies deeper than this. **By studying the international platform of the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, as a Marxist-Leninist party, discloses where the anti-Marxist views of this party in this field have their source. In general, our contradictions with that party stem from the fact that the Communist Party of China is not a Marxist-Leninist party. Since it is not such a party, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist in China and there is no way that socialism can be built.** Our Party is clear on the general outlines of this problem, but nevertheless, it is its duty to go more deeply into the matter.

The editorial in «Renmin Ribao» says nothing about the hegemony of the world proletariat and its struggle. The explanation for this silence about the hegemonic role of the proletariat is that the Communist Party of China has never considered the proletariat the leading class in the revolution, and this is precisely why the proletariat and its ideology did not lead the Chinese revolution. The peasantry was in the vanguard of this revolution. This situation continued even after the proclamation of the People's Republic of

China. This is the explanation for the anti-Marxist stands of the Chinese revisionists, not only internally, but also in the international platform. **Basing themselves on the interpretation of contradictions and alliances with different forces according to their anti-Marxist concepts, they do not fail to make comparisons with the alliances China developed at the time of the revolution which it carried out.**

We must go even more deeply into the latter questions, not only because they constitute the basis of the major theoretical and practical errors made in China in its internal and foreign policy, but also because they have not been formulated precisely, leaving the way open for them to be understood and interpreted in various ways. This comes about precisely because the theory of Mao Tsetung is eclectic and, as I said at the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee, as such it is difficult to grasp. We do not have written documents about the concrete implementation in practice of the line of the party in China. And those documents which do exist do not reflect the reality of the structure of Chinese society, the reality of the structure of the party, and the Leninist norms which it should have implemented but which the so-called Communist Party of China did not implement. In the official documents we know of, there are problems presented correctly in the theoretical plane, but their practical application has not been carried out in the Marxist-Leninist way, the organization and the line of the party have not been correct, and this is apparent in the catastrophic consequences which we are now witnessing.

As I stressed at the start, I shall return to this anti-Marxist document of the Communist Party of China in order to analyse it more thoroughly and in greater detail. This analysis will serve us to strengthen the conviction of our Party about the wrong course of China even further. We shall work also to explain to the internationalist, communist comrades of other parties and world opinion these forms of work being practised by the Communist Party of China, which has gone on the attack against the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

THURSDAY
NOVEMBER 3, 1977

AGAIN ON THE CHINESE ARTICLE WHICH SPEAKS ABOUT THE THEORY OF

This is an anti-Marxist article, because it denies the proletarian revolution and defends imperialism, the bourgeoisie and international reaction. This article preaches the unity of the proletariat with capitalism and it is intended to prepare the terrain for China to become a superpower. **In this article, too, the predominant thesis of the Chinese is opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, but for purposes of demagogy, to more thoroughly deceive the readers of their press or the admirers who listen to their radio, alongside Soviet social-imperialism they also put American imperialism.** The Chinese do this because they have seen that the repercussions from their thesis that «American imperialism has become like a rat...» were not good and this thesis was exposed.

In this article, it turns out that the «rat» is no longer a rat, but a superpower with a strong economy and great military potential, with a tendency to wide-ranging economic expansion throughout the world. The Soviet Union, too, is allegedly the same, except that, according to the Chinese revisionists, it is more aggressive than the former.

From a careful study of this article it can be seen that the Chinese revisionists are trying to put into the mouth of Mao Tsetung certain phrases about the necessity of strengthening the solidarity with the socialist countries, about solidarity with the world proletariat and the oppressed nations, etc. In

reality, however, they are acting in a direction entirely the opposite of what they preach, because they are not performing any of these duties towards socialist countries and the world proletariat. On the contrary, their whole policy is intended to split the solidarity of the world proletariat and disrupt the solidarity with the socialist countries. In fact, the Chinese revisionists are not and cannot be for solidarity with the socialist countries since they include them in the «third world».

Another question touched on in the article is the «beautiful phrase» about the necessity for struggle against all manifestations of great power chauvinism in international relations, which, not without a purpose, the Chinese revisionists do not fail to repeat on all occasions, suitable or not. **We Albanians, whom the practice of relations with China has made aware of the very marked Chinese great-state chauvinism, understand very well that these phrases are a bluff from start to finish. Many other nations and states throughout the world think the same as we do about this.**

By frequently emphasizing that the international situation must be analysed scientifically at different periods, the Chinese revisionists want, on the one hand, to convince others that their analyses are allegedly accurate and timely, and on the other hand, to justify to some extent their pseudo-Marxist, non-proletarian, strategic and tactical deviation, hence they want to conceal their departure from the rails of Marxism-Leninism. However much they use them, these slogans cannot disguise the betrayal by the Chinese revisionists.

According to the Chinese revisionists, the theory of the «three worlds» was invented by Chairman Mao himself. They say that it is Mao who «looking realistically at the contemporary general situation of classes on a world scale, defended and developed the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism». It is a good thing that the Chinese revisionists have defined the parentage of this thesis, because in this their excessive zeal to adopt the ideas of enemies of Marxism-Leninism is apparent. In reality it was not the mind of Mao Tsetung which gave birth to the

«three worlds». This term was known to the world before the Chinese used it, hence before 1974. The capitalist world, which is opposed to Marx and Lenin, has used the term the «third world» to show that along with the big and very big countries there also existed the other countries which had just been liberated. The Chinese revisionists have copied this product of the capitalist vocabulary — the «third world», which has to do only with the level of economic development of these countries, and they have defined it as a «major motive force», allegedly on the basis of Marxism-Leninism! It cannot be accepted that the theory of the «three worlds» is a «Marxist definition of the contemporary world situation», as the propagandists in Peking stress.

It is claimed in this article that the Chinese examine the manifestations of contemporary international political life from the positions of dialectical materialism, proceeding from the reality, and advocate that the others, too, should examine these problems from the same positions. In order to «prove» their anti-Marxist theory, the writers of the article have used abridged quotations from Lenin and Stalin who, very correctly, said that we should examine the national and international problems on a world scale and not in isolation. These outstanding Marxists and leaders of the world proletariat saw the world from the angle of the proletarian revolution, the angle of the alliance of the proletariat with the oppressed peoples. In flagrant opposition to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin whom they cite, the Chinese revisionists look at the national and international problems, not from the class angle and from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, but in an idealist and metaphysical way. They deal with these questions on the basis of the development in which China is interested at present in order to become the leadership of the countries which it calls the «third world». This is one of their aims.

The Chinese opportunists write that Mao Tsetung's «theory» about the division into «three worlds» seems, at first sight, as if it has to do only with the contemporary relations between countries and nations. We do not draw conclusions from a «first

sight». The relations between countries and nations exist in reality, but we Marxist-Leninists must look at these relations and their perspective from the angle of the interests of the revolution. This is precisely what the Chinese do not do. They oppose their great state interests and the struggle which they are waging for leadership in the «third world» to the revolution. **The class struggle must be waged in the countries of this so-called third world, too, but from what angle? We say: from the angle of the interests of the revolution and the overthrow of the exploiting bourgeoisie, of barbaric capitalism, while the Chinese opportunists are for class conciliation.** To be on the safe side, they sometimes say that this or that question must be seen from the class angle, but in order to deny the class view, there and then they add that these questions are «extraordinarily complicated and at the same time mutually linked». This means that the development of the class struggle, especially in the countries of the «third world», is allegedly not so easy to understand, that many problems of the class struggle cannot be solved except with the aid of «outstanding Chinese men of knowledge», therefore one must turn one's face to China! They say that to draw conclusions about the phenomena of international political life and to make a correct division of the political forces in the world, one must proceed from the international class struggle as a whole and the problems must be analysed concretely, in connection with the time, the country, and the given conditions. Although they say this, in practice, in life, they act differently, do the opposite, interpreting and linking the phenomena and events of life in an abstract, unrealistic, pragmatic manner. The Chinese revisionists apply the terms «idealist», «metaphysical», «abstract», «isolated», etc., to those people and parties that do not accept their sophistry. With these slogans they are aiming at us, although they know that it is not we and the other genuine Marxist-Leninists in the world, but precisely the Chinese revisionists, who, like all the other revisionists, have corrupted the meaning and application of Marxism-Leninism, in theory and practice, in the worst possible way.

The Chinese loudly proclaim that «the Marxist-Leninists must stand in the positions of the international proletariat, must always defend the common interests of the revolutionary peoples of the world in the international class struggle, must always defend and fight for their maximum program: the replacement of the capitalist order with the communist order». In general, these statements in the Chinese article are made for purposes of demagogy and simply to disguise their stands, because they have never fought and are not fighting from the positions of the international proletariat, have not defended and are not defending the interests of the revolutionary peoples. **To maintain relations with reaction and the most bloodthirsty fascists such as Pinochet, Strauss, the Shah of Iran, and Mobutu, who are the most notorious executioners of the peoples, means to totally disregard the interests of the international proletariat and the interests of the proletariat of a particular country, which coincide with those of the international proletariat.** The Chinese have concocted endless bombastic phrases, but we do not judge their words separately from their deeds. When a comparison is made of the Marxist-Leninist phrases of the Chinese with their stands and practices, then the falsity of the theories which they apply comes out clearly.

The Chinese revisionist leaders teach the proletariat that in waging the struggle in the international arena at given historical periods, it must strive to unite all those who can be united, in order to increase the ranks of the progressive forces. But in reality what stand do the Chinese revisionists maintain in this direction? They call on the international proletariat to unite even with the blackest reaction!

In this article, the Chinese «advise» that at different historical periods, the proletariat must choose its own allies. However they themselves shirk this correct thesis, while recommending to the international proletariat that it should reconcile itself to world reaction and unite with the reactionary political forces. Further on, in order «to confirm» their allegedly correct stands, the Chinese continue the article by presenting a series

of quotations from Lenin and Stalin, which they shamelessly abridge and distort. But what stands do the Chinese want «to confirm»? The reference is to those linked with their «realistic analyses» of the world situation, which are allegedly based on Marxism-Leninism. In these «analyses», the Chinese use many of those quotations of Lenin and Stalin which we have used in our materials, for example, «...now there are two worlds, the old world — capitalism... and the new world which is emerging...» which Lenin said in 1921; or the words of Stalin that «The world is divided definitively and finally into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism».

These two major ideas of Lenin and Stalin constitute the fundamental basis of the analysis of any period, for the division of the political forces in the world, but since the theory of «three worlds» is thus overturned, the Chinese do not fail to stress immediately that these two quotations «reflect a new, fundamental contradiction, which appeared in the world after the October Revolution». Hence, according to them, these definitions, too, are allegedly obsolete, have become outdated! In this way they found a «fine excuse» to defend their invention of «three worlds». The Chinese say that «Lenin and Stalin never thought that there were no other fundamental contradictions in the world, that the political forces in the world could not be divided in another way». This «excuse» is not in the least necessary and serves only to fill up the lines of the article and create the impression of «reasoning» and «argument» in the polemic, because nobody has said that Lenin and Stalin ever thought that no other main contradictions existed in the world. Lenin and Stalin, as the dialectical materialists they were, defined the contradictions correctly, but the Chinese opportunists, being eclectics, do not define these contradictions in their article at all, because if they were to undertake such a task, then the falsity of their views would be clear to all, and the distortion which they make of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin would be obvious.

The Chinese try «to prove» that the theory of «three worlds», the parentage of which they attribute absolutely to Mao Tse-tung, is allegedly a continuation of the theses of Lenin who, said at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920:

> *«The characteristic quality of imperialism is based on the fact that the whole world... is divided at the present time into a large number of exploited nations, and a very small number of exploiting nations, which have colossal wealth and large military force at their disposal»*.*

These ideas of Lenin's are correct and no one opposes them, but they in no way prove that the world is divided into three parts, as it suits the taste of the Chinese revisionists. **Any political and economic analysis which can be made of the world on the basis of the Leninist theory, must highlight the fundamental characteristic of its division into capitalist and socialist, otherwise the analysis cannot be Leninist.** This analysis is in no way in opposition to and does not negate the fact that there are exploiting and exploited nations in the world. However, to quote Lenin in order to prove on the basis of his ideas that the world is allegedly divided into three is a thing which only distorters of Leninism could do. And in this fictitious division of the world, the distorters of Leninism are the Chinese revisionists.

Let us take another quotation from Stalin's work «On the Foundations of Leninism», where in 1924 he writes:

> *a) «the world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilized nations, which own finance capital and which exploit the great majority of the population of the globe, and the camp of exploited and*

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 264 (Alb. ed).

*oppressed peoples of colonies and dependent countries which constitute this majority»**.*

The Chinese mention this quotation in order «to prove» that besides the fundamental contradiction to which Lenin and Stalin refer, there are also other contradictions in the world which we Albanian communists have allegedly forgotten!

We have not forgotten these contradictions, but on the contrary we have constantly stressed them. While bearing in mind the role of contradictions, we do not forget that these are divided into principal and non-principal contradictions, that in the complicated processes which are observed in the things and phenomena of the real world, all sorts of principal and non-principal contradictions are entangled, but **in order to study and analyse the complicated processes correctly the most important contradiction must be discovered, that is, the fundamental contradiction which determines the development of all other contradictions and on the resolution of which the resolution of all the other contradictions depends.** We have not forgotten, but resolutely uphold the laws of dialectics. The Chinese revisionists want to dodge materialist dialectics and to disguise themselves with many quotations taken at random from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, which they separate and combine in this article in such a way that not only can they not be understood correctly, but their correct meaning is distorted to the opposite of what their authors stated very clearly.

Who are those genuine communists who deny, as the Chinese claim, that when they had to make an all-sided concrete division of the political forces of the world at this or that period, Lenin and Stalin analysed the fundamental contradictions of the world as a whole? All the Marxist-Leninists of the world recognize the fact that, for the definition of the present epoch, all the principal contradictions must be analysed as a whole in order to define the fundamental contradiction. It is precisely

** J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 148 (Alb. ed.).

the Chinese who avoid this realistic examination of the division of the political forces in the world. **The division of the world into «first», «second» and «third» worlds, as the Chinese do, means to cover up the contradictions, to disregard one or the other major social contradiction and to fail to analyse them as a whole.**

The Chinese revisionists use quotations from Marx and Engels in place and out of place and give them interpretations which, they think, serve to prove their own anti-Marxist theses. They quote the famous call of Marx and Engels in the «Communist Manifesto»: «Proletarians of all countries, unite!», and then add that, along with this, they demonstrated for the first time «the inseparable connection of the cause of the international proletariat with the liberation struggle of oppressed nations». These things are true and are known. But it is the Chinese themselves who forget that the call of Marx and Engels came out in order to make known to the world proletariat that the fundamental contradiction of human society was now that between labour and capital, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which would resolve this contradiction through revolution. The Chinese revisionists do not mention the connection of the struggle of the proletariat with the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, or the proletarian revolution, but put the emphasis on the unity of the proletariat and the peoples who are oppressed and exploited, with their most barbarous and ferocious oppressors and exploiters, with American imperialism and the reactionary world bourgeoisie!

In their article the Chinese revisionists mention the quotation from Engels who said:

> *«No nation can be free and, at the same time, oppress other nations. Consequently, the liberation of Germany cannot be carried out without the liberation of Poland from its oppression by the Germans»*.*

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* F. Engels. Speech delivered at the November 29, 1847 international meeting held in London on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the 1830 Polish insurrection.

What do the Chinese want to prove with this quotation from Engels? Their problem is «to prove» that the Soviet proletariat cannot claim that it is fighting for the liberation of other peoples, when it, itself, allegedly enslaves them, and that for the same reason, the proletariat of the countries of Western Europe, the American proletariat, and the proletariat in the capitalist countries of the «third world» are allegedly unworthy to fight for the liberation of different peoples. Then who is allegedly worthy to fight for the liberation of peoples? According to the Chinese article, it turns out that only China can carry out this struggle! They insert this correct statement of Engels somewhere in their article, without making any differentiation between the proletariat of Russia and the other countries on one hand, and their oppressors on the other hand, while not calling on them to rise in revolution against oppressors and against an imperialist war. The proletariat in every country where it is oppressed must be aroused to struggle, together with its natural allies, to carry out its historic mission. If the quotation from Engels is understood not as Engels has stated it, but as the Chinese revisionists interpret it, then we can have no hopes in the proletarian revolution. The «comments» which the Chinese article makes on the correct theses of Marx and Engels are in complete conformity with the anti-Marxist views of the Chinese revisionists.

Marx and Engels put great importance on the liberation of the peoples of Poland, Ireland, China, and India, because these peoples were the most oppressed. Today the French, Spanish, Russian, and American proletariat, also, are oppressed by the ruling bourgeois cliques. This proletariat must not be pushed aside from the political scene, but on the contrary, it is necessary that it has its say on all those things which are occurring and on all those things which the imperialist rulers and the social-imperialist traitors are doing in the capitalist and revisionist countries. Therefore, the genuine communists must call on the proletariat of these countries to rise in revolution to overthrow the bourgeois and traitor cliques who are ruling the peoples.

Our classics saw every national movement and the different political forces from the angle of the interests of the international proletariat. They have taught us that the revolution can triumph at the weakest link of world capitalism. Our great teachers also teach us that the independence of one people, won through revolution, assists the liberation of other peoples, too, whether in Europe, Asia, or in other parts of the world. The Chinese revisionists do not proceed from these Marxist views. On the contrary, they see the national movements and the different political forces from the angle of their interests of becoming a superpower, therefore they have assisted and are assisting, not the peoples' struggles for independence, but the reactionary cliques who are ruling these peoples. That is why the Chinese preach to the proletariat social peace and collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

With the aim of proving their thesis that «Soviet social-imperialism has become the main enemy of the peoples of the world, that it is the centre of world reaction which is threatening the world with a war», the Chinese revisionists refer to Marx and Engels, in their article, citing the ideas expressed by them in 1848 about the danger of czarism. There is no doubt that czarism was the bastion of European reaction, therefore it had to be fought and Lenin carried out this fight with the Russian bolsheviks, with whom the proletariat of all countries of the world was united. However, the very correct ideas of Marx against czarism in no way prove what the Chinese now want to prove, that Soviet social-imperialism alone is the main enemy of the peoples of the world. Proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis, we insist that **besides Soviet social-imperialism, American imperialism, together with all world reaction, are enemies of the peoples. All these enemies, in unity and in contradiction with one another, are at war with the world proletariat in general and with the proletariat of each particular country.** They are all at war with the peoples who are demanding national and social liberation, therefore the

proletariat and the peoples must be linked in steel unity in order to fight the dangerous enemies they are facing.

The Chinese revisionists tell us that Marx and Engels not only did not forget the class struggle on the international scale, but in pointing the finger at Russian czarist reaction, they were bearing in mind the fundamental interests of the world proletariat. What demagogues they are! When they allegedly have faith in Marx and Engels, why do they not apply their teachings? Why do they do the opposite, and enter into alliance with American imperialism, with British imperialism, with French and German imperialism, etc.? From the study of Marx, it turns out that in order to achieve its aspirations, the proletariat, in the course of waging the class struggle on an international scale, must never unite with this black international reaction. It is not sufficient merely to «hail» the revolutionary drive of the peoples in the struggle for liberation, as the Chinese revisionists do, but we must know how to guide this drive in the best possible way, according to the teachings of our four great classics — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin (and not according to the idealist and eclectic ideas of Mao Tsetung), who have clearly defined for us what must be done in order to achieve the liberation of the peoples from the yoke of capital.

With the aim of showing that allegedly they are with Lenin, and in order to use the name of Lenin as a mask to hide their anti-Leninism, the Chinese revisionists have packed their article, amongst other things, with long quotations taken from Lenin's article on «The Historical Fate of the Doctrine of Karl Marx», in which he wrote:

> *«The opportunists had scarcely congratulated themselves on 'social peace' and on the non-necessity of storms under 'democracy', when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. The Russian revolution was followed by revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China»*.*

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 653 (Alb. ed.).

We can say the same thing about the other quotation from Lenin's article of 1916 «On the Caricature of Marxism and 'On Imperialist Economism'», according to which:

> *«The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined the civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries* **and a whole series** *of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations»*.*

In order to avoid tripping themselves up, the Chinese revisionists make a very short «comment» on these quotations, and concretely: «Of course, this Leninist view retains its force even today». But, if we analyse the line of the Communist Party of China today, it is in flagrant opposition to these major theses of Lenin's and to Leninism as a whole. **Lenin never advised the peoples that the democratic and revolutionary movements, or national liberation movements, should be aimed only at the external imperialist enemies, and not also against the internal enemies, the collaborators with imperialism, as the Chinese opportunists do.** They «have forgotten to apply» the teachings of Lenin about the struggle of the proletariat on a national and international scale.

At the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Lenin delivered the report on the international situation and the fundamental tasks of this International. Analysing the aims of the imperialist war and presenting the situation of the world after this war, he says that a part of the population of the world lives in the colonial countries, a part in the countries which managed to preserve the old situation, and finally mentions the peoples of a few countries that gained from the division of the world. This balance of the consequences of the imperialist war made by Lenin in July 1920 is completely correct, but cannot serve

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 23, p. 63 (Alb. ed.).

in any way to support the Chinese opportunist thesis of «three worlds» or «three groups», as they say. **When our Party rejects the anti-Marxist Chinese theory of «three worlds» it is guided entirely by the teachings of Lenin and also bears in mind Lenin's report to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International.** However the Chinese revisionists quote this Marxist analysis of Lenin's in order to create the illusion that his idea about the causes of the imperialist war and its consequences for the peoples of the world is allegedly the same as Mao Tsetung's idea of «three worlds» and, as a conclusion, that the alliances of the proletariat with the oppressed peoples against the reactionary bourgeoisie that Lenin advocated, are identical with the alliances which Mao Tsetung advocates! If it were true that Lenin, at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern, wanted to imply that the world was divided in three parts, a thing which suits the desire of the Chinese revisionists, he would not have declared a year later, in December 1921, at the 9th All-Union Congress of Soviets of Russia: «Now there are two worlds», but would have spoken of three worlds.

Lenin did not say, either in 1920, or earlier, or later, that the proletariat should unite with American or with British imperialism. On the contrary, he stressed the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and showed the way to the liberation of the proletariat through the proletarian revolution and the liberation of the oppressed peoples through national liberation wars. The theory of «three worlds», however, ignores these teachings of Lenin's and does not put forward any tasks for the revolution.

For the preparation of their article the Chinese set to work to gather a large number of quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. **These quotations take up perhaps one third of the entire article and are used in order «to prove» things which cannot be proved.** They use abridged quotations taken out of context in order to adapt them to their theory of «three worlds», which they present as allegedly Marxist-Leninist and based on the teachings of our great classics! They think that

these quotations can be interpreted arbitrarily and in all sorts of ways, with both the rightists and the leftists manipulating them according to their desires. The misuse of quotations to unite the views of classics with their views in mechanical and unprincipled ways is a stand typical of the Chinese eclecticism of Mao Tsetung. As I have said at other times, he himself admitted that his ideas would be utilized by both the leftists and the rightists. Such an evasive interpretation can be made of the ideas of opportunists, of those who waver between materialism and idealism, of sophists, etc., but not of our great classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because they are theoreticians of a great scientific doctrine, which foresees the present and the future correctly and does not permit false interpretations of historical periods to be made in the dynamism of the dialectical development of events. The analyses of our classics are based on the undeniable truth, therefore he who understands them can use them as a balance to weigh up whether or not his activities are correct. He who distorts the conclusions of these analyses cannot vindicate his incorrect actions through mutilated quotations and absurd interpretations. **The genuine Marxists confront their actions with the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, while the renegades attempt to impose their adverse actions on the classics by means of mutilated quotations, arbitrary interpretations, falsifications, etc.**

This is what the Chinese revisionists have done with the large number of quotations which they have presented in their article. And they have done this because they are unable to prove their opportunist theses. Let us take an example just for illustration. Speaking about the character of the different national movements, in his work, «On the Foundations of Leninism», Stalin arrives at the conclusion that the revolutionary or reactionary character of a national movement must be judged from the fact of whether objectively its direction is to smash and get rid of imperialism, or to consolidate the triumph of imperialism.

«Objectively», says Stalin, *«the struggle of the emir of Afghanistan for the independence of Afghanistan, is a* **revolutionary** *struggle...»*.*

Stalin is correct, because the emir he referred to decimated the British armies in the passes of the Pamirs; of all the great army of the British occupiers only three people, including a doctor, managed to struggle back to India. The Chinese revisionists absolutize this example from Stalin, who correctly refers to a concrete historical incident, in order to arrive at the conclusion that they allegedly have the authorization of Stalin to assist and support all the reactionary monarchs and princes of the world, right down to Mobutu who is nothing but an agent of American imperialism, a «modern» oppressor of the Congolese people.

In order to justify the alliance which they advocate today between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples on the one hand, and American imperialism and the other imperialisms on the other hand, against Soviet social-imperialism, the Chinese revisionists do not fail to bring up as an «argument» the great anti-fascist alliance between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Americans against Hitlerite Germany in the Second World War. This Chinese style of reasoning is so absurd that it can only serve to expose its authors. **Historical facts and events must be conceived in close connection with the conditions and circumstances of their own time.**

In an earlier note I have said that it is true that Stalin and the Soviet Government proposed to the British and the French an alliance to stop the aggressive war which Hitler had declared by occupying Czechoslovakia. It is known that the Soviet Union and France had an agreement at that time to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia if it were attacked by a third power. France did not keep its promises and, after the Munich betrayal by the western «democracies», Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Hitlerites. After this act the western «democracies» tried to

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, pp. 146-147 (Alb. ed.).

direct Hitlerite Germany towards the East. Seeing the Hitlerite danger, France and Britain attempted to form a «fighting unity» with the Soviet Union, which indicated its willingness for this. But this was only a ridiculous «bit of stage management» on the part of Britain and France. The Soviet Union and Stalin, judging the situation correctly and knowing the danger of the Hitlerite aggression, signed a «non-aggression pact» with Nazi Germany in order to gain time. This was an act on the Marxist-Leninist road. Hitler attacked Poland and then Britain and France entered the war, and when Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the anti-fascist alliance of the Soviet Union with Britain was achieved.

It is quite natural that at those moments the Soviet Union should enter into alliance with these imperialist states against German fascism which was threatening the world. Thus, the Second World War began as a predatory war, but with the entry of the Soviet Union it was changed into a liberation war, therefore the decision of Stalin and of the Soviet Government to join this anti-fascist alliance cannot be identified with the alliance which China is advocating today with the United States of America, the other imperialists and the countries of the «third world» against the Soviet Union. History cannot be falsified, as the Chinese revisionists are doing, in order to conceal their betrayal.

China considers that we are facing an imminent war. There may be an imperialist war, if not today, tomorrow. However, Teng Hsiao-ping has declared that there will not be a war for twenty years, therefore, according to him and the opportunist Chinese theory of «three worlds», during these two decades the peoples must not rise in revolution. They must not fight against internal and foreign oppressors, but should consolidate their alliances with the imperialists and their oppressors and defend all the agreements and predatory alliances which American imperialism and the other Western imperialists have achieved. Actually China is preaching that during all these next 20 years there should be calm.

Looking at the stands of Stalin against German nazism and Italian fascism before the Second World War, it comes out clearly that the comparison which the Chinese revisionists are trying to make cannot be reconciled to the theses of Marxism-Leninism, but it also comes to light why this comparison is being made. The reason for advocating the alliance with imperialism is based on the fact that China wants to have the support of American imperialism and the other developed capitalist countries of the world so that it too can become a superpower. The Chinese too are practising the blackmail of imminent war and the atomic bomb, which the Americans and the Soviets are exerting, with the aim of intimidating the proletariat so that it does not rise in revolution, does not create and consolidate alliances with the poor peasantry and the exploited working people of its own country and alliances on the international level, but sits quiet until China can become a superpower and counter-balance the other two superpowers, in a word, until China too has prepared itself for predatory war and the capture of markets.

When one reads this «major» article of the Chinese about the theory of «three worlds», the question arises in everyone's mind: Why was it written and whom does it serve? Thinking this over, one immediately comes to the conclusion that this article is aimed against the revolutionary theses of the 7th Congress of our Party, as well as against the «Zëri i popullit» article of July 7 this year, entitled «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution» and other articles which we have published. **Our theses are correct, militant, Marxist-Leninist, and their purpose is to explain the international situation and the revolutionary processes which characterize it correctly, in order to arm the Albanian communists and all those people who read and study them.** These theses of our Party to combat imperialism, whether American or Soviet, as well as other imperialisms and world reaction, assist the struggle for the revolution, help to raise the peoples in national liberation struggle against capitalism within the country and on an international scale. These are

the aims of the theses which we have put forward. The aim of the Chinese revisionists in publishing their article, on the contrary is very bad, because it ignores the main issue, that of the struggle which all the peoples of the world must wage against their main enemies. In the Chinese article one does not see a single revolutionary task put forward, one does not see the main revolutionary task, the national liberation struggle of the peoples against their capitalist oppressors, does not see the interests of the world revolution or the interests of a particular country at the weak link of world imperialism.

The words «revolution» and «national liberation struggle» cannot be found anywhere in this article. Hence, this article has not been written with the aim of arousing the peoples, of educating them and showing them the road of the struggle. Then what does this article of the Chinese tell the proletariat and the peoples? It is clear that its main aim is **to demonstrate that Mao Tsetung's theory of «three worlds» is allegedly a correct Marxist-Leninist theory, merely to serve their anti-Marxist cause.** This is the main purpose for which this article was written.

Its other aim is **to fight us and quell the revolution, to quell the national liberation struggle and advocate the alliance of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples with the reactionary bourgeoisie, American imperialism, British, French, Japanese and other imperialisms.** In a word, according to this article, the proletariat today must go to school to learn Marxism-Leninism because, according to the Chinese, its principles are very complicated, and only the Chinese «know» and «understand» them(!). According to them, that is why the proletariat has not yet reached that level to carry out the revolution, therefore, first it must learn Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese leaders have distinguished themselves for such anti-Marxist craziness! Mao Tsetung aroused the children, the middle school pupils, the «red guards», who had no idea at all about Marxism-Leninism, and it was they who were to teach the «Marxist-Leninist» party of China and the Chinese proletariat how Marxism-Leninism

should be applied. Hence, those who hadn't a shred of knowledge about Marxism were to teach the Communist Party of China and the Chinese proletariat Marxism-Leninism! This is the anti-Marxist content of Mao's theses, according to which the students are supposed to teach the proletariat its own ideology, to teach it how to apply its own ideology, and as we have seen, they have taught it «very well» by managing to destroy the whole party, by liquidating the Communist Party of China.

The thesis on the hegemonic role of the peasantry in the revolution is anti-Marxist and revisionist. And so is the «advice», the only «advice», anti-Marxist and revisionist from start to finish, that China bothers to give the world proletariat, and especially the European proletariat, that it must first learn Marxism-Leninism and then hurl itself into the revolution. This is the same as the «theory of cadres» of Anastas Lulo and Andrea Zisi, according to which, first the cadres must be trained and then one can proceed to the formation of the party and the revolution. In a word, according to Teng Hsiao-ping, we have a period of twenty years, in which we should allow American imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie to strengthen themselves in every country of the world and then see what we should do after that. His old master, the revisionist Liu Shao-chi, did the same thing, when in 1949 he advocated that China should not undertake the construction of socialism, but should continue on the old course it had inherited, should allow the Chinese bourgeoisie and the kulaks to run China for a full thirty years after its liberation and during this time «the proletariat would gain the experience to act»!

Hence, it is clear that the aims of the theses of this pseudo-Marxist Chinese article do not serve the revolution and national liberation struggles, but render very good service to imperialism, world reaction and China, which has now set out on the capitalist road and is preparing to turn into a social-imperialist world superpower.

Lenin and Stalin advocated the revolution, whereas in this article the Chinese revisionists claim that, we must learn from

Lenin to hail and warmly support the liberation movements of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions of the world in a Leninist way. That is all, according to them, and then we should applaud. But whom? We should applaud all those whom the Chinese advise, and teach that they should not fight for the revolution, should not hurl themselves into the national liberation struggle, should be content with the pseudo-freedom and pseudo-independence which they have won or which the various imperialists have given them out of the kindness of their hearts. This is the whole «philosophy» which the Chinese preach.

In this article the Chinese revisionists show themselves to be chauvinists even in their use of figures. Lenin and Stalin used figures to illustrate the number of people enslaved, dominated and exploited by imperialism, while showing what they and the Marxist-Leninists must do to liberate themselves from slavery. However, what occurs with the Chinese revisionists? They continue to use these figures and to compare them with the size of territory and the population of China **in alleged proof that the «third world», with China included in it, constitutes the overwhelming majority and that**, this whole «world» as an entity, is the main motive force of the revolution! This is a distortion of the meaning of the quotations from Lenin and Stalin, a distortion made with very bad anti-Marxist aims to deceive the peoples and the proletariat that they should not rise in revolution and should have an absurdly inflated opinion of Mao Tsetung's China of 800 millions. That is, *de facto*, if not *de jure*, they should accept China's hegemony in the so-called third world, because China's use of figures and its including itself in the «third world» shows clearly that great weight which it desires to have in this great grouping of hundreds of millions of people, hence this «world» should think that China's word is the word of god and these peoples should follow it blindly on the disastrous course on which it wants to lead them.

A little earlier I wrote that the Chinese article came out

a long time after the holding of our 7th Congress and the publication of the articles which followed this Congress. During this period the Chinese pseudo-theoreticians felt the world pulse, the pulse of the world communist movement towards our theses. We see that in this article disguised efforts are made to soften, to some extent, that bad impression which their false theses about the theory of «three worlds» have made on the world and on the international communist movement. This is why, in their editorial article, the Chinese revisionists try in a very feeble way, of course, to prove that American imperialism is still powerful, that its economy has not been weakened, that its military forces have not been reduced but have increased, that it keeps a large number of soldiers all round the world, etc., etc., but surprisingly it makes no mention of NATO, this aggressive treaty against the peoples. They do not mention it, do not say anything against it, do not give even the slightest explanation about when this notorious treaty was established and against whom. At the time when their strategy was not on its present course, Mao Tsetung, personally, and the Chinese left nothing unsaid against American imperialism and NATO. Now total silence is maintained about them. This shows their alliance with American imperialism. However, they make this «switch» to a slightly more realistic assessment of Soviet social-imperialism and American imperialism because they are compelled to do so. Of course, this situation creates no difficulties for them with the United States of America, because the Americans are used to such criticisms and slogans, any number of which were issued by Khrushchev, indeed much stronger ones than those of the Chinese. The Americans are not annoyed by these stale repetitions of the Chinese about the economic or military power of American imperialism. Neither the United States of America nor the other imperialist states worry their heads about these statements of the Chinese because they understand the essence of their «theory», are clear on the line which they are following and know that this line has been determined as a result of full agreement with them.

However, the Chinese are compelled to make this «switch» because of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and in order to doll up their anti-Marxist theses a bit, because these have made and are still making an extremely bad impression on the peoples of the world, when they see that China is defending American imperialism, when it advocates alliance with all the imperialists against Soviet social-imperialism and when it advocates alliance with the oppressing capitalist bourgeoisie of all countries of the world. Therefore the Chinese had to take some sort of stand in this direction and smooth off some rough edges.

This article is a vain attempt to achieve these aims. The Chinese revisionists also try in vain, through this article, to pose as realists, allegedly to explain the theory of «three worlds» which they launched as a slogan without giving any explanation from the theoretical, political or military angle. However much they try to explain that, of course, in these countries of the «third world» there are reactionary elements and leaders, as well as progressive leaders, there are agents of American imperialism and agents of Soviet social-imperialism, etc., etc., still the falsity of their «objectivity» is quite obvious. They adopt this false stand in order to say to their readers that «these things are true, hence even if we have not said them, this is how we understand them». But the Chinese say not a single word about what the peoples must do, about what the proletariat must do against the cliques ruling in the different countries of the world, which are anti-popular cliques, and moreover, agents of American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism.

The whole «Renmin Ribao» article about the «three worlds» has no theoretical value at all, has no tinge of Marxism-Leninism. It is anti-Marxist, revisionist from start to finish. No truth and no revolutionary aim can be found in it. Everything in this article is in the service of the counterrevolutionary cause of protecting the imperialist powers and maintaining the status quo of capitalism in the world. The aim of maintaining this status quo is that during this time China should arm itself

with most modern means and receive aid to strengthen its war economy.

The Chinese leaders think that this article will make an impact on the peoples and the communists of the world, but they are wrong. And in fact we see that such a thing has not occurred amongst world opinion over this «Renmin Ribao» article. We saw only two or three reports and comments about the Chinese article from the main news agencies which pointed out that China attacks the Soviet Union in an editorial article. Meanwhile, in regard to the «Zëri i popullit» article of July 7, there was talk all around the world and not just for weeks but for months on end, and it is still being discussed and commented on positively.

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 7, 1977

A THREE-HANDED GAME

Yesterday I read the message of congratulations sent by the Chinese leaders to the Soviet leaders on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in which the first signs of the softening in the relations between the leaders of these two countries are apparent. After speaking about the importance of the revolution, the message says that China wants to have state relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five recognized principles, as well as on the basis of decisions that were taken in Peking in the talks between the two prime ministers, Kosygin and Chou En-lai. In other words China is responding positively to Brezhnev's advances for improvement of their relations.

However, in an editorial article the newspaper «Renmin Ribao», which likewise speaks about the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, its international importance, etc., etc., goes on to say in essence, in one paragraph, that the Soviet leadership is revisionist, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been eliminated in the Soviet Union, that the communist party there has turned into a revisionist party, a «party of the whole people», and uses some other such harmless epithets which will cause no alarm. Have the Chinese retreated from the positions of aggressive attack on the Soviet Union, of describing it as a social-imperialist aggressive warmongering state, etc., as all the articles of their newspapers have done up until now? We shall see.

As we see, since Tito's visit the Chinese propaganda against

the Soviet Union has been toned down somewhat. Indeed an agreement has been signed about navigation on the rivers and especially on the river where the armed clash occurred some years ago.

Therefore, **Tito's advice about softening their relations with the Soviet Union to some extent, has not fallen to deaf ears. We shall see later what direction this softening takes: will it become steadily more pronounced or will it remain at this level? This is a three-handed game being played between the Americans, the Soviets and the Chinese.** Since Teng Hsiao-ping declared that China needs 20 to 25 years peace in order to become a great «socialist» power, then tempers have to be cooled. China has to ease the tension with the Soviet Union, too, because the war will be waged with that country, and if this war breaks out more quickly, China cannot be built as Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng intend. The prospect is that China will eventually climb into bed with the two of them, that is, both with the Americans and with the Soviets. In these conditions we must be vigilant, must stand in strong Marxist-Leninist positions and expose the treacherous manoeuvres of all the revisionist currents circulating in the world against the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggle.

ONE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY SLOGANS OF THE CHINESE

The notorious slogan of the Communist Party of China which appeals to the United States of America and the reactionary capitalist countries of the world, that is, half of the «first world» and the whole of the «second world», as it calls them, to unite with all the peoples of other countries, which it lumps together in the «third world», is one of the most reactionary. In other words, the Communist Party of China is calling for predatory imperialist war. On this issue it is like the Second International which, in the years 1914-1916, launched the slogan of «defence of the fatherland» (bourgeois). In this way the revisionist party of China is deceiving the peoples and the proletariat with this reactionary slogan, putting them in the position of assisting world finance capital. The United States of America and the other imperialist states, Bonn Germany, Japan, etc., have the desire and aim to rule the world, to exploit the peoples and oppress the proletariat.

It is clear to the genuine Marxist-Leninists that the proletariat must be absolutely opposed to such a war and that, in particular, it must make every effort to ensure that the government and the so-called Communist Party of China fail, suffer defeat, over this anti-Marxist political line which they are pursuing. The international proletariat must fight likewise, against the respective reactionary governments which are ruling in the capitalist and revisionist countries and must foil their plans for a war of plunder by impeding this preparation for imperialist war and, if it breaks out, turn it into a civil war to overthrow the ruling bourgeoisie of the country and to take power into its own hands.

SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 12, 1977

WE MUST INFORM THE PARTY ABOUT THE DEVIATION OF CHINA

Yesterday and today I put the finishing touches to the report I shall deliver at the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee about the deviation of the Communist Party of China from Marxism-Leninism. According to the decision of the Political Bureau, on Tuesday, November 15, all the members of the plenum as well as the first secretaries of the party committees of districts will come to the apparatus of the Central Committee in order to study this report. They will also be acquainted with the second report, which Comrade Ramiz will deliver in connection with strengthening the work of the Party for the education of communists and cadres. On Wednesday, November 16, the comrades will have a day off to prepare for the discussion, and on Thursday we shall start straight in on the discussion.

I think that **it is very urgent and necessary to inform the Party about the hostile, anti-Marxist work the Communist Party of China is carrying on.** Naturally, I have made efforts to ensure that the report I shall deliver at the plenum is as understandable, as clear, and as well-argued as possible. Many theoretical and practical questions of the Communist Party of China and its leadership, from before Mao Tsetung down to this day, need to be gone into thoroughly, because there are many revisionist manifestations in the activity of that party and its leadership. There are ways of saying things on the part of the Chinese, formulations sometimes disguised and sometimes shrouded

in a «philosophical» fog, which we must interpret correctly, from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and the situation in China. Many communists do not know the general history of the social, economic, political and military development of China, not only during the period before liberation, but also during the period after the foundation of the People's Republic of China, do not know many of the aspects of the activity of the Communist Party of China. And we ourselves, the Party and its leadership, up till now, have spoken publicly in admiring terms about the new China, its Communist Party, and Mao Tsetung. As we say in the report, as we have also said at other meetings of the Central Committee, as well as in our contributions to the discussions in the Political Bureau, to the extent that we were informed about the situation in China, and as far as we knew, we thought that the interests of the revolution required and wanted such support for China and Mao Tsetung on our part. Irrespective of the criticisms which we had of them over many ideological problems, in general, we thought that the Communist Party of China was to some degree fighting against Khrushchevite revisionism and such a thing was a plus for the cause of the revolution.

Therefore, it is our duty to ensure that the Party becomes clear about this issue, and that unity of opinion exists in this direction, too; **we must try to strengthen this unity of opinion, not with propaganda slogans, but, as we have always done up till now, with proven facts analysed from the angle of Marxism-Leninism.** Only in this way will we temper the communists and our people in these new battles, and disarm any wavering element who will not fail to emerge at this turning-point, or at some moment which he thinks favourable to him.

The Party must be raised even further ideologically and politically, must understand the problems thoroughly, must thoroughly understand the twists of different revisionist groupings in the international arena; just as it understood Titoism and Khrushchevite revisionism, it must understand Maoism, too,

and must be armed for even sterner battles which we shall face from now on.

Our Party has great strength and colossal experience. This experience has not been formed only by studying Marxism-Leninism but has been formed and accumulated in struggle and battles to apply it faithfully in practice. The Albanian communists have waged a series of wars, their whole lifetime has been war, war with arms against Italian fascism, war with arms against German Nazism, ideological and political war against American imperialism and its agents, against all the pro-American coalition which fought through agents, ideology and policy, against our country. We have waged ideological and political war against Yugoslav Titoism and the conspirators linked with it — Koçi Xoxe and company. We have waged war against Khrushchevite revisionists and their agency in our country — Liri Belishova, Koço Tashko, Maqo Çomo, Panajot Plaku and many others. Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, etc., who were agents of the Soviet and Titoite revisionists but who remained hidden operated also as an agency of the Chinese.

Now our Party has begun to wage a relentless struggle against the Chinese revisionists, too, not to mention here the colossal struggle which it has waged and is waging in these difficult situations for the construction of socialism in all sectors, for the education of the new man with new features, equipped with lofty proletarian morality, and for his ideo-political uplift, for the struggle against difficulties, against religion, the emancipation of women, the electrification of the country, etc., etc. All this is a colossal experience which makes our Party strong as steel to cope with any difficulty of whatever nature and wherever it may come from. Therefore, we must go on and on strengthening this situation.

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 21, 1977

MAO ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Mao did not fully agree with the principle of democratic centralism as Lenin explained and applied it. Mao gave this principle a much «broader meaning», and with this, he allegedly aimed to characterize the Chinese society in general and to give democratic centralism another form and content. Contrary to Lenin's theory, in regard to relations between the centre and the masses, Mao Tsetung opened fields for the spontaneous action of the masses in general and the working class in particular. As is known, Lenin did not permit spontaneity of action contrary to Marxist principles. According to Lenin, the actions of the masses and the class must be guided and directed by the Marxist party.

Mao had the view that the masses themselves, without the leadership of the working class and its party, and disregarding the principles of democratic centralism, must build their own life. But even before the Cultural Revolution and especially after this revolution, we saw that all this Maoist theory caused such chaos that even Mao was astonished and scratched his head, wondering how to stop this chaos.

Lenin evaluated democratic centralism as the basic principle of the organization of the Party and the state. With this principle he understood complete freedom of discussion on all questions, but when decisions were taken by the higher organs, these had to be respected obligatorily by the lower organs. The opinions of the lower organs had to be sought, but after the decision was taken, these lower organs were obliged to submit

to its dispositions. Mao Tsetung also differed from Lenin in his understanding of democracy, and for this reason he came to the conclusion that there can be no correct democratic centralism. According to Mao, since people's ideas and thoughts differ in their understanding of things, centralism cannot be established!

Then, according to Mao, what is democratic centralism? According to him, first of all, it is centralism of «correct» ideas! This means that he does not see this principle as a concrete expression of the formation, dependence, submission, collectivity, and unified direction of organs of the party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but conceives it as an idealist.

TUESDAY
NOVEMBER 22, 1977

TRASH WHICH THE REVISIONISTS FABRICATE

Last evening Hsinhua gave long excerpts from a major hostile, revisionist article which Kazimierz Michal, who claims to be general secretary of the Communist Party of Poland, has sent to Peking through the Chinese embassy in Tirana. Without knowing anything about the past of this revisionist, we have supported him for years on end in the work which he did in the leadership of his Communist Party, have provided him with every political, ideological, moral and economic facility. However, it turned out that he is nothing but a renegade from Marxism-Leninism, a disguised enemy of the Party of Labour of Albania; and therefore it is not necessary to extend here on his hostile work, which was discovered two years ago.

After the 7th Congress and even before, Kazimierz Michal committed provocations against our Party, but this time he openly attacked the theses of our Congress. It is quite obvious that he was in secret contact with the Chinese, because he defended the same theses which they raised against our Party. Michal has developed these theses in several letters which he has sent to the Central Committee of our Party. **The article referred to contains nothing but a presentation in journalistic form of all those anti-Marxist traitor views of a renegade, an agent of imperialism and of Chinese revisionism**, which he dealt with in his hostile, anti-Marxist letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

In the letter which he sent us, he says that he is ready to make an alliance even with the devil himself provided only

that he is against Soviet revisionism. Amongst other things he supports the thesis that a country, a people, or a party cannot have two main enemies, but only one, and the main enemy is the Soviet Union, and not the United States of America, as well. Therefore he, and allegedly his party, are ready to collaborate with the whole of reaction, even with the reaction of his own country, and world reaction, against Soviet imperialism. This is the thesis of the Chinese, the thesis of the «third world», the thesis of «relying on one imperialism to fight another imperialism».

But time will prove that the Chinese revisionists will make approaches to and link themselves in honeyed friendship even with the Soviet revisionists. **The correct line of our Party will be confirmed more and more each day, and we are aware that such trash has emerged and will emerge in the international arena and the ranks of the communist movement**, for the reason that the revisionist enemies are working to split our movement and to throw mud at the glorious Marxist-Leninist theory. But the Marxist-Leninist theory will triumph, our cause is just and will be embraced by the world proletariat, of course, through explanations, efforts and struggle, but we shall achieve the exposure of this new trend of revisionism, which is represented by the Chinese revisionists.

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 23, 1977

WE MUST FOLLOW THE CONSTRUCTION OF PROJECTS PERSISTENTLY

We must not neglect the work on the second phase of projects, which we are building, but on the contrary must keep a rigorous eye on the construction of those projects on which China is aiding us, to ensure that we complete them on time. Therefore, we must know what is necessary and what is not necessary, why something has come or has not come, and must make continual demands, because we know that China is raising obstacles for us, and will raise more and more of them. Likewise, we must keep up to date on the realization of Plant No. 12, which should be completed at the end of the year and commence production not later than January, that is, we must have our iron for the metallurgical plant. Therefore, the Ministry of Industry must be urged to organize production properly and constantly control the construction of this important project.

It is essential that we follow these important economic problems closely, are rigorous about time schedules, rigorous about quality, and do not allow unnecessary expenditure. The ministries and their staffs must be adroit in all these problems, both in those of the construction of projects and in the problems of securing raw materials within the country and from abroad, must know how to manoeuvre with special skill, in order to make correct combinations, to take preliminary measures, to anticipate the needs, and not merely record things after the deed is done and deficits have been created.

If these difficult situations are properly understood, then we must tighten our belts, work very conscientiously, with sound organization, with sound management, in complexity and co-ordination with all the sectors of our socialist economy.

SUNDAY
NOVEMBER 27, 1977

THERE IS NO WAY WE CAN SOFTEN OUR WORDS AGAINST CHINESE REVISIONISM

Teng Ying-chao, the widow of Chou En-lai, went to Iran to pay a visit to the Shah of that country and princess Ashraf, the great «friends» of Mao Tsetung's China. Princess Ashraf was welcomed with great pomp in China two or three times, by Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai.

Teng Ying-chao's visit was preceded by a long article by the Hsinhua news agency and the newspaper «Renmin Ribao», which spoke of the majesty of the Shahanshah, about «flourishing» Iran, about this «free» and «independent» country which allegedly fights sternly against the two superpowers. What a disgrace for China that it praises a bandit and a son of a bandit, whom America brought back by aircraft from emigration after it crushed the Mossadegh uprising and drowned the Tudeh movement in blood by means of dollars and its own agency! Today this tyrant is mercilessly oppressing and sucking the blood of the Iranian people. There is mass unemployment and hunger there, the people can barely keep themselves clad and lack the simplest housing (let alone in the zones which have been devastated by earthquakes) at a time when the Shah, personally and his circle get billions of dollars a year! Such people are the «great» and «sincere» friends of China.

China has become a big state, servile to American imperialism in order to defend capitalism and all the reactionary bourgeoisie under whatever mask it presents itself; it supports the Shah of Iran, the policy of Washington, of Paris, of Bonn, of

London, in a word, the policy of imperialists of every nature, every colour and every state. It disguises all this with a fig-leaf, allegedly with the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, but the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism on the part of China has only the character of territorial expansion. The aims of China are to occupy the territories to the north, such as Siberia, Mongolia, etc. It also has its eye on the whole of India and the other countries of Southern Asia, like Indonesia, the Philippines, the Far East, Australia etc., if not to take control of them, at least to extend its influence over them.

Mao Tsetung wanted to restore China to its ancient majesty of centuries ago. In other words, in the modern age, China was to become the «Middle Kingdom» as it was called in the ancient times of Confucius and the emperors. Mao Tsetung, Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai did not fight for the triumph of socialism and communism. They have worked to avoid proletarian revolutions in Asia and now throughout the world. The Maoist leadership of China allowed the troops of Chiang Kai-shek to pass into Burma where they fought against the national liberation movement in Burma, led by the Communist Party of Burma, and, indeed, even today they are still fighting against it. Regardless of the fact that some of these troops are said to have gone to Taiwan, still the Maoist leaders of China, in friendship with U Ne Win, have become his main supporters in his aim to liquidate the Communist Party of Burma.

The Chinese revisionist leaders acted likewise in splitting and liquidating the Communist Party of Malaya, against which British imperialism had aimed its blows and killed tens of thousands of communists.

A similar thing is occurring today with the communists of the Philippines. Mao Tsetung had a close friendship with Marcos, this capitalist murderer, who is liquidating the national liberation movement of that country.

China has pretentions to becoming the dominant power in the world. It dreams of overtaking not only the Soviet Union, but also the United States of America, but its loins, as they say

in Gjirokastra, hence its real strength, especially its economic and military strength, are insufficient for it to be able to realize the hegemonic policy which it dreams of and is hatching up. The policy of China is enslaving and the peoples are understanding this, the proletariat is understanding this, the bourgeoisie understands it, and progressive people understand it. In their desire for hegemony, in order to achieve the enslavement of the peoples, the Chinese leaders support the enslavement of the peoples by the imperialists whom China actually calls «friends», «well-wishers», indeed even «liberators of the peoples». But in reality this policy has suffered and will suffer fiasco, because there is no one of normal judgement who can fail to be concerned to some degree, even if only minimally, about the interests of his own people and who can fail to understand this reactionary policy which China is pursuing at present.

And therefore, in connection with all these things, we use harsh terms about the line and policy of the Communist Party and the government of China, because the activity of the Chinese leadership deserves such expressions. We Albanians, we Albanian communists, are able to see their total deviation from the Marxist-Leninist road and the road of the construction of socialism. Therefore, faced with these facts, faced with this stand and this ideology, there is no way we can soften our words about the Chinese revisionists.

FRIDAY
DECEMBER 2, 1977

THE CHINESE ARE EXTENDING THE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES TO STATE RELATIONS

Our ambassador in Peking informed us that the Chinese told the comrades of our trade delegation that they were not going to send to Albania their specialists on the problem of phosphorites, on PVC and another problem, I am not sure which, for the reason that «the appropriate conditions do not exist, therefore as long as good conditions and understanding have not been created, we are not going to send our specialists for these objects». **In other words, the Chinese revisionists are beginning their open sabotage of contracts and agreements which exist between us and them. Thus, they are beginning to extend the ideological differences they have with us to the field of state relations, hence to come gradually to the old position of the Soviets, which, of course, is a thing we had foreseen.** Today, I think, the Chinese aircraft comes, and we shall have a report in writing from our embassy, a report which we shall study, and then we shall act accordingly.

First, I think, we should point out to the Chinese that such an act is a violation of contractual obligations, hence it is wrong and should be abandoned immediately. We shall watch their further actions, which we shall follow carefully and vigilantly.

FRIDAY
DECEMBER 2, 1977

COMMUNISTS ARE BEING KILLED IN THE WORLD — THE CHINESE REVISIONISTS COULDN'T CARE LESS

The news agencies report that the chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, together with a group of other comrades of the Central Committee of the Party, has been arrested by the dictator Marcos.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is a militant party but it is being completely sabotaged by the Chinese revisionists. Why should the murderer Marcos not do such a thing when Mao Tsetung himself had established close links with the executioners of the Communist Party of the Philippines? The dictator Marcos and his beautiful wife, with her dress cut so low that her tits almost hung out, were received two or three times in audience by Mao. They were praised and congratulated by him and sought close and sincere friendship with Mao Tsetung and China. And Mao gave them his hand.

On the other hand, the Philippine dictator is wreaking havoc against the Marxist-Leninists of the Philippines, who are fighting for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the islands against the foreign yoke and the internal yoke of capital. But the Chinese revisionists couldn't care less.

They did the same thing with the Communist Party of Indonesia led by Aidit, when Suharto massacred 500,000 people. The Chinese revisionists have done the same thing also with the heroic Party of Malaya, with the Party of Burma, the communists of which U Ne Win, the friend of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revisionists, routed. The Chinese couldn't care less

about the other parties of the Far East either, towards which they have acted in the same way.

This is a crime committed by the Maoist leadership against the Marxist-Leninists of Asia. Now it is carrying out the same activity all over the world, in Europe, in Latin America, Africa, Australia, and everywhere else.

Under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism it aims to lead these countries and these parties on the capitalist road, while China becomes dominant over them in order to counter-balance the two superpowers and become a superpower itself.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 8, 1977

GLOOMY CHINESE PANORAMA

The Chinese panorama is gloomy, both inside and outside China.

More than a year has gone by since the clique of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping came to power and it is displaying much zeal to consolidate the bourgeois-capitalist state power and revisionist ideology throughout China. The many facts which the press and news agencies provide, the reports which come from our embassy in Peking on the basis of the many contacts which it has with the diplomats of different countries of the world accredited to Peking, show that the situation there is chaotic, not in the least stabilized.

From the time of Hua Kuo-feng's advent to power, apart from the vicissitudes of the vacillation of his group over the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping, from the time of the attack on the so-called gang of four, one sees that disturbances are continuing, indeed they say even armed clashes.

In fact the Chinese official press is writing that many people are being shot, ten, seventeen, twenty, or twenty-five, in all provinces. The number is mounting. We see that appeals are being made in the Chinese press, not just once and not only for «state discipline» at work, but also for internal discipline. This is stressed in many leading articles, in «Renmin Ribao», especially. This shows that things in China are not going smoothly and quietly as people of the putschist group of Hua Kuo-feng anticipated. Apparently, the movement against Hua Kuo-feng there is very pronounced. Apart from arrests, imprisonment, and exe-

cutions, during this period the putschists have also undertaken campaigns for the liquidation of the Cultural Revolution. This means the discrediting of Mao Tsetung, naturally in an indirect way, but still discrediting, when, as is known, it has been widely propagated that Mao Tsetung personally inspired and led it (and this was true). Now the Hua Kuo-feng clique is saying that the Cultural Revolution has ended, whereas in reality, according to Mao, the Cultural Revolution should continue for the «liquidation» of the bourgeoisie in China. According to the Hua Kuo-feng group, however, this «bourgeoisie in the party» has increased again, and unfortunately for it, this «bourgeoisie in the party» comprises 12-16 million people (we do not know precisely how many new elements entered the party during the Cultural Revolution) and, as they themselves have said, these were sound elements who came from the working class and the revolutionary youth!

Hence this Cultural Revolution should have continued, while the putschists stopped it. Why did they stop it? Because they were not in agreement with it, because the Cultural Revolution, which Mao aroused, in the way he did and for those purposes he had, in fact was directed against the group of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, and all the others who have admitted in their self-criticisms that they were monarchists, Confucians, counterrevolutionaries. With the public declaration which Hua Kuo-feng made at the Central Committee, he implied that the Cultural Revolution was a mistake and now it no longer exists. Following Teng Hsiao-ping, all those condemned by the Cultural Revolution, from Peng Chen to Peng Teh-huai, are being rehabilitated, and certainly Liu Shao-chi will be rehabilitated, too.

All the reactionaries affected by the Cultural Revolution: have been returned to their former positions and have the key posts under their control. Not only are they all reactionaries, revisionists, Trotskyites and capitalists, but they are also old. Thus, the leadership of China, both of the party and the state, is again in the hands of reaction, the old reaction with no drive,

but with evil hearts and a spirit of vengeance, which is now attacking the younger generation and throwing them out in the street. This gang in power began the purge in the Peking University, which was one of the main centres of the Cultural Revolution. All the elements of the working class, who had entered there ten or twelve years ago and become the leading cadres and educators of the younger generation, have been expelled. They expelled all these elements from the university, of course, with ceremonies and «bouquets», while down below in the provinces, the procedure of the replacement of all those people who are not in agreement with the leadership, by elements loyal to the putschists, especially by armymen, because the present leadership is based on the army, is continuing. For them the party is that same non-existent party, an amorphous organization, something with corrupted norms, which must support and say «yes» and «as you command» to this leadership which has been imposed on it by force of arms.

However, this whole situation has enfeebled and weakened China economically, has weakened its state organization, and caused great damage to the people's economy. This is seen everywhere in China where there is marked discontent and a shortage of supplies.

The economic relations of China with foreign countries have been greatly weakened, too, not only with us, but also with other countries. This is the result of this great betrayal which has taken place in China, which has it source not only in the advent to power of the putschist group of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, but much further back — in the anti-Marxist, capitalist, revisionist line of the group of Mao Tsetung.

As we are told, suspicion reigns among the people, who dare not speak even to one another because they are denounced to the organs of police and the army and immediate measures are taken against them. The country is so big that nobody knows where these people are taken. Are they shot, hanged, or put into concentration camps? Their relatives know nothing. These are facts which are told to our people by Chinese friends.

These people, who support our Marxist-Leninist line, talk to us but dare not say these things to one another. Such then, is the situation, a situation of terror, a very grave situation for the Chinese people, who do not deserve this evil fate which Mao Tsetung and his successors reserved for them.

The Chinese people fought for the liberation of their country, for their independence and socialism, but they were deceived by their leadership, with Mao Tsetung at the head, and were not led on the genuine road to socialism, to the consolidation of the party on the Marxist-Leninist norms and ideology. The new Chinese state was not steered on to the road of socialism, but continued the road of capitalist development, of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the kulaks. All of them, with Mao Tsetung at the head, with Liu Shao-chi, etc., were nothing other than such NEP-men who took the NEP and applied it as a policy for a lasting period, continuing for a very long time, which allegedly would lead to socialism. But their real aim was to incorporate socialism into capitalism. They were nothing other than Bukharinites.

We see that the China of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping has discredited itself, in the full meaning of the term, in the international arena, too. Its voice is hardly heard in the world. It does not speak out on any capital problem which is concerning mankind, which is concerning the peoples and the states. It has only one slogan: The unity of all states of the world, of the «second world» and the «third world», as it calls them, with American imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism. This is the pivot of the Chinese foreign policy and their entire activity rotates round this pivot. If we can call some report in «Renmin Ribao» and Hsinhua activity, this «activity» consists of nothing apart from some propaganda article or the gathering of all those reports of the most reactionary news agencies which incite world war by pointing out to the peoples that Soviet social-imperialism is the main threat to them and therefore they must arm themselves and fight against it.

This, then, is the aim that dominates the foreign policy of

China. China calls on the world proletariat, the oppressed peoples, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, etc., to unite with American imperialism, to unite with the reactionary bourgeoisie of their own countries, allegedly to fight against Soviet social-imperialism. China does not put forward any other problem and is not able to do so. Why is it not able? Because it has included itself in the «third world». Generally speaking, however, the countries of this «third world» are linked either with American imperialism or with Soviet social-imperialism. China itself, a member of the so-called third world, is linked with American imperialism and its satellites, hence with the cliques of the countries of the «third world».

In these conditions China cannot have one thought, cannot raise or defend one question in the interests of a state of the «third world» or groupings of several states of the «third world» which might be in revolt against American imperialism, but it supports those capitalist leaderships, which, because of the circumstances of the moment present themselves as opposed to Soviet social-imperialism. In this way, apart from being colourless, without substance, lacking fire, for the reason that they are not revolutionary, all the international stands of China make it quite obvious that China supports the American imperialist enslavement of the peoples. Thus the peoples, whom it calls of the «third world» and of whom it intends to become the shepherd, do not listen to this cheating shepherd who sings in harmony with that imperialism that oppresses them. The peoples of the so-called third world draw the conclusion that the Chinese policy is bad, an anti-popular policy, a false policy, just as its stand against Soviet imperialism is false.

Both the peoples and the reactionary leaders who keep them enslaved, understand what aims China has when it attacks the Soviet Union. They understand that China carries out such a policy and has an anti-Soviet bent because it is seeking to create strategic positions and markets in the so-called third world.

When the United Nations Organization meets, or when important events occur in the world, for example the actions of

Sadat, the actions of the Americans in the Middle East, when meetings such as that of Tripoli are held, etc., not only is the voice of China buried ten fathoms under the ground, but under its breath, of course, it supports those who play the game of the Americans. China does not dare state its opinion openly about the concessions to Israel and the compromises which are being made to the detriment of the Arab peoples, because the ambassadors of the Arab countries in China and elsewhere, to whom it does not know what to say, put it in a tight spot. The fact is that China is working to split these peoples. It does not look at this problem objectively and cannot do so, because American imperialism, on the one hand, and Soviet imperialism on the other hand, are standing over the Arab peoples. China cannot follow a just course as we do, because it has adhered to anti-Soviet positions not on a principled basis, as we do, and this means that it cannot express its opinion on this question. Regardless of What the Soviets say, China must have its opinion about the events in the Middle East, just as we have. However it cannot do anything about this, but remains loyal to that treacherous policy according to which it must defend the policy of American imperialism at all costs.

Hence, in the overall policy of China in the world we see a great fiasco because this policy consists of unjust stands, or in the majority of cases, of silence.

The commercial and economic relations of China with the capitalist countries are developing in great secrecy. The fact is that hundreds of delegations of American imperialism and world capitalism are going to China. Likewise, tens and even hundreds of Chinese delegations, comprised of economists, engineers, technicians, and armymen, are going to all the capitalist countries of the world, and all of them, of course, sign contracts for mechanical equipment, technology, the construction of big factories and plants and for armaments. All these agreements are being made under cover, in secrecy; payments are made through clearing, or through providing China with big credits. China has become enmeshed in the machinery of taking credits from

the multinational companies, various capitalist states and American imperialism. This is China's whole policy. Its exports have declined because the Chinese economy is not working with the necessary productivity.

In regard to China's alleged good relations with a series of countries with which it has had friendship, the situation shows that these relations are at rock-bottom.

China is not in agreement with Korea, because Korea wants to have two strings to its bow, the Soviet Union and China. It wants to get big credits from the Soviet Union, but also from China, which is not in a position to provide them. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is demanding that China intercedes on its behalf with the United States of America over the reunification of the country, but China is not doing this, because it cannot place itself in opposition to its great friend — the United States of America. That is why Korea is not on good terms with China.

It is the same with Vietnam. Le Duan went to China recently, and according to reports, the two sides did not manage to strengthen the friendship between them, because China has pretentions to Vietnamese territories. It does not want to give credits to burnt and devastated Vietnam, nor is it in a position to do so, but in addition to this, it does not want Vietnam to take credits from Soviet social-imperialism. What would please China will be for Vietnam to become a vassal of the United States of America.

China appears to have good relations with Cambodia. Of course, Cambodia is a very poor state, just emerged from the war, still without a crystallized policy. In these conditions, and also because of the very tense situation which exists between Cambodia and Thailand, as well as between Cambodia and Vietnam over territorial conflicts, it seems to have good relations with China.

Let us take the relations of China with Pakistan. At present, Pakistan, is cold towards China, but China has begun to stir up the embers of its friendship with the Shahanshah and the

princesses of Iran. Thus «socialist» China is making new allies with the most evil, loathsome, scheming individuals and dynasties. China thinks that it will get credits from the Shah of Iran, who is under the strong influence of American imperialism and the oil companies. He has invested large amounts of capital abroad, especially in the United States of America and West Germany, that is among China's current friends. Apart from this, the United States of America sells the Shah of Iran the most modern armaments and has him as a tool, just like Israel, to use against the Soviet danger. We see the Shahanshah being armed, because he has great plans — to occupy Iraq, the Persian Gulf and to stem an invasion from the Caucasus or the Caspian. Is he not the successor to the famous emperors of the Persian Empire, the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of which he celebrated with colossal expenditure? The Shah of Iran leads a fabulous life, as in the times of Harun-el-Rashid, while the Iranian people are suffering as in the time of slavery. This is the bourgeois-capitalist state and reactionary clique with which China maintains very friendly relations.

As I have said, the policy of China with the Arab countries is non-existent. In its relations with these countries it distinguishes itself for its pro-American and anti-Soviet stand. This orientation dictates the policy of China in the whole Mediterranean basin. Thus, **China is in opposition to those Arab countries with which the Soviet Union has relations and is trying to establish its influence, while China is pro the other Arab countries on which the United States of America has its grip and where it makes the law.** Hence, on the one hand, some of the states in this basin are opposed to the policy of China, but these states on the other side are not pro China, either, because they see that it is not doing anything for them. What is China doing in fact? It applauds Somalia, its President Mohammed Siad because he expelled the Soviets from Somalia, and he was quite right to do so, but China applauds him precisely because he went to Washington and placed his country under the yoke of American imperialism. Such is the policy of China.

China also applauds Mobutu, who is a traitor, a renegade, an agent, one of the biggest capitalists of Africa. On the other hand, it is against Angola because the Soviet Union has influence there. Therefore, such a policy is reactionary, unrealistic. There are other states, the developed capitalist states, which defend their general interests, but also defend their particular interests in opposition to Soviet imperialism and when necessary in opposition to American imperialism, too. China is trying to take its place amongst the states of the so-called third world, but it is trying to take this place with nothing in its head and nothing in its pocket, merely because it applauds one imperialism and, in words, attacks another imperialism. This, then, is all it is doing, because from the economic aspect, it has no possibility to provide aid for other states and indeed now it is not even fulfilling the official and moral obligations which it has towards other states under contracts which were signed at the time when China posed as a socialist country. Now the Chinese leaders have thrown off their disguise, and therefore they can dishonour these agreements which they have signed.

Towards us, China has taken a hostile position, which it is gradually extending to the field of state and economic relations. As is known, **China has accorded us some credits to build a number of factories as well as a hydro-power plant. Now it is creating obstacles for us in the delivery of machinery and the respective equipment on the due dates.** Apart from this, the Chinese specialists have begun to have great pretensions. They receive double my monthly pay and still want more. They are not all bad people, but their embassy urges them to stop work frequently, to take no interest in the job, and when some ideological article comes out in our newspaper, they adopt a despicable stand. This is what happened with one of the Chinese specialists who pencilled some rude remarks on the newspaper which published Comrade Mehmet's speech in Vlora and deliberately left it in his room. When asked about this, he replied: «I wrote these things myself because that is what I think». These are provocations.

In regard to trade, in this field too, as I have written in my diary, the Chinese are creating great difficulties for us. **We are fighting against their openly unjust stands and they must be sure that we will not budge from our principled Marxist-Leninist stands which constitute the great strength of the Party and the Albanian socialist state.** The whole world sees our principled Marxist-Leninist stands. It sees that we are the only independent country, that we state our opinion openly and criticize and expose all the enemies of the peoples — the imperialists, social-imperialists, revisionists of every kind, and all those who oppress, enslave and colonize the peoples, who fight against the revolution and the efforts of the peoples for liberation.

People throughout the world, the various chancelleries, are astonished about where we find this strength. Of course, they cannot understand this, but **we find this strength in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, in the steel unity within its ranks, and the unity of the Party with the people, we find it in our working class, find it in the resolute implementation of the principle of self-reliance.** Finally, we find it also in the internationalist support of all the Marxist-Leninists and progressive people in the world who love our People's Socialist Republic and have respect for the courageous and correct policy of the Party of Labour of Albania. This is a further support for our country.

There are people in the world who are unable to understand as we do the economic relations of our country with the world which surrounds us, because a view has been built up that no state, whether large or small, can live without credits from someone. That is to say, there are people who do not understand our economic independence, which also means political independence, so that we can live and will live very well, and in fact are living very well, without shackling ourselves in any way with the chains of economic or political bondage.

The problems of trade are another matter. We must make efforts, indeed very great efforts, to find markets for our goods,

and secure hard currency, or clearing arrangements, to bring in those goods which we are still unable to produce ourselves, in order to fulfil the needs of the country for the further development of the people's economy. We absolutely must do this ourselves, with our own forces. However, neither the capitalist nor the revisionist countries understand this.

The Chinese revisionist leaders thought that we would kowtow to them, that we would not remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, because of those few credits which they gave us. Apparently, they quickly forgot the great experience of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state against the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, and took precisely their road. It can be seen clearly that **the Chinese revisionists are in no way different from the Soviet revisionists in their stands and actions towards us and towards the world — they are just as much revisionist, just as much social-imperialist, the only difference being that they are new social-imperialists who have to create that colonial strength at which they aim.** But when they will create it and how they will create it, that is another matter. In their relations with the outside world, the Chinese are trying in vain to peddle their rotten anti-Marxist revisionist ideology as Marxist-Leninist ideology. But there is not one in the world so silly as to eat soap for cheese. Everybody, whether genuine Marxist-Leninists, democratic elements, or reactionaries, understands very well that the Chinese ideology is not in any way Marxist-Leninist.

The Chinese revisionists have rejected Marxism-Leninism and have adopted a new form of revisionism wrapped up with a markedly social-democratic capitalist ideology and mixed with the old reactionary Chinese feudal, étatist philosophy. They are trying to spread this policy, this ideology, but it is not establishing itself anywhere. It is taking root only among some confused «Marxist-Leninist» youth, who created so-called «Marxist-Leninist» groups baked in the oven of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and under the shadow of the «great authority» of Mao Tsetung. These elements, who have created a few

small false parties, cannot break out of their own narrow circles and free themselves from this spiritual adhesion which they have formed with the Chinese, therefore they take their side and write in those newspapers or magazines which are financed by the Chinese, in order to spread false, allegedly Marxist-Leninist theories, wishy-washy things, out of place, and revisionist in essence.

Those who take part in these groupings are divided, because the Chinese revisionist views, like those of any other revisionism, can never bring unity and cohesion of thought and action, but on the contrary lead to splits. This is what Mao did when he preached that in China and in the Communist Party of China there should be «two lines or five lines», that «a hundred flowers should blossom and a hundred schools contend», because in his view, the more trends there were the better it would be. In the capitalist countries, too, where pro-Chinese, so-called Marxist parties exist, not just a hundred, but a thousand «flowers» are blossoming.

Every person, every member of these parties trailing behind the Chinese revisionists has his own opinion which he expresses. He does not express this opinion in order to act, because even when he acts, he does so irresolutely. Therefore, the propaganda of the Chinese, which is spread not only among those who call themselves Marxists, but also among those who do not call themselves Marxists, leads to the deliberate creation of groups of inveterate fascists, who assume such titles as «proletarian», «revolutionary», «red guards», etc., etc., but who in reality are nothing but agents of the bourgeoisie and fascists who spread China's propaganda. What is the worth of this influence for China? Nothing at all. It merely enables it to say that China maintains links with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, whereas in fact these are not such parties. The Communist Party of China has established party relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has identified itself with it ideologically and politically; it also maintains strong links with the Communist Party of Rumania, which is an agency

of American imperialism as well as of Soviet revisionism, and •various trends of modern revisionism, simultaneously.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese state have turned their smiles on the revisionist and pseudo-people's democratic countries such as Poland. We learn that the Chinese ambassador in Warsaw has tried to make contacts with the Polish prime minister in order to propose to him that they should sign a contract over the purchase and sale of foodstuffs, but he did not deign to receive the Chinese and told him to present himself to the minister of trade and talk to him about such things. China immediately seizes on and highlights any action, however small, even the slightest trend to opposition, which these countries manifest towards the Soviet yoke, and tries to give the impression that it is China that influences these various expressions of resistance. But such expressions of opposition among these countries are natural. They did not, do not, and will not listen to China, because they know what it is, and are not interested in linking themselves with it. They do not care at all about China, but it wants to pose as if it has a finger in every pie, that is, to give the impression that it is a great state, without which the world cannot get along. The revisionist cliques in the former countries of people's democracy are most interested in relations with the Soviet Union. To be more precise we should emphasize that, in fact, they would rather link themselves with the Western capitalist countries and American imperialism.

Such, in general, is the Chinese panorama — gloomy, full of contradictions, full of dangers and unforeseen things, full of alliances and agreements, open or secret, with American imperialism and the other imperialists of the world. China has entered into a number of negotiations dangerous to mankind and to itself. It is fighting for hegemony, and to this end, sacrificing the interests of its own people and other peoples. Everything it says, allegedly about the interests of the peoples, is demagogy, a tasteless and badly disguised bluff.

FRIDAY
DECEMBER 9, 1977

CHINA HAS NEO-COLONIALIST AIMS

It is a fact that with its theory of the «third world» China is now making great efforts to turn into a superpower, a neo-colonialist great power. In general, China's present efforts are aimed at the development of its economy, and the strengthening of its military potential. It has not been inspired to make these efforts by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and has not set out with the objective of improving the socialist economy and the well-being of the Chinese people, first of all.

The Chinese leaders have set out on the course of the maximum exploitation of the large and industrious population of their country in order to create a force by means of which China can spread throughout the world to seek and capture new markets, to exploit the wealth of other countries and peoples in order to become a superpower. But at present, revisionist China is unable to engage in a struggle on the two flanks, with the two superpowers, in order to achieve this objective, therefore it is relying on world capitalism, which is represented by American imperialism and the other wealthy capitalist states, against Soviet social-imperialism.

Such an ambition existed in China a long time ago. I recall that somewhere in the pages of my diary I have dealt with this problem, saying that at one moment the Chinese leadership was in euphoria and had pretensions about the struggle on the two flanks — both against American imperialism and Soviet imperialism, and precisely at those moments when Indonesia

withdrew from the United Nations, Chou En-lai, in the name of Mao Tsetung's China, launched the slogan that China, together with Indonesia and a series of other Asian states, should create a new organization of United Nations, in opposition to the United Nations Organization which was founded after the Second World War! This was allegedly as a consequence of the Maoist strategy in the struggle against the two superpowers which were making the law in the United Nations, but the aim of this step was that the states of Asia mainly, as well as those of Africa, should gather round China and together, undertake a political, ideological and military struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Hence, as early as at that time, the Maoists were striving to create a grouping round great China, so that it would become the leadership of a series of states of the «third world», of that «third world» which Roosevelt and later Khrushchev, had named long before Mao Tsetung, and they did this not for ideological aims, as Mao twisted it later, in 1974. The objective of Roosevelt and Khrushchev was to find a way in which these imperialist great powers could contribute to it that this «third world», a world colonized with new methods, i.e., the cliques which ruled these states, are guaranteed economic subsidies, with which to keep them under their economic, political, and also military yoke. This was done because at that time the United States of America, first of all had established strong bases in these countries, and in particular, it was mainly the United States of America with its CIA which assisted Suharto to murder 500,000 communists and patriots in Indonesia within a very short time and to ensure that Soekarno, the close friend of the Chinese and Aidit, was liquidated.

The great-state views of the domination of China in the world under the disguise of the «supporter» of small peoples, of its transformation into a superpower under the disguise of becoming a powerful, allegedly socialist state, had taken root long ago among the Chinese leaders. Such a thing was caused

by their capitalist, revisionist great state ideology, and it had nothing to do with and was in no way impelled by Marxist-Leninist ideas about the defence of oppressed and suffering peoples, and did not proceed from the aim of encouraging liberation struggles and the revolution.

The idea which Chou En-lai expressed publicly at that time about the creation of a new, break-away organization of united nations in opposition to the existing one, now, at these moments, assumes its true meaning of the political and ideological ambition of the Maoists and makes obvious how these pseudo-Marxist elements tried and are still trying to exploit the current developments in the interests of their capitalist line of domination, hence, it makes obvious their old tendencies to make China a neo-colonialist superpower.

SATURDAY
DECEMBER 10, 1977

THE CHINESE WANT TO REDUCE THEIR TRADE WITH OUR COUNTRY TO THE MINIMUM

Instead of sending a trade delegation to Albania from Peking, the Chinese appointed their commercial attache here and two or three other functionaries of their embassy in Tirana as members of their delegation. They have still not appointed the head of the delegation, but will do so later from Peking — no doubt, some low-level functionary. In other words, the Chinese, intending to damage us economically, do not want to carry on trade with us, or more precisely, want to reduce their trade with us to the minimum level.

Of course, **we must cope with this situation, and the main thing is that we must intensify our trade with the different countries of the world, must try to find markets for our goods, and from the sale of them, try to import the raw materials, or other processed materials which we need.** This is the only correct course for us. We do not want our trade with China to be reduced, do not want the ideological differences to be extended to our commercial relations, but, since this is what China wants, then we are obliged to operate in the way I said.

By appointing officials of their embassy in Tirana, the Chinese are not only trying to tell us that they do not want to carry on trade, but also have the aim of endlessly dragging out the negotiations between our two countries over the contracts for goods, because their delegation will have its premises in the Chinese embassy in Tirana and it will not be at all difficult for them to engage in endless discussions, to create discussions,

to get up and leave the meeting, go to the embassy, return again to the talks, to refuse to give any opinion or take any decision without consulting Peking. Hence, the Chinese tactic is to prolong the talks and do almost nothing in regard to Albanian-Chinese trade.

It would be different if a complete delegation of whatever level, came from Peking, because the time its members could stay in our country for talks would be limited, they could not greatly extend their stay in our country, and their staying in or departure from Tirana would have to be concretized, either with a proper result, or without any result at all. However, their departure without any result would be a loss for them, therefore they are avoiding this. And if we were to go to Peking, again a similar thing could occur. If they did not agree we would get up and go, and this would mean that they do not desire to trade with us; world opinion would understand that it is not we who do not want to trade with China.

Everyone understands what the Chinese revisionists are up to. Nevertheless, we must confront this Chinese delegation with a delegation of the same level, which must calmly discuss commercial exchanges with them, while not getting involved in and not allowing them to introduce their ideology and policy into these negotiations. We must try to sell as much as we can, and ensure that they sell us as much as possible, naturally within the limits that they are disposed to set, because we can do not more than this. The stand which they adopt will not make us give way to them. No, we shall find the way-out, maintaining our dignity as always, while defending our Marxist-Leninist principles, and it will be they who make the first openly hostile moves against us in economic and commercial relations, too.

MONDAY
DECEMBER 12, 1977

SUGGESTIONS FOR OUR PRESS IN CONNECTION WITH CHINA

I instructed the comrades that the newspapers «Zëri i popullit» and «Bashkimi» should write about China, giving news on different questions, especially economic matters. We have ideological differences, indeed profound ones, with the CP of China, but we have not broken off state and friendly relations with the Chinese people and state. In this situation, our people must understand correctly when we say that **we must not carry the political and ideological differences over to economic and state relations.**

We must carry on our economic relations with China according to the agreements and contracts we have. Our economic relations do not hinder us in any way from expressing the views of our Party on ideological matters. When we say that we must maintain our economic relations, when we say that we must not break off relations with China, these demands are made on the basis of reciprocity, that is, it is required of us that we do not create a «frigid» situation in our economic relations, whatever the state of our ideological relations. The fact that our relations in the political and ideological fields are icy does not mean that our commercial relations must be the same. They can be normal and with mutual benefit. Therefore, this situation must be thoroughly understood.

The fact is that China does not gain anything on the political plane by totally breaking off relations with us. Right up till yesterday and even today, China itself has been and is making

a great deal of propaganda against the Soviet Union over the breaking off of economic relations with China, the unilateral cancellation of contracts, the cutting off of credits, the withdrawal of experts, and reduction of the level of trade. Today China is publicizing that the Soviet Union has done this to Egypt, has done this to Somalia, etc., etc. Since it makes such propaganda, will China reach this scale of hostility towards us in its actions? Perhaps, it will not do so, not because its leaders love us, but because they are looking to their own interests. That they will no longer treat us as friends, on this we are quite clear; that they will delay the credits and the construction of factories, combines, or hydro-power plants, on this, too, we are clear; that China will not take from us all those goods it bought before and will not supply us with all those goods which we require, on this, too, we are clear. But we, too, will act reciprocally, just as it acts.

We, for example, have deep and irreconcilable contradictions with Yugoslavia, but we carry on trade with it and talk calmly. We act the same way with Greece. Likewise, with Italy. All the more reason for us to have normal economic relations and carry on trade with the People's Republic of China from which, up till now, we have even received credits.

SUNDAY
DECEMBER 18, 1977

THE INCOHERENCE OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Many ambassadors of capitalist countries of the so-called third world are astonished at the incoherence of the foreign policy of China in connection with the «three worlds». They cannot understand how it is possible that a big country, which poses as a socialist country, can pursue such a confused policy. And in fact the relations which China has with various countries and states show that its foreign policy is not the object of serious study, but on the contrary, in this direction thoughtlessness and naivity and, we can say, an incoherence to the point of stupidity is displayed.

It is that same China of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, of Yeh Chien-yi and Huang Hua, the present Foreign Minister, of Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, which has begun and is carrying on such a policy.

As I have written in my notes in connection with China, the initial positions of China show that **the Chinese leaders remained very isolated, did not make efforts to have contacts with the states of the world.** This astonishing stand of apolitical self-isolation, as you might say, seemed the most correct course to the Chinese leaders. But in reality, why did this occur, what did this policy show? This unwise Chinese policy came first of all from the lack of stability in China, regardless of the fact that the impression was given that there was stability; it showed also that amongst the Chinese leadership, in the Communist Party of China, there was a series of opposing views flourishing, which did not permit a correct line to be determined

in foreign policy. There were many different currents, one pulling in one direction, the other in another direction. Thus the foreign policy of China was always fluid and hesitant, though China gave the impression of a state which looked down on others from the summit of Olympus, or better say, from the highest peak of the Himalayas.

Later the Chinese came out of their shell and began to extend their contacts to some extent on some continents, establishing diplomatic relations with a number of states. However these diplomatic relations of China had a regional character, an Asiatic character, opposed to Europe, opposed to the states of Latin America and other capitalist states. If the aims of the Chinese foreign policy at that period are analysed, it will be seen that China passed from the phase of isolation to a phase of a special system of diplomatic relations in order to create an Asiatic grouping with bourgeois capitalist states which might possibly accept, so to say, the hegemony of China. The Chinese policy was intended to create this influence (not to call it hegemony straight off), while with all the other countries of the world China made no efforts to establish diplomatic relations or economic relations, let alone cultural relations which it has always neglected. Even now it still does not have cultural relations.

In order to avoid establishing diplomatic relations with different countries of the world, China made the question of Taiwan an obstacle, putting it forward as a big rook and declaring that if any state wanted to have relations with socialist China it must automatically break off relations with Taiwan. This, you might say, was the touchstone of China's relations with the foreign world. However the capitalist world studied the situation and understood China's aims. On the one hand it was interested in establishing diplomatic relations with China because it is a big market for the capitalist world, of which it was in. need, but on the other hand, it could not sacrifice Taiwan.

Thus, for a very long time China continued its policy of self-isolation and the establishment of some relations of a regional, Asiatic character. Then there came a new moment when

the Chinese leaders thought they could no longer proceed in this way and must find a formula to remove the stumbling-block of Taiwan from the middle of the road where they had placed it. They found this formula, applied it and began to establish diplomatic relations with many states. These relations, naturally, still did not bring the admission of China to the United Nations Organization, despite our efforts and the struggle we waged within this organization, together with the other friends of China who wished it well.

Every year changes were seen in the voting for the admission of China to the United Nations Organization. The votes on the side of China steadily increased when it became more reasonable in its foreign policy, that is, when it showed itself disposed to establish diplomatic relations with states of different regions of the world. Despite this and despite our efforts, the admission of China to the UNO was «sternly» opposed by the United States of America and all those states which had major interests with it and could not come out against it. Hence, many states were linked with and dependent on the United States of America and did not accept the conditions of the Chinese for the establishment of diplomatic relations, and so China remained outside the UNO.

But **the other moment came in the Chinese foreign policy: the Chinese changed their strategy, from the strategy of the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism they went over to the strategy of alliance with the United States of America against the Soviet Union.** Then the thaw began with the United States of America, too, and at long last, China was admitted to the United Nations Organization.

The position which China adopted after its admission to the UNO, a position which it had prepared for 12 or 15 years on end through countless talks with the American ambassador in Warsaw, led to the triumph of this new strategy of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai in the secret talks between the two ambassadors in Warsaw and later, between Kissinger on one side, and Mao and Chou En-lai on the other. China set out on the course

of friendship with all the capitalist countries of the world and stepped up the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism. China built up a crazy anti-Marxist, reactionary strategy of reaching accord and agreement with American imperialism and with all the other bourgeois capitalist states of the world in order to create a common front against Soviet social-imperialism in this way.

Mao Tsetung demanded that if China were to become the ally of the United States of America, the latter must give it that aid which the Soviet Union did not give it. In his «wisdom», Mao Tsetung intended to deceive American imperialism, saying that China would become a strong barricade against Soviet social-imperialism and, after building up its strength, it would capture the territories of Siberia, while putting forward that these had been robbed from China by the Russian czars. Mao launched this idea of «genius» by making border claims on the Soviet Union. This was the first down payment which China made to the United States of America to prove that it would fight and struggle to weaken the main opponent of the American imperialists in their domination of the world.

Thus the policy of China in its relations with the other countries developed into the China-United States of America axis. Taiwan was forgotten. Hong Kong and Macao were forgotten, and even Vietnam, which was fighting, was forgotten. And precisely at the time when Vietnam was being savagely bombed the final talks between Mao and Chou En-lai on the one hand, and Kissinger and Nixon on the other, took place. Hence Mao set out on this anti-Marxist, pro-imperialist course when Vietnam was being devastated by the bombs from the B-52 aircraft of Nixon, who went to Peking, was welcomed and engaged in heart-to-heart talks with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai.

Precisely at this time the United States of America gave the green light and all the friends of the Americans began one after the other to establish diplomatic relations with the «socialist» China of Mao Tsetung. However this orientation had to be crystallized, this strategy of Mao's had to be crystallized, in

order for China to be able to determine what these diplomatic relations that were being established consisted of, and in what direction they should proceed.

With this I want to say that at the start of this period we still do not see any obvious and wise political activity on the part of China. No, indeed, in our talks with the Chinese we have frequently insisted and expressed our views that socialist China should have diplomatic relations with the other countries of the world, that it was essential for the influence of socialist China to be felt on all continents, and that this should go in favour of the peoples' national liberation struggles and in favour of the proletarian revolution. However, China and the Communist Party of China turned a deaf ear to our suggestions and views also over this important problem which they saw from their mountain-top.

Concretely, **China set out on the anti-socialist course and this determined its ideology, strategy and tactics even more clearly: friendship and alliance with the United States of America, from which China is to benefit in technology, in the economy and armaments**; China is also for friendship and alliance with all the other developed capitalist countries from which it will get credits for new technology and armaments. In regard to other countries from which it could not get either credits or technology, China was to exert its influence on them through its allegedly socialist policy as their benefactor and defender and thus gradually, on this axis of Sino-American friendship, create a terrain for the growth of its own hegemony in the future. From this strategy Mao Tsetung came out with a «brilliant analysis» of the division of the world into «three worlds».

As a result of this strategy of Mao's, major changes took place in China during this time. Elements like the «Khrushchev number two» of China, Teng Hsiao-ping, a leading element of the reactionary group of Liu Shao-chi, came to power there. Chou En-lai took heart to develop this strategy in the direction of the United States of America and world capital properly and, together with Mao, liquidated the Proletarian Cultural Rev-

olution. In fact, this revolution did not have a clear, proletarian revolutionary orientation. Its sole aim was that Mao Tsetung should take power from the hands of Liu Shao-chi, should liquidate his power and achieve those results which were achieved.

I am of the opinion that **Liu Shao-chi was more to the right than Mao Tsetung and was the supporter of the compradore bourgeoisie, while Mao was the supporter of the national bourgeoisie.** Mao did not fight the national bourgeoisie, but on the contrary protected it. The elements of this bourgeoisie received profits both in the factories and in the communes. They would have been and in fact are the main supporters of the policy which Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping are pursuing today, which is the result of the pro-American axis of the policy of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai.

Chou died, then Mao died and the pair of them left great confusion in China as their legacy. Who was to take power? «The Four»?! Hua Kuo-feng, with the security force, Teng Hsiao-ping, Yeh Ohien-yi, and many, many other renegades with their supporters made their move and, as we know, the coup d'état was carried out. The military putsch was carried out as usual, but this time headed by Hua Kuo-feng; the arrest and liquidation of «The Four» was carried out and Teng Hsiao-ping who had been overthrown twice as an anti-Marxist revisionist and counterrevolutionary, was restored to power. However Hua Kuo-feng, together with Yeh Chien-yi and Teng Hsiao-ping, inherited a China ideologically and politically corrupted and damaged economically, too. This caused great political confusion and also great disorganization, which damaged production and created difficult situations for China both internally and abroad. As a result of this China needed and will still need years to recover on the course on which it has decided to proceed, not on the socialist course, because Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping have erected barricades to that «socialist» course which China was alleged to be following in the time of Mao Tsetung.

Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping have declared officially that the Cultural Revolution in China is over. That is, they took power and decided that there would be no more proletarian or Proletarian Cultural Revolution there. Hence in present-day China, where they still use the slogan «let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend», in fact, none of these flowers will blossom, but the savage fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie will be established. Of course, through all the organs of the press and propaganda, Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping say that «discipline must be established everywhere». This means that any resistance to this fascist dictatorship must be put down with bloodshed. Hence the clique which has come to power in China wants to establish «unity» through violence. This is on the internal platform, while on the international platform, that is, in foreign policy, this clique continues to keep the slogan of «three worlds» in force. However, the «three worlds» do not have unity, either within each country or with one another. Herein lies the aberration of this absurd theory, by means of which China is seeking to establish its hegemony and become a world superpower. Since unity does not exist amongst the states which form these «three different worlds», this means that permanent diversity and duality exists within them because of the major contradictions among them. The law of the jungle reigns in these states. «A hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend» precisely in these so-called three worlds, therefore it is not so easy for the China of Hua Kuo-feng to bring about the unification of these «three worlds», and establish its power over them, as it is doing internally, where it is establishing the bourgeois dictatorship.

Neither Mao, nor Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping foresaw this situation. They had thought that they would impose themselves on peoples, states and the world through such an ideological and political theory. But unfortunately for them this theory cannot be successful.

To advocate unity with half of the «first world», or unity in the «second world» or the «third world», under the leadership

of the Chinese, and their slogan that allegedly all these «worlds» are in danger from Soviet social-imperialism, means to have a short-sighted view and to fail to take account of the international situation, the contradictions which are eroding capitalism, and the phase of the decay of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

This reactionary, short-sighted policy has placed China in an impasse. Therefore the Chinese foreign policy will be always wobbly, and even worse, this wobbling will be characterized by continuous grave defeats, because the policy of each of these «three worlds», which China will try to manoeuvre according to its «very clever» view, will have a tendency not towards unification but towards domination and splits. This is contrary to the aims of China, which will try to muster «the sheep» under its own crook, but these «sheep» are not sheep but wolves, and wolf knows wolf. Beasts live in the forest, and the forest is a jungle.

With this policy which China is pursuing in the international arena, what stand must it adopt towards the American manoeuvre in the Middle East? China's aim is to preserve the status quo in this zone of the world, to turn Egypt into its own obedient partner; it wants the other Arab countries, too, to recognize and respect it. At the same time, the aim of this manoeuvre is to keep the Arab peoples divided. Naturally, on this course which it has taken, China must adhere to the side of the Americans and that is what it is doing in fact, that is, it supports the pro-American Arab chiefs and supports Israel, hence, is for an American-style peace in which not the freedom and independence of the Arab peoples, but the greed of Israeli fascists and the Egyptian, Saudi-Arabian, and other wealthy triumphs.

It is clear that this position of the Chinese is anti-Marxist. China is obliged to adopt this position and to pose in the eyes of all the Arab peoples as if it has defended and defends them, but in fact it does not defend any of these peoples, does not

defend their aspirations to national liberation, but supports capitalism and imperialism.

All the countries of the so-called third world have seen such a stand of China's earlier, too, but especially now, they have great doubts about China, therefore they do not like the Chinese policy and are fighting against it. Indeed, even those states of this «third world», which pose as allegedly pro-Chinese, do not trust China, regardless of the fact that their chiefs have visited China, as for example Mobutu of Zaire, etc. This comes about because they know that China has no influence and does not play any role in their future, therefore let it beat the drum about them to its heart's content. The fate of these capitalist cliques which are ruling these countries is in the hands of American imperialism, just as the fate of Ethiopia or Angola, for example, or some other country, is in the hands of Soviet social-imperialism.

Therefore **the Chinese foreign policy of «three worlds», of uniting all countries in a single bloc against Soviet social-imperialism has not only run into obstacles, but has also suffered defeats.** These defeats will occur one after the other, as the changing situations develop between states of different «worlds», as the Chinese call them, because of the great contradictions that exist between them, situations in which China does not know Which side to take. What it says today is not vindicated by time tomorrow, and it switches to the opposite of what it thought and proclaimed earlier. In these situations China is incapable of maintaining any sort of equilibrium in its foreign policy. It is incapable of maintaining any equilibrium, not only like the United States of America and the Soviet Union, with which China secretely hopes to compete to establish its own domination in the world, but also like the other capitalist countries, which have greater experience in foreign policy and know how to manoeuvre, to form and dissolve alliances, to intervene with arms, subversion, and in a thousand other ways.

Thus, in the end China will say: «Come what may, I have decided to be with the United States of America for the time

being, and to get industrial, agricultural and military technology from it and the other developed capitalist countries, hence, to put my economy and situation in order and to remain in permanent opposition to that superpower which opposes my policy and the policy of my great friend — the United States of America». This is the anti-Marxist course which China will pursue in its foreign policy.

At present we see that in the face of these defeats of China's policy in the international arena, the Chinese revisionist leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng is not making its influence felt, is saying nothing, is not adopting stands towards the important events which are occurring in the world. Why is it not adopting stands? Because it sees that every step it takes is another defeat. Therefore, it remains silent, or whispers some stray idea which does not fool anybody, distinguishes itself, as you might say, only for its anti-Sovietism, and nothing else. But even its anti-Sovietism has been toned down to some extent, because, with its extremely wobbly policy, it cannot carry the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism through to the end and wants to leave the door open in order to manoeuvre more easily if it fails in the alliance it has with American imperialism. This is natural. If China continues to follow such an anti-Marxist, capitalist, pragmatic policy, it must also become a political juggler, otherwise there is no way it can remain on this course, because the others won't allow it to exist. It could exist, it could triumph, could hold its head high, only if it defended socialism, only if it were guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, but this option is no longer open to it. **China has ended up in the mire, and its anti-Marxist policy will sink it even more deeply in the filth. Only a genuine proletarian revolution can save China from this abyss, from this tragedy.**

TUESDAY
DECEMBER 20, 1977

AMERICAN COMMENTS ON CHINA

The radio called «The Voice of America» has now begun to speak openly about the friendship which links the United States of America with the China of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping.

In one of its broadcasts, «The Voice of America» gave an interview by Senator Mansfield who is the present ambassador of the United States of America to Japan. He is a well-known American personality and, if I am not mistaken, has been chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate. **Mansfield declared that the present stand of the People's Republic of China is encouraging for the Western world.** He says quite bluntly that the overthrow of the «gang of four» means the coming to power of Teng Hsiao-ping as vice-chairman of the Communist Party of China, an action which he defines as a very good thing for the USA and the whole Western world.

Mansfield declared that **Teng Hsiao-ping is the heir of Chou En-lai and executor of his will.** He says confidently that Teng will faithfully carry out Chou's ideas for the modernization of China by the year 2000. Mansfield is well-acquainted with China and thinks that it will be difficult for it to achieve its modernization by the year 2000. Nevertheless, the United States of America will provide it with technology and other means, so that it can achieve this aim. Thus, according to Mansfield, many different delegations will be exchanged between the United States of America and China in order to activize and strengthen this course of good friendly relations between these

two countries. Mansfield also pointed out that China needs foreign currency, in other words, needs credits, and he added, «the United States must supply these credits».

Mansfield is certain that China will not make approaches to the Soviet Union, because it has taken a course of resolute opposition to it. **This American expert rejects the rumours which speak about approaches between the Chinese and the Soviets and concludes that, at present, the state of American relations with China is good, but he draws attention to the «need for vigilance later, against the possibility of a rapprochement between China and the Soviet Union».**

It emerges from this statement by this notable American personality, who has not gone as ambassador of the United States of America to Japan without a purpose, that Teng Hsiao-ping is the most reliable personality for the preparation and strengthening of the Sino-American alliance. We were convinced of this, but likewise convinced that Teng Hsiao-ping is an adventurer who, if he and his group can seize power completely, if they are able to completely liquidate the influence of the opponents, who are also adventurers, could further accelerate the rapprochement of China with the United States of America, might preserve the status quo for a certain time, but when he sees it necessary, might also make approaches to the Soviet Union, too. This, of course, will occur when China has become deeply involved in economic, political and military relations with the United States of America and the other developed capitalist countries, or when it sees that these states are not giving China what it seeks. Then China will seek a second string to its bow, that is, it will also seek rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

THURSDAY
DECEMBER 22, 1977

THE PROCESS OF DEGENERATION IN CHINA CONTINUES

What we foresaw in connection with the state relations of China with the Yugoslav state and the relations of the Communist Party of China with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is being confirmed and coming to pass.

After Tito's visit to Peking, after his welcome with such ado, such pomp, and such affection by Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping and the other Chinese leaders, we see that the agreements reached in secret in the Chinese palaces are being put into practice. **The friendship between the Chinese and Yugoslav revisionists is becoming ever more pronounced, not only in words, but also in deeds.** Scores of delegations from the party, the trade unions, and the women's organization, economic and especially organizational delegations are going from China to Yugoslavia in order to gain the Yugoslav experience in all these fields. These contacts, these links, this exchanging, or better, this taking of the Yugoslav revisionist experience by the Chinese, is no longer being done on the quiet, in secret and disguised ways, but is taking place in the full light of the sun.

The press is writing about where these delegations go, with whom they make contact, what they ask and what they see. Hence, in general we learn that these delegations are seeking to gain the experience of Yugoslav «self-administration». The Chinese began this capitalist form of administration long ago, but now they want to perfect it and have thought that the only way to construct this method of capitalist exploitation of workers better is by taking the experience of the Yugoslavs. The

Chinese revisionists are not confining themselves to taking experience only in the «self-administration» of the economy in the field of industry and in the big Yugoslav enterprises, which have been constructed with foreign technology from the Americans, West-Germans, etc., and are under joint ownership with big foreign capitalist companies, but are going to Yugoslavia also to take the example of the Yugoslav state farms which have been organized according to the model of capitalist agricultural economies.

Hence, Tito's going to Peking was not simply a holiday trip, or to bring China closer to the revisionist road, or to use China as a sounding-board to build up the fame of this branded revisionist traitor and renegade. The Chinese, who are to get and are getting credits for modern technology, both in industry and agriculture, from America and the other developed capitalist countries, are obliged to build a state and economic organization such as is adapted to the provision of this aid by the Americans, West-Germany and Japan, so that the latter will have security for their investments in China.

The imperialist and capitalist countries have seen that their experience with Tito has been fruitful in this direction, thus they think that the Yugoslav revisionist experience should be adapted with certain Chinese characteristics, and that is why delegation after delegation is going from China to Yugoslavia. The fact must be recognized that the Yugoslavs are experts in manoeuvring, in the presentation of things. They are psychologists and know how to get the Chinese properly into the bag, both those who go there and the Chinese leadership, which they will line up properly on the capitalist road which it has chosen and is proceeding on with great determination.

This rapprochement with Yugoslavia will not be the end of this development. The plan of American imperialism is wide-ranging. We see that China is likewise trying to make an opening into Hungary, Poland and possibly, also, the other revisionist countries which are under the leadership of the Soviets. Thus, it intends to integrate itself with them, or to separate

them from the Soviet Union. This is an old policy of American and British imperialism and of the bourgeois «democratic» states, the vanguard of which, performing his tricks, is Tito with his disguise of «specific socialism». **Now this bandwaggon of «specific socialism» will be drawn by two pairs of horses — Tito with Kardelj and Teng Hsiao-ping with Hua Kuo-feng.**

Apart from this, in ideology, the Communist Party of China will pursue the course of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia with determination, that is, alliance with all the other revisionist parties of the West and other continents of the world. China itself is anxious to do this, because, in order to achieve its strategic aim, it will try to preserve its pseudo-communist disguise and will link this pseudo-communist disguise with the disguises maintained by the other parties which have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and are making great efforts to infiltrate into the capitalist clan, to collaborate with local and international capital to the detriment of the proletariat of the capitalist countries of the world.

The process of the degeneration of China continues.

SATURDAY
DECEMBER 24, 1977

WE MUST NOT LOSE HOPE IN THE PROLETARIAT AND PEOPLE OF CHINA

It is natural that all the communists throughout the world, all progressive people, the peoples who are fighting for political and economic freedom, etc., are very worried about the pro-imperialist policy of China. **It is unprecedented and unheard of in the modern history of peoples and states that such a big country should so openly pursue a scandalous policy to achieve an unprincipled unity with a powerful imperialist state such as the United States of America.**

The present stand of China becomes even uglier and more hypocritical when that country continues to pose and advertise itself as a socialist country, a country which allegedly fights for the revolution, for the destruction of world capitalism and imperialism to their foundations. On this question there are frequent, flagrant, shameless actions, loud calls are made for unity with American imperialism and all the world capitalist bourgeoisie, and this not only in the articles of «Renmin Ribao» and in the materials of the Hsinhua correspondents, who are touring the capitalist countries, making visits to NATO bases and warships, writing reports about the «strength» of capital and its «paradise», but the call for «unity» with American imperialism at the head is being issued also by top Chinese officials, such as Teng Hsiao-ping in the interview he gave AFP. And all this is described and treated as if it comprises a Leninist course. In fact, this is one of the most reactionary courses that the international communist movement and the world progres-

sive movement could possibly see. Neither the peoples nor the progressive states with their own political dignity, their own views, whatever they may be, with which they defend themselves and fight to avoid becoming serfs of a big country or state, can accept such a policy. There are many states in the world where anti-popular bourgeois cliques are ruling, which make efforts in different forms to hide the reality, to disguise their policy and aims. Such efforts to disguise its anti-Marxist, anti-popular, anti-liberation activity are being made by revisionist China, too, which shamelessly claims that its line is allegedly a correct Marxist-Leninist line. But the wise saying goes, «No need for a guide to the village within sight».

Pseudo-socialist China is submitting to the conditions of American imperialism. With the policy it is pursuing, with its strategy and tactic, it has placed itself against the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggle. In fact, while supporting this thesis for an alliance with the United States of America and world capitalism, it cannot be for the liberation of peoples from enslavement to imperialism, social-imperialism and world capitalism. This is a major issue. **China will not support the peoples' national liberation struggle with material aid, or even with political backing. This is a stand of submission to the main objective of American imperialism.**

American imperialism aims to subjugate peoples. Now it is undertaking the task of the political and economic subjugation of China and putting it under military subjection to the USA and NATO. China, which has fallen into line with Washington, is now proceeding on this course. **China has undertaken to propagate the American policy as a «peaceful» policy, to present the United States of America as non-aggressive, a state which allegedly desires the status quo and provides aid for the development of mankind.** China is acting in this way to justify the «aid» which it is now taking itself from the United States of America. Hence, with its stand, China is urging that the United States of America should invest, undisturbed, in other countries of the world, too.

China has undertaken (and this is the ardent desire of the American imperialists) **to attack Soviet social-imperialism every day, that is, to weaken the main competitor of American imperialism, which is, at the same time, also its own main competitor as a superpower.** China is not waging this struggle against the Soviet Union from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, but from the capitalist positions of a big state which aspires to become an imperialist superpower and proceeding from its old ambitions over territorial questions. Therefore, the «theory» of the Chinese that they are attacking the Soviet Union allegedly because it is an ideological enemy is groundless.

Another question that shows that revisionist China has placed itself in the service of American imperialism is the attempt which it is making to rally all the states of the world around the United States of America. That is, it is trying to place the states which have contradictions with American imperialism under the latter's direction. China «advises» these states that they should «eliminate» the contradictions they have with American imperialism. China is making the greatest efforts in this direction, going so far as to call on the world proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist communist parties to unite with the bourgeoisie of their own countries in a great political, ideological and military bloc, with the United States of America, with world capitalism, against Soviet social-imperialism. This, likewise, is total political and ideological submission to American imperialism.

The other mission of importance which the Chinese policy has undertaken to carry out is that of splitting the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world, which have emerged from the ranks of the proletariat and are fighting to organize it in the revolution. Being resolutely opposed to the world revolution, proletarian revolutions, and the Leninist theses, China has set itself with all its might against the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, which it is splitting and liquidating.

There is no need for long explanations about the revisionist line of China in all these directions which I have mentioned,

because it is obvious. The policy of China must be combated mercilessly, must be exposed, because it is causing great damage to the world revolution, the peoples and socialism and is an opportunist policy which brings grist to the mill of imperialism and revisionism. This is criminal and the criminals, be they political ones, must be unmasked and knocked on the head.

The present reactionary Chinese policy is greatly disturbing the peoples, therefore the aims of this policy must be made clear to them. The peoples understand the danger which the present Chinese policy brings and also understand the correct aims and the revolutionary road of the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. **It is precisely by acquainting themselves with our correct stands that the peoples, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as many states with differing political opinions but which do not want to be subjected to American imperialism or any other enslaving imperialism support the policy of our Party and state.**

We have pointed out previously how Khrushchevite revisionism took up the policy of rapprochement with American imperialism and we stressed the combination of the Khrushchevite policy with the policy of reaction. There is no reason why all we communists of the world should be surprised when we see the same thing developing now between China and the United States of America, that is, a combination of their internal and world interests. The two sides are linked together through these interests, therefore, they make concessions to each other, of course, at the expense of other peoples. On the one hand, American imperialism wants to preserve its own hegemonic power, and moreover is trying to increase this power at the expense of its rival social-imperialist power; while on the other hand, China is trying to create its own empire, that is, to establish its own influence in the world. Hence, since the interests of these two big states, the one an affirmed imperialist power, and the other trying in various ways to affirm itself as such, are combined with one another, these interests cannot but be in opposition to the general interests of world peace, the interests of

the peoples' national liberation struggles and the interests of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present China is pursuing this policy while masking itself with Marxist phrases, but also with extraordinary inconsistency, with great shamelessness and without any great concern to conceal its anti-Marxist course. The Khrushchevites did not act just like this. They tried, and even today constantly try, to disguise themselves under Leninist slogans, pretending that their political, ideological and economic activity is carried on «in the interests of the revolution». Soviet social-imperialism even conceals its expansionist aims under the slogan of «aid for the proletarian revolution».

The anti-Marxist slogans which Khrushchev launched about peaceful coexistence with imperialism, about the transition to socialism through the peaceful parliamentary road, reforms, etc., as well as the slogan about a «world without armies, without weapons and without wars», he developed, as you might say, while leaving the impression that, in essence, profound contradictions existed between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

These contradictions exist between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America, which consistently pursues its own line, although not without making zigzags in its policy, and the Soviet Union, which also resolutely pursues its own social-imperialist course, while disguising itself and also making some zigzags.

Today, however, we see that the Chinese Communist Party and state have entered the international arena with a policy in which their terrible, anti-Marxist and anti-popular stands are frequently naked and undisguised. The whole capitalist world is greatly interested that China should continue on this course. All and sundry are taking a hand in this, have activized their espionage networks and their politicians to push China further and more deeply down this course to disaster. In the forefront of all these agencies stands, of course, Yugoslavia with Tito. **The Titoites are greatly pleased and encouraged not only**

about the fact that very favourable economic and political relations are being developed between the two revisionist states, Yugoslavia and China, but also because of the fact that in this way they are fulfilling the desire of their patrons, especially American imperialism, in connection with the rapid transformation of China into a capitalist state like Yugoslavia.

Certainly Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, who are being boosted so greatly by the capitalist bourgeoisie, are going to adopt the Yugoslav «self-administration» organization rapidly and everywhere in their economy and they will vest this «self-administration» this system, which they are going to adapt to great China, with those political characteristics and will base it on those ideological features which will define the treacherous course of the Maoists in the best and clearest way.

Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency, is not saying much about «The Four» or their followers, who have received a heavy blow. It forecasts stability in China from now on. This means, according to this agency, that the clique of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, which is in power, will find stability during 1978, will establish discipline at work and in the country. In brief, it envisages that a strong military dictatorship will be established there, that the democracy of the working masses will be suppressed, and economic decentralization will be applied.

This is What occurred in the Soviet Union, too, when the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, which scored the great victory of the Revolution and the construction of socialism, was destroyed from within. Despite the correct stands of Stalin and the political and ideological work of the Bolshevik Party, still the camouflaged revisionists seized power in a moment and, within a relatively short period, turned the Soviet Union from a socialist country into a capitalist country and have now created a new stratum of the capitalist bourgeoisie which bases itself on the military forces and the state security service.

In regard to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it maintains the «traditions», maintains its reputation (long live

the reputation!) of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, but in reality nothing of this party now remains, it no longer leads the Soviet Union. The army, the security force, the apparatchiks of a revisionist party lead there. In the Soviet Union there is opposition to the capitalist regime which is established. This opposition appears to come from the right, but undoubtedly there is opposition also from the left, but it is not apparent because the revolutionaries are and operate in deep illegality (while the international bourgeoisie has set up a deafening clamour about the counter-revolutionary Soviet «dissidents»).

The same thing will occur in China, too. For the time being, opposition to the rulers is very difficult to display and only in certain sporadic events, because true revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization has never existed there at any time. Therefore **the revolutionary spirit must be built up in China, a new, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit. The creation of such a revolutionary spirit in the cadres and the masses of the proletariat will certainly require a long time, while the military dictatorship of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, as the «warlords» of the new Chinese Maoist bourgeoisie, as one might call them, will be constantly on the attack during this period and will turn China back to a completely capitalist course.**

This does not mean to say that the revolutionary elements in China will not move. They will operate in new forms, in illegality, of course, but possibly not under such rigorous illegality as in the Soviet Union. **Perhaps they will act more rapidly in China to get rid of the cliques which have seized power and are suppressing the revolution. We must not lose hope in the Chinese proletariat and people.**

MONDAY
DECEMBER 26, 1977

CAN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION BE CALLED A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION?

Naturally, to determine such an important problem, on the one hand, one must have at his disposal a relatively long time and more extensive and precise documents about the development of situations in China, which are very complicated, at least from the period of Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang down to the present day. On the other hand, one must be acquainted with the development of the revolution as a whole and of the classical French bourgeois-democratic revolution as well as the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in other countries.

I cannot claim to be acquainted with the French bourgeois-democratic revolution in all its breadth and depth, but nevertheless I am better acquainted with it. I have studied it, not just in the school manuals, but afterwards in many important authors such as Michelet, Mathiez, Jaurès etc., who have written about this revolution. We are also acquainted with the assessments of the French Revolution by the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Marx, when he speaks of the French Revolution in his work «The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte», describes it as a revolution of the years from 1789-1814. At the same time, however, he emphasizes that the ascent of this revolution continues to the year 1794. He writes:

> *«In the first French Revolution the rule of the* **Constitutionalists** *is followed by the rule of the* **Giron-**

> **dins** *and the rule of the* **Girondins** *by the rule of the* **Jacobins**. *Each of these parties relies on the more progressive party for support. As soon as it has brought the revolution far enough to be unable to follow it further, still less to go ahead of it, it is thrust aside by the bolder ally that stands behind it and sent to the guillotine. The revolution thus moves along an ascending line.»**

After the overthrow of the Jacobins the revolution **«takes a downward course»** and the period of the counter-revolution begins, although the bourgeoisie remains in power. Apart from this, we are well acquainted with the process of the development of the proletarian revolution and its theory and practice, because we have studied it in detail in the works of our great classics Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We have acquainted ourselves with and studied the development and the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union and of the proletarian revolution in our country and the other so-called socialist countries which, like the Soviet Union, have now turned into capitalist countries.

I say all these things because, in order to make an accurate, correct and profound study of this problem which interests us now, that is, in order to define the character of the Chinese revolution and the different stages through which it passed, it is necessary to be acquainted with, to know especially the decisive key moments, the ideas, the struggle of factions, the different stages, the motive forces which, all together, define a revolution, and then one can come to a correct conclusion, by judging and analyzing the question as a whole and in a scientific manner from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. However, even with this incomplete knowledge we have about China, which is not properly coordinated and classified, by means of

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* K. Marx — F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 275. Tirana, 1975 (Alb. ed.).

comparisons and making parallels, sometimes perhaps not all that precise, we can give an opinion about the revolution there, which up till now has been called «socialist», «proletarian», but which, in fact, does not seem to have been such.

On the basis of my reflections, especially after all these things which have occurred and are occurring in China, of course, without claiming that they constitute a profound study, I am of the opinion that a proletarian revolution, such as the Great October Socialist Revolution was considered to be and was, was not carried out in China. Here I am not raising the issue that the stages of the bourgeois revolution ought to have been skipped over, allowing the transition directly to the socialist revolution.

In China, Sun Yat-sen, through his struggle in the leadership of the Kuomintang, going through many wars and battles, although he did not complete his work, managed to overthrow the monarchy and establish the republic, to form the democratic government in Canton, but without managing to unify China. This Chinese Republic was a «bourgeois-democratic» republic, still not fully formed with all the features and characteristics of an advanced bourgeois democracy, although it was moving in that direction. Like every bourgeois-democratic revolution, that headed by Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang, too, in my opinion, carried out a series of political-economic reforms which resulted in some improvement, as one might say, and were intended to unify China. At that time China was languishing under the double domination of the absolute monarchy, of the chaos in the provinces, where the «warlords» reigned with their autonomous administrations and their virtually private «armies», and under the domination of a series of imperialist states. These states had established themselves with their concessions, had divided among themselves nearly all the east coast of this great country, had created their colonies and counting houses, through which they sucked the blood and sweat of the Chinese people for the profit of the British, American, French, German, and other metropolises, intrigu-

ed and exerted their influence in a state of division and chaos.

The proclamation of the republic and the coming to power of the Kuomintang did not mean that the big Chinese bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the compradore bourgeoisie were eliminated. In no way. This bourgeoisie remained in power and continued to maintain, protect and develop its links with the imperialist states, especially with American imperialism, and to create friction and splits which reached the point of armed clashes between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang. Indeed, the father-in-law of Sun Yat-sen, who was also the father-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek and a member of the Executive Committee of Kuomintang, was one of the biggest compradore bourgeois of China. And there were many others like him.

Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang chose and developed the course of bourgeois-democratic reforms and, although they had friendly relations with the Leninist Soviet Union, they were far from following the Leninist road for the transformation of China. In the report which the delegate of the Comintern made on January 26, 1923, he writes that Sun Yat-sen had said that the system of the Soviets could not be introduced in China, because not a single favourable condition existed for its implementation in that country. Sun Yat-sen did not show himself to be fully capable of working out a clear-cut and precise program for the development of China. His views and social inclinations were radical in words, but feeble in content. The ideopolitical inclinations of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang as a whole leaned mostly and mainly towards the bourgeois-democratic views of Western Europe, America and other countries such as Japan. From what I have read, it seems that Sun Yat-sen several times tried to find support, although very hazardous and dangerous support, sometimes among the internal military clans, and sometimes among the great powers such as the United States of America and Japan. He accepted aid from them for the strengthening of the regime which was being created in China. It is self-evident that this

aid from American democratic circles had no altruistic character. The United States of America, as an imperialist power, was seeking to dig in its claws and plant its feet in the Far East, especially in China.

Although Sun Yat-sen remained a progressive democrat with liberal tendencies, he nurtured sympathy for the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. The bourgeois-democratic republic he created established relations with the Soviet Union and, in the Soviet Union and Lenin, had powerful assistance for carrying further the social, political and military transformations which were beginning in China. The testament which Sun Yat-sen left reveals very well his ardent desire to carry the bourgeois-democratic revolution through to the end and the trust and sympathy which he nurtured for the Soviet Union. He closes his testament with these words:

«Dear comrades, at the time I am leaving you I desire to express a great hope, the hope that soon the dawn will break, then the Soviet Union, its friends and allies will accept a strong China, developed and independent, in the great struggle for the emancipation of the peoples of the earth. Our two countries will advance hand in hand towards victory. I send you my fraternal greetings».

In this period, when the Kuomintang was all-powerful and Sun Yat-sen was at the head of it, when the Chinese Republic was developing and in friendship with the Soviet Union of Lenin, the Communist Party of China was created in 1921.

The Communist Party of China was born and developed in the bosom of the old Chinese society and civilization and its members, at that time, were products of the Confucian moral and intellectual education, democratic liberal education, and finally, Marxist-Leninist education. But even later it cannot be said that the Chinese Marxists broke away completely from the traditional civilization which continued to exert its influence on them through their individual psychology and the national psychology.

Prior to the October Revolution and after it, the spread

of Marxism in China took the character of a movement for national liberation rather than for social liberation. The first Marxist groups were characterized by ideological confusion and vacillation in political line. Shu Kiang, who before 1966 was in charge of cultural questions in the Maoist regime, writes in an article of September 1957: «Let us look back at the past, we were thirsting for all the new knowledge which came from the foreigners and we were unable to see the difference between anarchy and socialism, between individualism and collectivism. Nietzsche, Kropotkin and Karl Marx all attracted us, one as much as the other. Later, we understood that Marxism-Leninism was the only truth and a weapon to liberate mankind. We believed in abstract communism and our acts were always inspired by a desire for individual heroism. We did not have close contact with the workers and the peasants, and made very little effort to approach them. The democratic revolution was our immediate aim, while the socialist revolution was a distant ideal. Many times we were influenced by individualism. We dreamed like Ibsen and were very fond of his motto: 'The strongest man in the world is he who is the loneliest'».

All these various ideological and political views should have been brought under control, in the sense that the ranks should have been purged and the influence of those elements who were democrats, but were not Marxists and who did not follow the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, should have been reduced. With this I want to say that **the terrain should have been purged in order to form a genuine communist party, which would follow the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and apply it in a creative manner** in the conditions of China, but apply it with a more profound and clearer understanding according to the ideas which guided the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Marxist ideas of Lenin.

The Comintern made its contribution here and it was it which helped in the formation of more radical, clearer new cadres, who came one after the other, following the May 4th Movement in 1919, from Li Li-san down to Mao Tsetung.

Mao Tsetung was much more progressive than his predecessors, much more revolutionary, more consistently for the Soviet road than Sun Yat-sen, and even the other older comrades like Chen Tu-hsiu, Li Ta-chao and others. Nevertheless in the views of the new cadres there remained a pronounced feeling of Chinese nationalism, of the independence of this «great state» and pronounced influences of old philosophical ideas of Confucius, Mencius, etc. This prevented the Chinese comrades, who were being formed during the struggle and battles, from considering Marxism-Leninism a true compass which would guide them in the very dark forest of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution and from working out a Marxist-Leninist political line with clear objectives, which would guide them unwaveringly in all the stages of the Chinese revolution. However, right from the start to this day such a thing has not been done properly. The Communist Party of China adopted only certain Marxist slogans and formulations, but in essence it was not a genuine party of the proletariat, a party of the revolution, which could secure the leadership in the democratic revolution and ensure its transformation into a proletarian revolution. In fact, within its ranks a series of anarchist and other theories and deviations developed. The whole development of China, from the formation of the party, from the foundation of the bourgeois-democratic republic of Sun Yat-sen to this day shows this chaotic course. The newly formed Communist Party of China should have followed the course of strengthening itself ideologically and organizationally, should have worked to build up its identity and, step by step, create its alliances with the revolutionary classes and forces, should have fought for the strengthening of the positions of the bourgeois democracy which was being built in this first stage, that is, to ensure the democratic freedoms of the people, to increase the influence of the people and, in the first place, of the proletariat in the country, in the state, in the army, and everywhere; it should have worked to capture dominant positions in the trade unions which were created within the Kuomintang

and to carry on its propaganda with its own class stand, in order to consolidate its positions in the working class, in order to make that class the leading force of the revolution. At the same time, it should have extended its influence into the Chinese countryside, because it was there that the overwhelming part of the population of this whole continent, as you might call it, lived, and should have proceeded more consistently in implementing the agrarian reform and the political-educational awakening of the countryside.

Lenin and the Comintern, the October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet Union had opened this road to the Communist Party of China.

Lenin had written a series of articles about China. The article which bears the title «Democracy and Narodnism in China», which was published on the 15th of July 1912, is interesting. There Lenin analyses the situation in China, the revolution of 1911. He recognized the progressive character of Sun Yat-sen's ideas despite the limitations of his doctrine. The bourgeois-democratic revolution led by the Kuomintang seemed to Lenin of special interest because of the fact that it fought against oppression by the Western states and prevented the partitioning of the country and the national dismemberment with which China was threatened. He recognized the important role which was reserved to the peasantry, while always raising the question of its revolutionary value in the absence of a proletariat in China. But in «Pravda» of the 8th of November 1912, amongst other things, Lenin wrote about the peasantry:

> *«Whether the peasants, who are not led by a proletarian party will be able to retain their democratic positions* **against** *the liberals, who are only waiting for an opportunity to shift to the right, will be seen in the near future».**

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 445 (Alb. ed.).

Lenin was fully convinced that the proletariat would be created in China and stressed:

> «*Lastly, the Chinese proletariat will increase as the number of Shanghais increases. It will probably form some kind of Chinese Social-Democratic labour party, which, while criticizing the petty-bourgeois Utopias and reactionary views of Sun Yat-sen, will certainly take care to single out, defend and develop the revolutionary-democratic core of his political and agrarian program.»**

These two articles are sufficient to show how clearly Lenin defined the tasks that awaited solution by the Communist Party of China.

At the 2nd Congress of the Comintern, which was held from July 19 to August 7, 1920, the theses on the national and colonial question, according to the teachings of Lenin, a large number of which referred to China, too, were adopted. The Congress approved the thesis that «the revolution in China and other colonial countries must have a program which permits the inclusion of bourgeois reforms and, especially, the agrarian reform», but stressed that **the leadership of the revolution must not be handed over to the democratic bourgeoisie**; on the contrary, say the decisions of the Congress, **the party of the proletariat must direct a strong and systematic propaganda in favour of Soviets and organize the Soviets of workers and peasants as quickly as possible. This was the general line of the Comintern, which should have been followed by the party in China, too.**

We can say that, in general, the Communist Party of China did not properly carry out this role in this situation which had been created in China in a studied and systematic manner, seen from the angle of scientific socialism. On this

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 178 (Alb. ed.).

question, there were different tendencies in that small party which called itself the Communist Party of China, tendencies which have never permitted a correct Marxist-Leninist line to be established, or Marxist-Leninist thought and action to guide it. These initial tendencies which were displayed many times among the main leaders of the party, were frequently leftist, sometimes right-opportunist, sometimes centrist, going as far as anarchist, Trotskyite, bourgeois, and marked chauvinist and racist views. Even later, these tendencies remained as one of the distinctive characteristics of the Communist Party of China which Mao Tsetung and his group eventually led.

For this new party to have carried on a systematic, organized, studied and mature struggle in those very complicated situations, on such a large continent, on which the ideas of Confucius and the feudal order had left deep, not to say, indelible impressions, it was necessary that the Chinese communists should have had absolute faith in scientific Marxism, in Lenin and the Comintern, should have reported to them realistically about the situations in China, with the aim that the decisions which were taken by the Comintern about China **should be correct and applied correctly by the Chinese communists.**

In my opinion, despite the good will of neophytes, these things were not achieved by the Communist Party of China; therefore I think that this is where all the vacillations to the left or to the right, from that time down to this day, have their source.

From the formation of the party, two currents appeared: the one wing wanted to carry on legal work and to collaborate with the bourgeois-democratic parties, while the other wing defended the view that they should not have any relations with the others. In general the party took the decision to isolate itself, in other words, to maintain a hostile stand towards all other parties, including that of Sun Yat-sen, which was blamed for the political chaos. In a letter which Cheng Tu-hsiu sent to Voytynsky, the delegate of the Comintern in China, on April 6, 1922, he wrote that they were against unity with the

Kuomintang, because their aims were different. The Comintern opposed this stand and directed the party towards close collaboration with the Kuomintang.

At the Congress of the Peoples of the Far East, the Comintern correctly laid down the line of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, as well as the tasks of the latter for that period of the Chinese revolution. The Soviet representative there also defended the idea of supporting the Kuomintang as an ally which was fighting for national and democratic liberation, for national emancipation, but stressed at the same time that the Communist Party of China should not base itself on the organizations and the trade unions which were under the leadership of the Kuomintang, but the party, together with the proletarian masses, should give leadership and should struggle to influence the masses and to create its own organizations among them. «Therefore, on this question,» he said, «we think that the Kuomintang will not hinder us in our work, and we shall collaborate sincerely with it. Thus, we speak openly. Our tendency is, and this should be the dominant tendency for us, towards the workers' movement of China; it must develop freely, regardless of the existence of the bourgeoisie with radical tendencies and with democratic organizations and parties».

Thus this small communist party was defended politically and assisted materially by the Comintern and Soviet Russia, which carefully followed its activity among the masses and especially among the urban proletariat. In this direction, rapid progress was made, especially on the trade union platform, while political progress was to come more slowly and began later, in 1925, with the May 30th Movement. As a result of the May 30th Movement, a new success was achieved at the 4th Congress of the Party. The collaboration between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang was strengthened and became closer, a thing which had a direct influence on the strengthening temporarily, of the national unity, which had

been weakened, if not wiped out completely, after 1911. From this collaboration the Kuomintang gained new and greater strength, but the Communist Party of China, also, reached its 4th Congress with multiplied forces. At the 7th Plenary Session of the Chinese Commission of the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the 30th of November 1926, Stalin said, among other things:

> *«... the whole course, character, and prospects of the Chinese revolution, undoubtedly testify in favour of the Chinese communists remaining in the Kuomintang and intensifying their work in it»**

The collaboration of the two parties was maintained up until 1927. At that time things went sour between them, and this is not surprising, because bourgeois reaction is always reaction. Chiang Kai-shek, the compradore bourgeoisie and the Chinese big bourgeoisie, which operated within the framework of this Chinese «democracy», saw a danger in the Communist Party of China, with the influence which it was gradually gaining over the working class and the peasantry. Thus came about the break, the split and the attack in Canton in 1926, and in Shanghai in 1927, during which a large number of proletarians and communists were liquidated. This was a heavy blow to the trade unions and the Communist Party of China.

Not only in its stand towards the Kuomintang, but also in its stand towards the working class and the peasantry, the CP of China has not known how to determine a clear Marxist-Leninist line. In the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, the peasantry played a decisive role, but this does not mean to say that the Communist Party of China should have called it the leading force of the revolution. In the new conditions, this revolution should have been led by the working class.

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* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 374-375 (Alb. ed.).

The Kuomintang people were not elements of the peasantry, but progressive elements of the urban bourgeoisie, intellectuals, first of all, united with reactionary bourgeois elements, which were to strive to ensure that democratic freedoms were not implanted in China. The bourgeoisie of the new Chinese Republic tried to have the Chinese peasantry, the poor, middle and rich peasantry, as its instrument and support. It cannot be denied that the Chinese peasantry was a revolutionary element. In the French bourgeois-democratic revolution, also, this class had such features. Although at some moments of the revolution, the French peasantry was mostly monarchist, in general it was against feudalism and wanted to escape the burden of the heavy taxes of the French feudal lords, taxes not only in money, but also in compulsory services, and especially and first of all, it wanted to gain the land.

In China the peasantry was a progressive revolutionary element; it was against the monarchy, against oppression, against the «warlords» and provincial lords, but it needed to be worked on. As I said, the bourgeoisie which carried out the revolution in China was to try to use this peasantry for it own ends. In this situation the Communist Party of China should have worked on the peasantry, but not falling into the positions of the bourgeoisie of the Kuomintang of either its «progressive» or reactionary wings. The CP of China should have had its own independent political line, and this line should have been based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. At this stage, the Communist Party should have strengthened the positions gained over the monarchy, over feudalism, and backwardness. While bearing in mind the stages, it should not have forgotten the perspective of the revolution, should not have forgotten that it was a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the spearhead of this class. At the time when the CP of China was formed, a proletariat relatively small in comparison with the class of the Chinese peasantry existed in China. Nevertheless, the proletariat did exist and **the Communist Party of China, already formed, should have been the party of the proletariat, while**

the peasantry should have been considered by this party its main ally. Therefore, the party should have worked to make the peasantry an ally of the working class in order to strengthen the progressive bourgeois-democratic republic, and to go over later, after the conditions had matured, to a more advanced stage — the socialist revolution. It has never been clear on this main idea, this basic revolutionary guiding principle, even in theory, and consequently, it was not applied properly and consistently in practice, either.

After the break between the CP of China and the Kuomintang in 1927, a new stage, which is known as the 2nd Revolutionary Civil War, began for the Chinese revolution.

The tasks of the party for this stage were laid down at the extraordinary Plenum of the Central Committee which was held on August 7, 1927. The plenum removed Cheng Tu-hsiu and his followers from the leadership of the party and set the agrarian revolution as the main task for the party. After the plenum there was an upsurge of the revolutionary movement and the party began to create its own armed forces. Then the 6th Congress of the Party which was held in 1928 gave the orientation for the further development of the revolution and set as the main task the creation of revolutionary bases and the formation of the Red Army.

The revolutionary movement was beginning to build up. In December 1929, the Executive Committee of the Communist International [ECCI] arrived at the conclusion that China had entered a profound national crisis and was at the initial moment of a revolutionary upsurge. However, it stressed that the transition from the national crisis to the directly revolutionary situation would not take place immediately. At the same time the Comintern drew the attention of the CC of the CP of China that «the revolution in China was developing in an uneven way». In these conditions, the strengthening of the party and its struggle to make the masses conscious and win them over remained the main task.

It seems to me that the conclusions of the Comintern were

not understood properly by the Chinese leadership at that time. In February 1930, the CC of the CP of China sent out to the party organizations a circular in which, in fact, the thesis of the Comintern about the uneven development of the revolution in China was ignored. It said that the whole of China had been gripped by a revolutionary crisis. Meanwhile, on June 11, 1930, the Political Bureau, with Li Li-san at the head, approved the resolution «On the new revolutionary upsurge and the seizure of power at first in a few provinces». The Chinese leadership had the idea that in the conditions of the crisis which had seized the capitalist world and the crisis which had affected the country, the revolutionary situation in China had matured and they should immediately hurl themselves into insurrection, first in one or a few provinces, and then over the whole country. It also stressed that the decisive factor of the revolution was the struggle of the proletariat. However, with only the organization of a wave of strikes by the urban working class, without an attack of the army on the big cities, the insurrection could not result in success. Meanwhile, Mao Tsetung regarded the insurrection simply as a military action and was not for joint action of the urban working class and the army.

The insurrection began in June and on June 28, the Red Army entered Changsha. The city was held for a few days and then retaken by the Kuomintang, which launched a white terror against the residents of the city and especially against the working class and the communists.

From what I have read, it emerges that the only army which supported the insurrection and resisted was the 5th Group of the Red Army. Meanwhile the forces of the Kiangsi zone, where Chu Teh and Mao Tsetung were in the leadership, instead of attacking and holding Changsha, turned back to go to the aid of the 5th Group of the Red Army. Thus the big offensive on the provincial scale failed. But even after this the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of China did not relinquish its idea. On the 18th of July it sent a letter to the ECCI asking

it to sanction the commencement of the insurrection in Wuhan, Changsha and Shanghai. The Presidium of the ECCI refused this request. On August 5, the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of China repeated this request. On August 26, 1930, the ECCI sent a letter to the CC of the CP of China in which it stressed that it was essential to cancel the plan of the insurrection in several provinces.

In September 1930, the 3rd Session of the 6th Meeting of the Central Committee was held in Lushan. At this meeting Pavel Miff took part as the representative of the ECCI. The report which was delivered by Chou En-lai, who had just returned from Moscow, where he was the delegate of the CC of the CP of China to the Comintern, was very prudent and tried to reconcile the view of the Comintern with the line of Li Li-san. The plenum considered the stand of the Chinese leadership merely a serious tactical error but not a stand in opposition to the directives of the Comintern. Four months later, in January 1931, the Central Committee held a 4th Session. The resolution of this session stressed that the leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by Li Li-san, had followed an adventurous putschist policy, contrary to the directives of the Comintern. The report said that the line of Li Li-san about the taking of big cities, at a time when the conditions had not matured, was in contradiction with the theses of the Comintern about the character and the stages of the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese communists with Mao Tsetung lay the blame for their defeats and deviations, for their failure to understand and draw correct deductions from the situations which were developing in China, on the Comintern or its representatives in China. They make many accusations that the Comintern hindered them and confused them in the waging of a consistent struggle for the seizure of state power and the construction of socialism in China. Of course, the period of the Chinese revolution is long and complicated. But the views of the Chinese remain without any scientific argument and backing. I have

frequently said that the documents of the Comintern, not only on the Chinese question but on many problems of that time, are in the hands of the Soviets and in the archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many of them have not been published because the various factions and the present Soviet revisionists do not bring out the truth from their archives, and thus the Chinese can manipulate and interpret the facts according to their own wishes. The Chinese representatives at the Comintern and the representatives of the Comintern in China cannot be completely exonerated, but neither can the Communist Party of China which operated in the terrain be exonerated, because its actions were not mature, and the reports which it made about the situation in the country were not realistic. In these conditions, it is possible that some decisions of the Comintern were not on the mark, or were not transmitted and applied correctly by the representatives of the Comintern in China, whether Soviet or Chinese, and there are many reasons for this, because at that time there were elements such as Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kameniev in the Comintern who were exposed for what they were only later. At the beginning of the 20's the representative of the Comintern in China was the Soviet citizen, Adolf Abramovich Joffe, who was a partisan of Trotskyism and later committed suicide. In October 1923, Borodin went to China and he, too, was a Trotskyite element.

I am of the opinion, however that, in general, the decisions and directives of the Comintern, first of all of the time of Lenin, were correct, and that those of the time of Stalin were correct, too.

The facts indicate that in the period of the First Civil War, or the first period of the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, but also in the other periods, there does not seem to have been a mistaken orientation by the Comintern about the development of the struggle of the Communist Party of China as an independent party. In general Stalin wanted the Communist Party of China to fight in close

alliance with Kuomintang, at the time when the historical development of China put this forward as an objective need. In my opinion, this was a correct directive. But that Stalin could have given the directive, as the Chinese claim, that the Communist Party of China should be liquidated and incorporated into the Kuomintang without maintaining its individuality, this I cannot believe and it could never have been Stalin's opinion. The Chinese are not able to provide any document to prove this, but on the contrary, documents exist which prove the opposite. This is confirmed by the admissions of the Chinese themselves, who say that Stalin had allegedly made a self-criticism when Mao Tsetung went to Moscow, although not over these questions; he allegedly admitted that «at one moment of the Chinese revolution he has exerted some influence to ensure that the Communist Party of China should be based only on the proletariat and less on the peasantry». «This is the one and only mistake I have made in regard to China and over this I make self-criticism,» said Stalin, according to the Chinese. However, even if this were true, it is unacceptable to draw the conclusion, as the Chinese do, that their defeats, the internal clashes of factions in the CP of China, the bloodshed with the Kuomintang were allegedly caused by the «mistaken» policy of the Comintern and Stalin! Here the authentic documents must be found, because it seems to me more likely that the Chinese communists themselves, and also some of the delegates from Moscow, did not know how to carry out such a correct, principled policy with the Kuomintang and its chiefs so as to achieve their maximum aims.

We see that the start of the collaboration of the Chinese communists and the Kuomintang was reasonable and close, to the point that the two sides together trained the officer cadres at the Wangpo Academy, where Chiang Kai-Shek was commander, and Chou En-lai commissar. Hence Chou En-lai and Chiang Kai-shek worked and collaborated quite well. Mao, himself, was in charge of cadres (education) in the Kuomintang. That means that the directives of the Comintern were not wrong. Not wrong

also was the directive of the Comintern (if this was its directive) that, in order to avoid the split at the time of the Japanese aggression, the Communist Party of China, through Chou En-lai, should intervene to free Chiang Kai-shek who had been arrested on the 12th of December, 1936, by the commander of the North-eastern Army of China, an arrest which threatened to split the nationalist forces in the war against Japan.

It is now very difficult to judge the line and activity of the Communist Party of China towards the Kuomintang, over the decisions which the CC of the Party took under the leadership of Li Li-san in 1930, and the decisions which it took after the failure of the insurrection of 1930, because the Communist Party of China, in the ranks of which many factions have always vegetated, has never written of these important events which have occurred in the country and in the ranks of the party with the necessary objectivity. On the contrary, the facts, conclusions, thoughts and aims have been distorted and interpreted according to the interests of various factions which dominated at given periods in the Central Committee.

Thus we are faced with two difficulties: first, we must judge apriori, bearing in mind only the events and drawing conclusions not on the basis of documents; and second, we are faced with that incoherence, or, as you might say, ideological confusion of the Communist Party of China, which, divided into factions, has never at any time made an analysis of events and never drawn conclusions as lessons for education. At least we do not find documents published in foreign languages, a thing which the Communist Party of China ought to have done, because it has had and still has the possibilities to do this.

After September 1931, the National Liberation War against the Japanese occupiers began. This National Liberation War, also, was waged with its ups and downs, not only military but also ideological and political. During this war, alliances were formed between the progressive bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the compradore bourgeoisie, between the Kuomin-

tang, the proletariat and the peasantry, and between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

In all this complicated situation, again we do not see clearly the line and direction of the Communist Party of China. We have read materials which, you might say, are more propaganda articles, but here we are not talking about propaganda. Here we have to do with questions of alliances between the proletariat and the peasantry, between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, between the army of the Kuomintang and the army which the Communist Party led, and all these together, in alliance or disalliance, were in struggle against the Japanese and against one another. We must have the documents in order to find the thread of events.

We know, in general, that first the war was waged in alliance with the Kuomintang, and later they went to war with each other. Chiang Kai-shek led the Kuomintang, that is, the reactionary bourgeoisie. It is a fact that seeing the danger of the rise of the Communist Party of China and its fight against the Japanese occupiers, the Kuomintang broke with it and thus the war against Japanese, on its part, was weakened or stopped altogether. The Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, went over completely to war against the Communist Party of China and strove in every way to liquidate its fighting detachments. In other words, in this way it went to the aid of the Japanese occupiers. At the same time, its links were tightened and became closer every day with American imperialism, though in opposition to the special representative of America in China, General Marshall, who, in the beginning supported the Chiang Kai-shek lobby, but later, as far as we have read, considered the Chiang Kai-shek government a «corrupt government». However, during and after the anti-Japanese war the Communist Party of China which Mao Tsetung led, did not lack contacts with American imperialism, either.

During the anti-Japanese war Mao Tsetung had managed to liquidate the factions of Li Li-san, Wang Ming and many others and had established his hegemony. Besides Mao, Chu

Teh, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Lin Piao, and many other leaders of the Chinese revolution who had emerged from the anti-Japanese war, came into the leadership of the party. But these, too, were in opposition to Mao and to one another, time after time. Hence, the war led by Mao Tsetung in China was a national liberation war against the Japanese occupiers, and against the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek, who was in *de facto* alliance with the Japanese, and in *de jure* and open alliance with the American imperialists.

After the historic Long March led by Mao Tsetung and Chu Teh, which was a correct tactical retreat in order to avoid liquidating the forces of the revolution, after assembling at Yenan, reorganizing the army and then the assault, which ended with driving Chiang Kai-shek and the remnants of his army into the sea, on the 1st of October, 1949 China was liberated and proclaimed a People's Republic.

As can be seen, this is an extremely general summary of this event of great importance, not only to China but also on a world scale, because the People's Republic of China was created and together with the Soviet Union, if it had followed a genuine Marxist-Leninist road, would have become a powerful fortress of the great world proletarian revolution.

For the period following the liberation of China, the question arises, and this is a great and important question which cannot be analysed and solved with these few facts and documents or without special study on our part: **is People's China building socialism on the Marxist-Leninist road, or is it a bourgeois-democratic republic and remaining as such? Was the revolution which was carried out in China, and did it remain, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, which marked the first stage of the revolution, or did it succeed in going beyond this stage, to the second stage of the revolution, to socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat?** This is a major question which must be cleared up with facts.

Mao Tsetung called the period of liberation «the new democracy», the tasks and orientations of which were defined. The

theoretical foundations of this doctrine were laid by Mao Tsetung in a document, «The New Democracy», which came out in 1940. According to Mao Tsetung, «The New Democracy» is a regime suitable to China and resembles neither the Western republics controlled by the bourgeoisie nor the Soviet proletarian republics.

The new democratic republic, according to Mao Tsetung, would be made up of «four» anti-imperialist and anti-feudal «classes» (!) which are the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. In this republic, the economy, also, had to be new democratic, the state would take over management of it, but would not confiscate the assets of the bourgeoisie, because the backward character of the Chinese economy justified the existence of some capitalist forms. Of course, the land would be divided up, according to this new economy, but the economy of the rich peasants would exist, because the above formula is applicable to the rich peasants also, since their production is very necessary. Naturally, the new culture has to be the ideological reflection of this new policy and new economy and serve this policy and economy.

This policy sounds liberal and nationalist, because, even after the creation of the People's Republic of China, Mao Tsetung still remained loyal to his doctrine.

In my opinion, and as far as I can judge, China carried out a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type through the national liberation armed struggle. The Communist Party of China stood at the head and led this struggle to victory and there is no disputing that. Mao Tsetung, the General Secretary, or the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, has great merits during this period, in this direction and in this outcome. Along with Mao Tsetung, naturally all those others who, in one way or another, in unity of opinion, or in diversity of opinions with one another, attained this final objective which was the liberation of China, a capital problem, as well as the establishment there of a people's democratic republic, also have their merits.

Was this to be a people's democratic regime? Was it to be built in the form of the Western or American bourgeois-democratic regimes? We must examine this in its development. From external appearances, since it had a communist party at the head and this communist party was a member of the Comintern, since it apparently followed the directives of the Comintern, and its general line of the fight against fascism, the idea and hopes arose that this bourgeois democracy, this first stage through which the Chinese revolution passed, would be different from that of the classical bourgeois-democratic revolution and that the Chinese republic would be different from the American or Western bourgeois democratic republics, and would proceed on the road of the people's democracy, a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Regardless of the fact that both before and after the liberation Mao Tsetung said (and documents about this exist) that in the construction of the People's Republic of China «we shall be much inspired by American democracy», in its propaganda and in many of its initial acts and because the Communist Party of China came to power, it looked as if China was a country which was preparing to go over to socialism. This was the general picture.

After liberation, the construction of the country, the strengthening of the state and the creation of the state apparatus, the strengthening and modernization of the army, were not to be carried out without struggle and clashes with the different trends of Chinese reaction which existed within China and which had exceptionally powerful support from abroad and from the new cadres who were admitted to the party and the state apparatuses. Hence, in this period of the first years, we are unable to distinguish properly that radical line of the Communist Party of China over the very grave problem, that of the consolidation of the Republic, and when we say the consolidation of the Republic, we mean, in the first place, the consolidation of a correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist policy for the strengthening of the state power and

the preparation of conditions to go over to the period of socialist construction. In particular, we do not see a correct line on the organization of the party of the Lenin and Stalin type, in which unity of thought and deed, the unity of Marxist-Leninist thought and very carefully organized activity, would prevail in a great China, just emerged from a complicated struggle, from a complex situation, in which feudalism, the bourgeoisie, and different strata of the peasantry, the intelligentsia, Confucianism, Buddhism, etc., were all active.

In the period of the first years we did not see a sound and well-based organization of the Chinese army on the example of the army of Stalin. Irrespective of the fact that it was organized in big detachments during the partisan national liberation war, the characteristics of these detachments were not always partisan characteristics, because the tendencies of a bourgeois capitalist army existed, for the reason that whole detachments of the armies of the Kuomintang and the «warlords» joined the army of Mao Tsetung. And thus, together with them, the reactionary views were introduced into the detachments of the Chinese national liberation army, because, at the head of these detachments of the Kuomintang and the «warlords», there were senior commanders and officers of the Kuomintang who had been trained in the war against the people and against communism. The old views of the «warlords» also existed in this army which emerged from the war. Even the top cadres who had waged the great liberation war and were members of the CP of China were affected by these views to some extent. This we shall see later, when a number of main military leaders deviated and tried to seize power, to overthrow one and the other. This means that the old views of the «warlords», or the views of top military cadres of a bourgeois capitalist army, existed among them.

In this direction then, at that time we do not see a consistent, correct, well-thought out policy, properly formulated and applied by the Communist Party which Mao Tsetung led.

It is true its policy was called Marxist-Leninist, but in essence it was not such a policy.

In regard to economic matters in this period we may say that many positive changes were made. Poverty and unemployment were combated in China, and to some extent the backwardness in education and culture were combated, too, although the bourgeois and capitalist views among the masses of intellectuals were not eliminated. Naturally, these cannot be wiped out at a touch of the magic wand; however, in regard to the reconstruction of the devastated country and the organization of the state of the economy in the country to some extent, we can say that the regime of new democracy brought many good and pleasing changes in this direction. Famine no longer existed in China and this was a great success. These are the obvious features of this stage of the regime of new democracy.

After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Communist Party of China had to proceed with great caution, and this was natural. It had to avoid being leftist and skipping the stages, and we can say that the stages were not skipped. This is a fact which cannot be denied. The question arose, also, that the Communist Party of China ought not to have shown itself to be «democratic», that is, liberal and opportunist, as it proved to be, towards the Chinese bourgeoisie and the big landowners. The fact is that both the Liu-Teng faction and the Mao faction supported these classes, making serious, liberal, opportunist concessions to them.

The Communist Party of China should have consolidated the alliance of the working class with the peasantry first of all, and the Chinese bourgeoisie should have been subjected to the laws of the proletariat. This was absolutely essential. On this course, the party could have used various forms to disarm the bourgeoisie, to turn it from the road of subversion and armed attacks which it might make on the new state; it could also have made temporary concessions of a tactical character, but without altering the strategic aims of the revolution or violating its principles. In other words it should have disarmed

the bourgeoisie, but disarmed it politically first of all, ideologically it should not have allowed its views to develop, and economically it should have taken from it all the assets it had and not allowed it to retain nearly the same positions which it had at a time when the peasantry, in the first place, and the proletariat were going through economic difficulties, not to mention political and ideological difficulties.

On this question, in these first moments after liberation, for four or five years on end, we see that China is struggling, wallowing in ever-changing reforms. We do not see any sort of guiding line there about where these measures or reforms should lead, do not see an objective, well-studied build-up, step by step, in all directions of social, economic, political, ideological and military activity. On the contrary, we see many vacillations to all sides; a confusion of reforms of the people's democratic period with allegedly socialist trends, strikes the eye. During this period, the tendency according to which the first stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had to be protracted was kept strong. In this stage, preached the Chinese leaders, along with the development of capitalism the premises for socialism would be created. Mao Tsetung himself said: «Although such a democratic revolution of the new type, on the one hand widens the road for capitalism, on the other hand it creates the premises for socialism». On this preaching they based their well-known thesis about coexistence with the bourgeoisie and capitalism for a very long time, which was to continue for a full thirty years after 1956. The report of the 8th Congress of the CP of China says openly that the national bourgeoisie, together with the working class, should retain the state management in China and retain a large part of its private wealth. The Chinese presented these ideas as a creative application of Lenin's teachings on the NEP. But there is a radical difference between Lenin's teachings and the Chinese theory and practice, both in content and in the period of the implementation of the NEP. Lenin admitted that

the NEP was a retreat which allowed the development of private capitalism for a time, but he stressed,

> *«The proletarian power is in no danger, as long as the proletariat firmly holds power in its hands, and has full control of transport and large-scale industry»*.*

In China, however, the proletariat did not hold the state power or big industry completely in its own hands either in 1949 or in 1956.

One year after the proclamation of the NEP, Lenin pointed out that the retreat had come to an end and launched the slogan of preparation for the offensive on private capital in the economy. In China, however, the period of the retention of the bourgeoisie and capitalism was envisaged to go on almost forever.

In a word, at this stage the view existed in the Communist Party of China that the order established after the liberation should be a bourgeois-democratic order and the bourgeoisie, too, should have power, while in appearance the Communist Party of China should be in power (and it was in power) with Mao Tsetung as chairman and with Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and all the others in the leadership. These were the views of this party. They were not clear Marxist-Leninist views. Since the views of the CP of China were not completely Marxist-Leninist views, the revolution in China could not be carried through to the end, and the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution could not be assured. The transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution can be achieved only when the proletariat resolutely removes the bourgeoisie from power, even in those cases when the bourgeoisie has been its ally for a time. So long as the working class in China shared power with the bourgeoisie, this power, in essence, was never

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 434 (Alb. ed.).

transformed into a dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently the Chinese revolution could not be a socialist revolution.

Despite all the slogans the important problem of nationalities, also, was not solved in the Marxist-Leninist way. The directives of the Comintern on the problem of nationalities, languages, and the multinational proletarian state were not clear to the Chinese leaders, not just at the start, but even after the creation of the People's Republic of China.

Stalin, speaking about the tasks which emerge for the Marxist-Leninist party for the creation of the proletarian state, in the interview he gave Emil Ludwig, says:

> *«That task is not the consolidation of some 'national' state, but of a socialist state, and that means an international state...».**

The CP of China should have followed this course. However, in Mao, who speaks continually about the emperors, about the heroes of fables, whom he sometimes praises and sometimes attacks, we do not find this precision of expression about the struggle for an international proletarian state. We do not find this precision of expression about the future of China and the question of the correct solution for this great grouping of nations even in the time of his maturity.

The state organization in newly liberated China, at least to us foreigners, did not seem to be very clear, the forms of organization and connections of the base with the centre were not obvious, it was not plain on what basis the divisions were made, and apart from the general reconstruction, the economic orientations as to which was given priority, heavy industry, light industry, or agriculture, could not be seen. There was a great deal of talk, directives were issued, but we see that not

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* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 101 (Alb. ed.).

only were these directives not implemented but they were also confused and ill-defined.

One faction in the party was of the view that heavy industry should be developed in the first place. Another was against this; in its opinion, priority should be given to light industry. A third faction claimed that great importance must be given to agriculture, and there were also those who said they must walk on both feet. Many formulas were issued, as many as you like, however, while it cannot be said that nothing was done and that no work was carried out, in general the orientations which were given were not clear and were not properly implemented. The reason for this lack of orientation stemmed from the fact that during the whole of this period, from the time it was founded until it achieved the liberation of the country and later, the Communist Party of China was unable to consolidate itself ideologically, to implant the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin deeply in the minds and hearts of its members, to adopt the key points of this unerring scientific theory and, basing itself on this ideology, to apply it step by step in the conditions of China, in the dialectical development of the struggle in that country. This brought about that the Communist Party of China was divided into many factions within itself; at the same time, outside it permitted the existence of the other parties of the bourgeoisie and their participation in the state. Indeed Mao himself officially described their participation in the state and the government, with the same rights and prerogatives as the Communist Party of China, as essential and, moreover, according to him, these parties of the bourgeoisie «were historical» and could not die out until the time came that the Communist Party of China withered away.

In a word, Mao Tsetung had the view that they should go to socialism through pluralism. This was a rightist reactionary slogan. It was not a Marxist slogan which could have been understood, up to a point, as a form of alliance of the Communist

Party of China with other traditional parties in the Front, in which the Communist Party of China had the leading role. No.

In his theoretical writings Mao Tsetung says that China could not have been liberated without the leadership of the peasantry, that the revolution in China was a peasant revolution. According to him, the peasantry was the most revolutionary class, that it had to lead the revolution «and did lead the revolution». This is a major theoretical error on the part of Mao Tsetung and shows that he was not a Marxist-Leninist but an eclectic and a bourgeois-democrat. Mao Tsetung, as a progressive democrat, was for a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and when China was liberated, he clung to the same views. According to his views, the peasantry was the leading force and the working class had to be its ally, the state power in China had to be, first of all, the state of the peasantry and «the countryside had to encircle the city», but when the line of Li Li-san was being pursued, the army of Mao and Chu Teh did not carry out the directive of the Central Committee and did not encircle the given city. Mao Tsetung wanted to transform this bourgeois-democratic theory of his into a universal theory and, in fact, this «theory» was called «Mao Tsetung thought». In order to make it as acceptable as possible the Chinese leaders put an equal sign between Marxism-Leninism and «Mao Tsetung thought».

The monarchy was overthrown in China in 1911, but even after the creation of the People's Republic of China the Chinese did not execute Pu Yi of Manchuria, the puppet emperor of the Japanese occupiers. After keeping him for some years in an education camp, they turned him into a museum exhibit, to whom various delegations were brought to meet and talk with and to create the «belief» that such people are re-educated in «socialist» China. Apart from other things, the purpose of the publicity about this former emperor was to relieve the fears of the monarchs, chiefs, and puppets of reaction of other countries with which China maintains relations, so that they would think: -Mao's socialism is good, why should we be afraid of

it?»! In other words, with their profoundly opportunist stand towards the Emepror Pu Yi, the Chinese revisionists are saying: «You emperors, kings, sultans, princes, fascists, dictators of the second world and the third world are ours. We shall go to socialism together with you»! What beautiful socialism!

Similar stands, which have nothing in common with the class struggle, have been adopted in China also towards the feudal lords and the capitalists whose assets were not touched either in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of Sun Yat-sen or even after China was liberated by the army of Mao Tsetung and was proclaimed a «new democracy», where, as you might say, three quarters of the wealth of the exploiters was protected because the reforms which were carried out in «socialist» China were not thorough-going.

We know that during the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France the assets of the Church and the feudal class were confiscated, and, of course, these assets went in favour of the bourgeoisie, which when it saw that it was endangered by the internal disturbances and from outside by Brunswick and from Koblentz and in these conditions its political and economic power might be overthrown, cut off the king's head, liquidated the different factions of the Girondists one after the other, and then the strongest factions of the republicans, among whom the views of the conservative bourgeoisie infiltrated. Hence the heads of Dantonists and Hebertists were cut off with the guillotine just as those of Robespierre and Saint-Just were cut off later by their comrades of the right, such as Billot-Varenne and others. The French bourgeoisie did not allow its class interests to be damaged and did not divide the land amongst the peasantry as Babeuf and Buonarroti advocated.

Throughout its whole history the Communist Party of China has contained a large number of factions. There have been factions, ideological deviations, in every Marxist-Leninist party, but in China these deviations have had another character, which can be equated with the factions of the French bourgeois-democratic revolution, apart from the fact that in China they

did not cut off the heads of political opponents. In China, of course, these factions retained their allegedly ideological character, but in fact they had more of a political character and were for the aim of establishing personal power, had precisely the character of the actions of «warlords», who naturally, did not want the newly created Chinese Republic to take the road to socialism, the road of a centralized disciplined state.

The Chinese list these as «10 struggles» which Mao Tsetung has waged. They are struggles, but in the Communist Party of China these are not struggles like those in the Bolshevik Party or in our Party, where on the one side there were genuine Marxist-Leninists who fought to defend the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, and on the other side, the Trotskyite, anarchist deviators and what not. No, in these factions of the Communist Party of China none of the sides was guided by Marxism-Leninism. There were factions in which all were guided by confused views, progressive bourgeois views rather than Marxist-Leninist; other factions were more to the right or more to the left, but in the leadership of the Communist Party of China there was never a Marxist-Leninist faction, that is, a sound Marxist-Leninist nucleus. Thus, Mao Tsetung and the comrades around him were not genuine Marxist-Leninists, they were progressive bourgeois democrats, Marxists in appearance and phraseology, but who fought, and fought to the end, for the consolidation of a progressive bourgeois-democratic great state, for a «new democracy», as Mao Tsetung called it.

Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and other elements were rightists, elements of the bourgeoisie who defended the big national bourgeoisie in order to preserve its prerogatives, of course, disguised with leftist demagogy, and this faction did this under the communist disguise. For a long period after the liberation this group had power within the CP of China and acted on this course for the consolidation of the Chinese capitalist bourgeosie.

Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist, but a progressive bourgeois revolutionary, more progressive than Liu Shao-chi, but still a centrist revolutionary, who posed as a communist and stood at the head of the Communist Party. Within China, in the party, among the people, and abroad, he had the reputation of a great Marxist-Leninist who fought for the construction of socialism. But his views were not Marxist-Leninist, he did not follow the theory of Marx and Lenin, was a continuer of the work of Sun Yat-sen, but in more advanced positions, and dressed up his views, so to say, with some leftist revolutionary formulas, some Marxist-Leninist theses and slogans. Mao Tsetung posed as a Marxist-Leninist dialectician, but he was not so. He was an eclectic who combined the Marxist dialectic with Confucian idealism and the old Chinese philosophy. The fact is that in his leadership of the party and the state, in his policy and ideology, in the development of China and its party, and in international developments, he did not base himself on the Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics to guide China on the road to socialism.

On the other hand we see that a leftist wing existed in the party which also disguised itself with Marxist-Leninist slogans. All these deviations did not assist the cause of socialism. In order to achieve the one aim, with different forms and through different methods, all the sides, with nearly the same disguise, raised the banner of Mao Tsetung, all fought under the banner of Mao Tsetung, which was not a Marxist-Leninist banner. It merely had this reputation. After the death of Mao Tsetung it became quite clear that this banner was not Marxist-Leninist.

What happened? As he says himself, Hua Kuo-feng «at one blow» overthrew «The Four» and the whole non-Marxist centrist theory of Mao Tsetung, brought to power the right wing, in a word, all the elements condemned by the «Great Cultural», allegedly, Proletarian Revolution, and carried out a coup d'etat as Napoleon I did and as Napoleon III did later. And Teng Hsiao-ping is nothing other than a petty Napoleon.

Just like Napoleon, who wanted to create the French Empire, with the aim that France should dominate Europe at that time and stop the expansion of the British Empire, to blockade Britain on its island and defeat it, Teng Hsiao-ping and company are fighting for world hegemony today with the aim that China should become a superpower which can dominate the world and indeed predominate, if possible, even over the United States of America, let alone over the Soviet Union. China is trying to achieve this aim by means of war, by arming itself with the most modern means, by developing its economy and technology with the aid of capitalist states, and by pursuing, a certain policy, a certain ideology, which is based on a non-Marxist theory, which is called «Mao Tsetung thought».

The Chinese revisionists will use this theory as a disguise to pose as socialists, but in fact they are not and cannot be socialists, cannot be Marxist-Leninists. The Chinese revisionists can no more be Marxist-Leninists than Napoleon could have been a follower of Robespierre, a Jacobin, or a supporter of Babeuf. The Chinese revisionists are just like Napoleon who sought to establish his empire. He did create and establish his empire, but it was soon destroyed. In the same way, the day will come when the Chinese revisionists are destroyed.

Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution will triumph in China, and these renegades will be defeated. Naturally, such a revolution will not triumph without fighting and bloodshed, because great efforts must be made in China to create the main subjective factor — the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, which did not exist as such before and does not exist now.

Likewise, the masses must be prepared so that they understand that one cannot live with illusions. The masses must become politically aware that those leading them are not Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, but elements of the bourgeoisie, of capitalism, who have entered a course which has nothing in common with socialism and communism. But if they are to understand this, the masses must understand the

basic question that «Mao Tsetung thought» is not Marxism-Leninism and that Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist. He did not betray himself, as you might say. We say that Mao is a renegade, is an anti-Marxist, and this is a fact. We say this because he tried to disguise himself with Marxism-Leninism, but in fact he was never a Marxist.

In general, we can say that in some directions the revolution in China had certain features of a tendency to develop on the socialist road, but the measures taken stopped halfway, or were annulled, as they are being annulled at present, and the masks will be dropped one after the other. All these things must be understood by the Chinese people, and they must be understood outside China, too, because, unfortunately, the whole development of that country, the national liberation war of the Chinese people, the establishment of the progressive bourgeois people's democratic state, has gone down in history as a proletarian revolution, which in fact it was not, has gone down in history as if China is a country which is building socialism, which is not true, either.

I think that, in general, all that we have said about China at the 2nd and 3rd plenums of the CC of the PLA and in these notes, reveals the Chinese reality, but we must not be content with saying only this. The duty devolves on us to make a profound study of the main and decisive questions of the policy and activity of the Communist Party of China in the dialectical development of its history, so that we prove these ideas and general conclusions we have arrived at, which I think are not mistaken, with facts and documents. There is no doubt that there are questions to which we have not given a full answer, there are things missing and debatable problems which require deeper study. This cannot be denied. But in general the facts show that China has travelled over such a chaotic non-Marxist road.

With what has just occurred, that is, after the putsch of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, China is passing into a more backward stage than what it had achieved with Mao

Tsetung. He was more progressive than Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping. These are ultra-rightists, while Mao Tsetung was a centrist.

In one of my notes, I have said that the myths must be exploded, and I had in mind that precisely the myth of Mao Tsetung, that myth which has described him as a «great» Marxist-Leninist, had and has to be exploded. **Mao Tsetung is not a Marxist-Leninist but a progressisve revolutionary democrat, and in my opinion, this is the angle from which his work should be studied.**

I have said that the views of Mao Tsetung should not be studied merely from the edited phrases in the four volumes which have been published, but **must be studied in their practical application**, and they have been applied in a period not like that of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of France, when, in its own time, the bourgeoise was a progressive class. The ideas of Mao Tsetung developed in the present period of the decay of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, hence, at a time when proletarian revolutions are on the order of the day and when the example and the great lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the teachings of Marx and Lenin are an unerring guide for us. The theory of Mao Tsetung, «Mao Tsetung thought», which emerged in these new conditions, was bound to cloak itself with the most revolutionary and most scientific theory of the time — Marxism-Leninism, but in essence it remained an anti-Marxist theory, because it is opposed to proletarian revolutions and goes to the aid of imperialism in decay.

Therefore, in the ideology of Mao Tsetung we shall find reflected all the aspects of the ideas which capitalism and imperialism have invented during the many years of the period of their decline and decay. «Mao Tsetung thought» is an amalgam of ideologies, beginning from anarchism, Trotskyism, modern revisionism a la Tito, a la Khrushchev, «Eurocommunism» a la Marchais-Berlinguer-Carrillo, and finally down to the use of Marxist-Leninist formulas. In all this amalgam we must also

discern the old ideas of Confucius, Mencius, and other Chinese philosophers, which had a very great influence on the formation of Mao Tsetung's ideas and his cultural-theoretical development. Thus it is hard to define a single line or, so to say, a clear line of the Chinese ideology. Even those aspects of it which may be said to be a kind of distorted Marxism-Leninism, have an Asiatic seal and character, have the specific character of an «Asiatic communism», are a sort of «Asiacommunism» the same as «Eurocommunism», in which you cannot find the proletarian internationalism of Marx and Lenin in its full and true meaning. In the Chinese ideology we shall find heavy doses of nationalism, xenophobia, religion, Buddism, marked hangovers of the feudal ideology, not to mention many other hangovers which exist and were not systematically combated, not only during the period of the national liberation war, but especially during the period of the establishment of the state of people's democracy.

It must be admitted that the reactionary world bourgeoisie has followed and studied the development of the policy and ideology of Mao Tsetung, the development of political-ideological struggles in China, more carefully not only in the periods prior to the revolution, but also during the revolution. Precisely because the reactionary world bourgeoisie saw that this policy and this ideology had its specific Chinese Asiatic character, was far removed from Marxism-Leninism, it has defended, supported and propagated it, moreover as Marxist-Leninist. In its own writings and publications, the bourgeoisie clearly sets out the orientation of the policy and ideology of Mao Tsetung and describes it not as Marxist, but as a revolutionary bourgeois ideology and, in fact, that is what it is. It was in the interests of imperialism, world capitalism, that China, a huge continent, you might say, should continue on this course, should follow the political and ideological orientation of Mao Tsetung, which one day would come into open opposition to scientific Marxism, because China would not follow the road of scientific Marxism. In the development of China,

this became obvious. The ideological contradictions between Marxism-Leninism and «Mao Tsetung thought» became inevitable, not only now but even earlier.

All the differences and misunderstandings on the part of the Chinese with the Soviet Union, the Comintern, and Stalin were opposition over issues of principle, and for no other reason.

I think that when we analyse «Mao Tsetung thought», we must bear in mind all these factors, which have played a major role in the political-theoretical development of the Chinese leadership and the Communist Party of China and have been reflected in their orientations and actions. The present strategy of Maoism which, as we know, consists of its alliance with the United States of America and the whole of world capitalism in order to oppose the revisionist Soviet Union, flows from this.

This is not simply a policy of adaptation to the changing political developments, but a policy which has an ideological content and the Maoists have an ideological conviction about it. The Chinese leaders think in virtually the same way as the American imperialists and the leaders of the other developed capitalist «democracies». They are at one ideologically, especially in their aims of domination, because, China, too, as a big state, does not want to put itself under the leadership and under the heel of any of these imperialists and capitalists, but wants to dominate, or at least, to have its own big say which must be listened to throughout the world. It is for this reason that, in one way or another, Maoist China advocates the alliance of the world proletariat with the capitalist bourgeoisie and American imperialism. By putting itself on this course, China in fact is hindering the world revolution and distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory just as the other revisionists are doing. Its policy and activity serve imperialism and capitalism, which is giving up the ghost, as a fresh injection to revive it and prolong its life.

The basis of the opposition which Maoist China has with

Soviet revisionism is simply that Maoist China considers the Soviet Union a weaker imperialist power than the United States of America and thinks that, in alliance with American imperialism, it will realize its expansionist dreams — the occupation of Siberia and other eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

This is the basis of the contradiction between China and the Soviet Union, and this contradiction does not have an ideological character, as it is presented, that is, that China is allegedly Marxist-Leninist and the Soviet Union revisionist. No, both these countries are revisionist, have a bourgeois ideology which guides them and they are fighting against the revolution precisely in the conditions of the decay of imperialism.

Therefore, it seems to me that all these notes must be deepened and backed up more thoroughly with a richer documentation, a documentation which must be searched for, because it exists in one way or another, either in the newspapers or books which, from time to time, are published in China or abroad. However, these must be studied in a critical manner, and must be compared with the Chinese reality and the fundamental principles and theses of our great revolutionary ideology — Marxism-Leninism.

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